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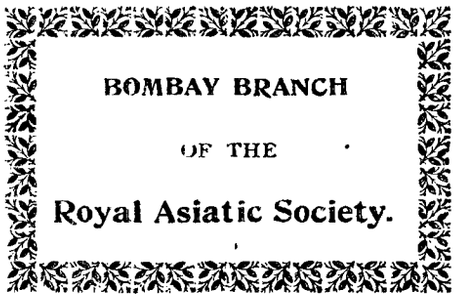

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THE COMMENTARIES OF Messire Blaize de Montluc, MARESCHAL OF FRANCE.

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WHEREIN ARE DESCRIB'D

All the Combats, Rencounters, Skirmishes, Battels, Sieges, Assaults, Scalado's, the Taking and Surprizes of Towns and Fortresses; as also the Defences of the Assaulted and Besieg'd:

With several other signal and remarkable Feats of War, wherein this great and renowned Warriour was personally engag'd, in the space of fifty or threescore years that he bore Arms under several Kings of *France*.

TOGETHER WITH

Divers Instructions, that such ought not to be ignorant of, as propose to themselves by the practice of Arms to arrive at any eminent degree of Honor, and prudently to carry on all the Exploits of War.

Cicero. M. Marcello, Epist. 8. l. 4.

Omnia sunt misera in Bellis civilibus, quæ Majores nostri ne semel quidem, nostra ætas sæpe jam sensit: sed miserius nihil, quam ipsa victoria: quæ etiamsi ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos ferociores, impotentioresq; reddit: ut, etiamsi naturâ tales non sint, necessitate esse cogantur. Multa enim victori, eorum arbitrio, per quos vicit, etiam invito facienda sunt.

LONDON,
Printed by *Andrew Clark*, for *Henry Brome*, at the Gun at the West End of *St. Pauls*, MDCLXXIV.

1674 1674

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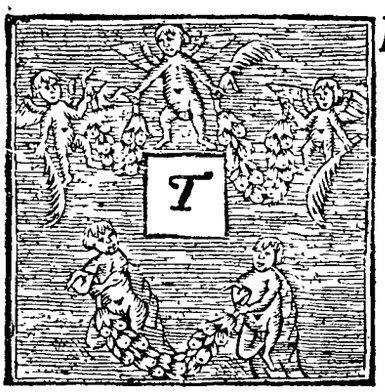
To the Right Honourable,

PHILIP,

EARL of *CHESTERFIELD*, Lord STANHOPE of *Shelford*, &c.

MY LORD,



Though all men that know me are ſufficiently enform'd of the many and great obligations your Lordſhip has layd upon me, and that as many of them as I have diſcours'd withal upon that ſubject, are able, if they will do me right, to bear Witneſs with what candor and acknowledgment, not perhaps without ſomething of oſtentation, I have ever own'd and extol'd them; yet (my Lord) thoſe men are ſo few, and the beforementioned obligations of ſo generous a nature, that I confeſs I have a deſire both to be more univerſally known your ſervant, and that the world at the ſame time ſhould take notice, that though you may in my perſon have plac'd your favours upon an unworthy, yet that they have nevertheleſs been conferr'd upon a grateful man. Such a one (my Lord) I profeſs my ſelf to be, and having no other way to manifeſt that I am ſo, have taken the liberty to dedicate this Tranſlation of mine to your Lordſhips diverſion and acceptance, not ſuſpecting that you who have honour'd me ſo many other ways ſhould diſcountenance me in this, but rather protect me from

others, as well as excuſe me to your ſelf; and in truth (my Lord) I am ſo much your own, that I may juſtifiably enough be a little partial in my favour.

My Lord, it may perhaps be expected by thoſe who know your Lordſhip for the noble perſon you are, that I ſhould here ſalute you with a finer Epiſtle than peradventure I can write, or at leaſt than this is either likely, or in truth intended to be; not that I would not preſent you with the beſt I have, but knowing your Lordſhips averſion to ſuch impertinencies as men ſometimes ſtuff their Dedications withall, I ſhould not only willfully offend you, but moreover ſtep out of my own deſign, which is very clear from the vanity of thinking to advance your Honor or Name by any teſtimony of mine, and only intended with all ſubmiſſion to declare my ſelf,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhips moſt humble
and moſt obedient Servant,

CHARLES COTTON.

THE

The TRANSLATOR's PREFACE TO THE READER.

A Man that has had no better luck in Printing Books than I, and receiv'd from the world ſo little thanks for his labour, ſhould, one would have thought, have taken ſome reaſonable warning, and in ſome moderate time have given over ſcribling; but notwithſtanding theſe diſencouragements, I have hitherto, and do yet continue incorrigible, as, whoever will take the pains to read them, will ſee by the following Commentaries: and ſeeing I acknowledg this to be a fault, and that every fault requires ſome excuſe, I think fit to give the Reader ſome account why I ſtill perſiſt ſo obſtinate to peſter the world with my writings.

It is not then out of any ill natur'd deſire I have to be troubleſome, or any great ambition I have to be laught at; but beeing, by a perpetual confinement to the ſolitude of my own Houſe, put eternally upon reading, that reading, when I meet with any thing that pleaſes my own fancy, inſpires me with a deſire to communicate ſuch things as I conceive are worth knowing, and are out of the common Road of ordinary Readers, to their obſervation, and to dedicate thoſe hours which I my ſelf have ſpent with ſome delight in ſuch Tranſlations, to their vacancy and diverſion.

This is the true and only reaſon why I have, and ſometimes do ſpend ſo much time about ſuch things as theſe, and it ought the leſs to offend the generality of men, becauſe, though I only pretend by it to oblige but a few perſons, and thoſe none of the moſt conſiderable; yet it can be prejudicial to none, the Author only excepted, and he can ſuffer by it, with none neither but ſuch as will not take the pains to read him in his own Language; for ſuch as cannot do it ought to reſt ſatisfied, and

provided the ſubject be without reproach, are better with an ill Tranſlation than none at all.

Such a one in plain truth is this; not that I am willing to confeſs I have much miſſed the ſenſe of the Author; but though elegant enough for thoſe times, 'tis a knotty piece in it ſelf, and though wrapt up in very good ſenſe, yet writ by the rough hand of a Soldier, and a rough one, and ſtuft up with old muſty Proverbs (the mode of wit it ſeems at that time) and ſuch as we have not ſometimes Proverbs of our own to render them by, and to Engliſh a Proverb without a Proverb, is to make that unpleaſant, and almoſt unintelligible in one Language, that is queint and elegant in another; to repair which I have in ſome places been neceſſitated almoſt to create Proverbs, or at leaſt to render his after a Proverbial way, to make them a little like the Original.

But I could wiſh this was the worſt fault the Reader will find in the Book; I am afraid it is not, and know alſo very well there are ſome others, for which no man living could provide a remedy (unleſs upon the Author's heads he would have made a Hiſtory of his own) to wit, intolerable digreſſions, and thoſe intolerably long, with ſo many, and ſo long-winded Aparentheſies, included within tedious periods, as very much take from the grace of his Style (of it ſelf a rude one) and ſtrangely perplex the Reader; for which whether I ſhould accuſe Monſieur *de Montluc's* want of Art (which he himſelf confeſſes) or the luxuriency of his fancy (which often hurries him from his ſubject) I am yet to ſeek.

I muſt alſo add, That though this Treatice have generally a very good reputation in the world, yet there are ſome, who are men of very great judgment, and who have no inclination to diſcountenance either good writings, or good men, that decry this Book for one of the vaineſt pieces that ever was writ; and indeed they have reaſon on their ſide, there being a continued thread of vanity and oſtentation throughout the whole work, *ou par tout on trouvera les Gaſconades a bon marché.* But the Author being a Gaſcon (to which Nation bragging is as natural, as bravery) and the things he relates of himſelf being undeniably true, I conceive he ought to be excuſ'd, and the rather, becauſe it is for the moſt part in vindication of himſelf from the ill offices and ſlanders of thoſe little Monſieurs of the Court, of whom he ſo often complains, and gives himſelf the beſt deſcription: a ſort of vermin, that in truth have evermore inſinuated themſelves into all Courts of Princes, eſpecially that of *France*, where the

the worthieſt men in all Ages have ever been ſubject to the clandeſtine malice, and private calumny of ſuch as durſt not ſo much as have lookt on, to have beheld the brave actions perform'd by thoſe they were not afraid to traduce, and beſpatter at the diſtance of an hundred leagues, and under the protection of their Maſter's preſence and favour.

After all theſe objections which I have here ſet down, as well to prevent others, as to excuſe my ſelf; I am now to tell you, that had I not for all this thought this Book a very good one, I ſhould have found my ſelf ſomething elſe to do; and I may venture to declare I think it ſo, ſince it has had ſo great a reputation, with almoſt all ſorts of men, that the truth of it in no one particular (that I ever heard of) was ever diſputed by any; and that it has been allowed by all to be the beſt Soldiers Book, that is, the beſt Book for the inſtruction of a Soldier that ever was writ. Never certainly were Enterprizes deſign'd with more judgment and reſolution, nor ever carried on with greater bravery and conduct than all his were; beſides the labour, hazard, and diligence, with which they were ever executed, were ſuch as perhaps had never been practis'd before, nor, for ought I ever heard or read, ever imitated by any Frenchman ſince: from whence I am apt to conclude, that either Monſieur *de Montluc* was the greateſt Soldier of a Subject that ever was in *France*, or that the Hiſtorians of that Kingdom have not been ſo juſt to the reſt, as he has been to himſelf.

I cannot deny but that to an invincible ſpirit, and an indefatigable conſtancy in ſuffering all the hardſhips of war, the fierceneſs of his nature, prompt, and perfectly Gaſcon, or elſe his zeal to Religion, and the ſervice of his Prince, or both, made him ſometimes do things which ſeem'd bloody and cruel; but the neceſſity of the time, and the growing faction of the Hugonots, would have it ſo; neither do I think (I know not how diſcreet I am in declaring ſo much) that Sacriledge and Rebellion can be too roughly handled; and ſeverity muſt needs appear a virtue, where clemency would evidently have been a vice. As to the reſt, the Reader will find his Harangues well fitted to the ſeveral occaſions, his Deliberations prudent, and well grounded, his Inſtructions ſound, his Arguments rational, his Deſcriptions plain and intelligible, and the whole well enough coucht, from a hand that was better acquainted with a Sword than a Pen, and by a man whoſe deſign, as well as profeſſion, was rather to do things worthy to be written, than to write things worthy to be read.

To

To conclude, I ſhall beg of the Reader in the behalf of the brave Author, to conſider him a poor Gentleman, bred up to Arms, by which alone he puſht on his fortune to the higheſt degree of honor, without any addition of Letters, or other advantages of education, the ordinary foundations of greatneſs, than what he forg'd out of his own courage, and form'd out of his own natural parts, which were notwithſtanding ſuch as approv'd him a Captain of extraordinary valour and conduct; and made him moreover allow'd to be a man of wit, Characters which all the Hiſtorians do generally allow him, and particularly *Davila*, though he only here and there glances upon his name. For my ſelf, I have nothing to ſay, but this, that although this be no elegant, it is nevertheleſs (if I miſtake not) an uſeful piece; and though we have loſt the uſe of Bows and Targets, yet deſign and diligence will be in faſhion, ſo long as the practice of Arms ſhall endure. I expoſe my ſhare of it then to every ones mercy, and good nature; ſuch as will buy the Book, will keep me in countenance; 'tis no matter whether they take the pains to read it or no, for by that means my Bookſeller's buſineſs will be done, and as to the reſt I ſhall not be much diſappointed, my deſign being in plain truth (though I ſhould be glad, I confeſs, and proud it might take) chiefly to paſs away my own time, and to pleaſe my ſelf.

THE

THE French Printer TO THE NOBLESS OF GASCONY

GENTLEMEN,

AS *we ſee certain Countries yield particular fruits in great abundance, which are elſewhere rarely to be found; ſo it alſo ſeems that your* Gaſcony *does ordinarily produce an infinite number of great and valiant Captains, as a fruit that is natural and peculiar to that Climate, and that comparatively the other Provinces are in a manner barren. 'Tis to her Womb that the World ſtands oblig'd for thoſe noble and illuſtrious Princes of the Houſe of* Foix, Albret, Armagnac, Cominge, Candalle, *and* Captaux de Buch. *'Tis to her that we ſtand indebted for* Pothon, *and* la Hire, *two happy Pillars, and ſingular Ornaments of the Arms of* France. *'Tis ſhe who in our dayes has acquainted the remoteſt Nations with the names of* de Termes, de Bellegarde, de la Vallette, d'Auſſun, de Gondrin, Terride, Romegas, Coſſains, Goſſas, Tilladet, Sarlabous, *and divers other brave Gentlemen of the pure and true Soil of* Gaſcony, *without mentioning thoſe at this day living; who generouſly enflam'd with the Trophies and Atchievments of their brave Predeceſſors, are emulous of their glory, and put fair for an equal ſhare of renown. 'Tis your* Gaſcony *(Gentlemen) that is the Magazine of Soldiers, the Nurſery of Arms, the Flower and Choice of the moſt warlike Nobleſs, of the whole Earth, and the Mother of ſo many renowned Leaders, as may diſpute the precedency of valour with the moſt celebrated Captains of the* Greeks *and* Romans *that ever were.*

But of all thoſe who (deſcended from your noble Families) have adorn'd the practice of Arms, no one for Proweſs, Experience, or Reſolution did ever excel this invincible Cavalier Blaize de Montluc, *Mareſchal of* France. *That Prerogative of Honor cannot be diſputed with him, no more than the gifts Heaven was pleaſed to conferre upon him of a prompt and marvelous vivacity of underſtanding; of a preſent, and nevertheleſs a very reſerved prudence, which he diſcover'd upon the moſt ſudden and ſurprizing occaſions in the management of affairs, of an admirable memory, and ſo rich, as the like is rarely to be found, of a great facility of ſpeech, ſtrong, and bold, and full of incitements of honor in the ardours of Battel; and in affairs of State, of a grave and temperate eloquence, heightned and illuſtrated with Propoſitions, Reaſons, and Arguments, and all accompanied with ſo clear and lively a judgment, that although he was deſtitute of Letters, the beauty of his natural parts notwithſtanding darkned the ſplendor of thoſe, who to a long experience in affairs, had joyn'd a perfect and exact knowledg of the profoundeſt Arts and Myſteries, both of books and men.*

The greateſt part of you who knew him, and have often fought under his Enſign, ſtand in need of no other teſtimony than your own knowledg: but the younger ſort, who never had the good fortune to ſee this great man, beſides what they may have gather'd by report, will perfectly know and underſtand him by his own Commentaries, the actions whereof you have ſeen him perform when living, and which he dictated when ſick, and languiſhing of that great Harquebuze ſhot which ſhatter'd his face at the Siege of Rabaſteins, *where for a farewel to Arms he ſerv'd his Prince in the quality of Pioneer, Soldier, Captain, and General at once, after which from his Bed to his Grave this generous ſoul could never find any reſt, which he was wont to ſay was his capital Enemy, and gave him occaſion towards his end to command this Diſtick to be engrav'd upon his Tomb.*

Cy deſſous repoſent les Os
De MONTLUC, qui n'euſt onc repos.

Here with repoſe Montluc *lies bleſt,*
Who living never could find reſt.

Seeing then, that aſſiſted by your valours, he has ſo fortunately perform'd ſo many glorious feats of Arms; I conceiv'd it but reaſonable that this Dedication ſhould addreſs it ſelf to you, that you might enjoy the fruits, and have the pleaſure of reading thoſe actions repeated in his Writings, and of ſeeing the names of your noble Anceſtors recorded

to poſterity in a Chronicle of Honor. And, if I miſtake not, there will hardly be found a Hiſtory more repleat with variety, more grateful to the Reader, and more rich in inſtructions for the conduct and direction both of Peace and War than this, where (I fancy at leaſt) the difference betwixt a Hiſtory compil'd by a ſedentary man, bred up tenderly and delicately in the duſt of old Studies and old Books, and one writ by an old Captain, and a Soldier brought up in the duſt and ſmoak of Armies and Battels will eaſily be diſcern'd.

I know not what ancient Hiſtories have the vertue in a little ſpace to render thoſe who read them with the greateſt diligence and obſervation very wiſe and circumſpect Leaders: but if any ſuch there be, this, above all others, will eaſily obtein the precedence, and enform you (generous Nobleſs) of all the good and evil events that attend the fortune, or misfortune, the valour or the cowardize, the prudence or inconſideration of him who is Chief or General of an Army, or who is Prince or Sovereign of a mighty Kingdom. You have here wherewith to delight your fancy, to diſcretion your valour, to martialize your wiſdom, and to form the true honor of a School of War. The Commentaries of this ſecond Cæſar *will make you Doctors in Military Diſcipline, and will ſerve you for Model, Mirror, and Exemple; they have no fictitious luſtre, no affected artifice, no foreign ornament of borrowed beauty. 'Tis nothing but ſimple Truth that is nakedly preſented before you.*

Theſe are the conceptions of a ſtrong, ſound, and healthful digeſtion, that relliſh of their original and native ſoil, bold, and vigorous conceptions, reteining yet the breath, vigour, and fierceneſs of the Author. This is he, who having the firſt arriv'd to the higheſt ſtep of all the degrees and dignities of War, has highly promoted the honor of your Country both by his Sword and his Pen, and to ſuch a degree, that the name of the Montluc's *ſhall glorioufly live in the memory of a long and ſucceſsful poſterity, manifeſting without envy to ſucceeding Ages, that your Captain and Hiſtorian, as he knew how prudently to enterprize, and bravely to execute what he had deſign'd, was no leſs good at his Pen, but equally eminent in that faculty, to record with truth and judgment, what he had acted before with the greateſt courage and conduct.*

On the brave Mareſchal de Montluc, *and his Commentaries writ by his own hand.*

MONTLUC, how far I am unfit
To praiſe thy valour, or thy wit,
Or give my ſuffrage to thy fame,
Who have my ſelf ſo little name,
And can ſo ill thy worth expreſs,
I bluſhing modeſtly confeſs;
Yet when I read their better lines,
Who to commend thy brave deſigns,
Their Panegyricks have ſet forth.
And do conſider thy great worth;
Though what they write may be more high,
They yet fall ſhort as well as I.
Whoſe is that Pen ſo well can write
As thou couldſt both command, and fight?
Or whilſt thou foughtſt who durſt look on,
To make a true deſcription?
None but thy ſelf had heart to view
Thoſe Acts thou hadſt the heart to do,
Thy ſelf muſt thy own deeds commend,
By thy own hand they muſt be pen'd,
Which skill'd alike in Pen and Sword,
At once muſt act, and muſt record.
Thus *Cæſar* in his Tent at night,
The Actions of the day did write,
And viewing what h'ad done before,
Emulous of himſelf, yet more,
And greater things perform'd, until
His arm had overdone his will,
So as to make him almoſt fit
To doubt the truth of what he writ.
Yet what he did, and writ, though more,
Than ere was done, or writ before;
Montluc by thee, and thee alone,
Are parallel'd, if not outdone,
And *France* in Ages yet to come,
Shall ſhew as great a man as *Rome*.
Hadſt thou been living, and a man,
When that great *Cæſar* overran
The antient *Gauls*, though in a time,
When Soldiery was in its prime;
When the whole world in plumes were curl'd,
And he the Soldier of the world,
His conqu'ring Legions doubtleſs had
By thy as conqu'ring arms been ſtayd:
And his proud Eagle that did ſoar
To dare the trembling world before,

Whoſe Quarry Crowns and Kingdoms were,
Had met another Eagle here,
As much as ſhe diſdain'd the Lure,
Could fly as high, and ſtoop as ſure.
Then to diſpute the worlds Command
You two had fought it hand to hand,
And there the Aquitanick *Gaul*
Maintain'd one glorious day for all.
But for one Age 't had been too much
T'have had two Leaders, and two ſuch;
Two for one world are ſure enow,
And thoſe at diſtant Ages too.
If to a Macedonian Boy
One world too little ſeem'd t'enjoy;
One world for certain could not brook
At once a *Cæſar*, and *Montluc*,
But muſt give time for either's birth;
Nature had ſuffer'd elſe, and th' Earth
That truckled under each alone,
Under them both had ſunk and gone.
Yet though their noble Names, alike
With wonder, and with terror ſtrike;
Cæſar's, though greater in Command,
Muſt give *Montluc*'s the better hand;
Who though a younger Son of Fame,
A greater has, and better Name.
With equal courage, but worſe cauſe,
That trampled on his Country's Laws,
And like a bold, but treacherous friend,
Enſlaved thoſe he ſhould defend:
Whilſt this by no ambition ſway'd
But what the love of glory made,
With equal bravery, and more true
Maintain'd the right that overthrew.
His Vict'ries as th' encreaſt his power
Laid thoſe for whom he fought ſtill lower;
Abroad with their victorious Bands,
He conquer'd Provinces and Lands,
Whilſt the world's conqu'ring Princeſs *Rome*
Was her own Servants' ſlave at home.
Thy courage brave *Montluc* we find
To be of a more generous kind,
Thy ſpirit, loyal, as 't was brave,
Was evermore employ'd to ſave,
Or to enlarge thy Country's bounds,
Thine were the ſweat, the blood, the wounds,
The toyl, the danger, and the pain;
But hers, and only hers the gain.
His wars were to oppreſs and grieve,
Thine to defend, or to relieve:
Yet each to glory had pretence,
Though ſuch as ſhew'd the difference,

By their advantages, and harms
'Twixt Infidel and Chriſtian Arms.
France, *Piedmont*, *Tuſcany*, and *Rome*,
Have each a Trophy for thy Tomb:
Sienna too, that nature ſtrain'd,
Only to honor thy command,
Proud of thy name will be content,
It ſelf to be thy monument:
But thine own *Guienne* will deny
Thoſe noble Relicks elſewhere lye;
But there enſhrin'd now thou art dead,
Where (to its glory) thou wert bred.
O fruitful *Gaſcony*! whoſe fields
Produce what ever Nature yields.
Fertile in valour as in fruit,
And more than fruitful in repute,
How do I honor thy great Name,
For all thoſe glorious Sons of Fame,
Which from thy fair womb taking birth,
Have overſpread the ſpacious Earth.
Yet ſtands the world oblig'd for none,
Nor all thy Heroes more than one;
One brave *Montluc* had crown'd thee Queen,
Though all the reſt had never been.
Paſt times admir'd this General,
The preſent do, and future ſhall;
Nay whilſt there ſhall be men to read
The glorious actions of the dead,
Thy Book in Ages yet unborn
The nobleſt Archives ſhall adorn,
And with his Annals equal be,
Who fought, and writ the beſt but thee.

Charles Cotton.

On the Commentaries of Meſſire Blaize de Montluc.

To the Worthy Tranſlator.

HE that would aptly write of Warlike Men,
Should make his Ink of bloud, a Sword his Pen;
At leaſt he muſt Their Memories abuſe
Who writes with leſs than *Maro*'s mighty Muſe;
All (Sir) that I could ſay on this great Theme
(The brave *Montluc*) would leſſen his eſteem;
Whoſe Laurels too much native Verdure have,
To need the praiſes vulgar Chaplets crave:

His

His own bold hand, what it durſt write, durſt do,
Grappled with Enemies, and Oblivion too;
Hew'd its own Monument, and grav'd thereon
It's deep and durable Inſcription.

To you (Sir) to whom the valiant Author owes
His ſecond Life and Conqueſt o're his Foes,
Ill natur'd Foes, Time and Detraction;
What is a Strangers Contribution!
Who has not ſuch a ſhare of Vanity
To dream that one, who with ſuch Induſtry
Obliges all the world, can be oblig'd by me.

Thomas Flatman.

On the Commentaries of Montluc *tranſlated.*

I Never yet the French Tongue underſtood,
Which may (what e're their Faſhions are) be good;
Yet ſuch as I, by your induſtrious hand,
Come now them and their State to underſtand.
This, and your well-tranſlated *Eſpernon*,
Make thoſe brave Hiſtories of *France* our own.
Sir, theſe are noble Works, and ſuch as do.
Name you Tranſlator, and the Author too.
You are our Author, and our thanks to you
(As yours to their Hiſtorians) are due.
Nay ev'n the *French* themſelves muſt thank you too:
For we (and we are the major part) who know
Nothing of them, but what is noiſe and ſhew.
Hard names for damn'd courſe Stuffs, ſtinking Meat,
Adulterate Wine, ſtrange Habits, Legs and Faces,
Might juſtly look on *France*, (not to ſpeak worſe)
To be of theſe the Mother, or the Nurſe.
But us you undeceive, and do them right,
By theſe exact Tranſlations which you write,
And we who underſtand no French, now find
You are both juſt to them, and to us kind.

R. Newcourt.

ERRATA.

ERRATA.

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THE

Blasij Monluci Franciæ Mareschalli
Vera Effigies

THE COMMENTARIES OF *Meßire Blaize de Montluc*, MARESCHAL of FRANCE.

The Firſt Book.

BEing at the Age of threeſcore and fifteen retir'd home to my own Houſe, there to ſeek ſome little Repoſe after the infinite Pains and Labours I had undergone, during the ſpace of above fifty years, that I bore Arms for the ſeveral Kings my Maſters, in which Service I paſt all the Degrees and through all the Orders of Soldier, Enſign, Lieutenant, Captain, Camp-Maſter, Governour of Places, his Majeſties Lieutenant in the Provinces of *Tuſcany* and *Guienne*, and Mareſchal of *France*: finding my ſelf maimed in almoſt all my Limbs, with Harquebuz-Shots, Cuts and Thruſts with Pikes and Swords, and by that means rendred almoſt uſeleſs and good for nothing, without ſtrength or hope ever to be cured of that great Harquebuz-Shot in my Face, and after having reſign'd my Government of *Guienne* into his Majeſties hands: I thought fit to employ the Remainder of my Life in a Deſcription of the ſeveral Combats, wherein I have been perſonally engag'd in the ſpace of two and fifty years, that I had the Honour to command: aſſuring my ſelf, that the Captains who ſhall take the pains to read my Life, will therein meet with Paſſages, that may be uſeful to them in the like Occaſions, and of which ſome Advantage may be made to the acquiring of Honour and Renown. And although I have in the ſeveral Engagements I have undertaken (and ſome of them perhaps without great Reaſon on my ſide juſtifie my Proceedings) been exceedingly fortunate, and ſucceſsful beyond all humane Aim; I would not yet any one ſhould conceive that I attribute the Succeſs or the Glory thereof to any other than to God alone; and indeed whoever ſhall conſider the Dangers and Difficulties I have gone through and overcome, cannot but therein acknowledge his Almighty and immediate Arm. Neither have I ever fail'd to implore his Aſſiſtance in all my Undertakings, and that with great Confidence in his Grace and Mercy, and Aſſurance of it; wherein his Divine Majeſty has been pleaſed ſo far to be gratiouſly aſſiſting to me, that I have never been defeated nor ſurpriz'd in any Exploit of War, where I have been in command; but on the contrary have ever carried away Victory and Honour. And it is very neceſſary and fit, that all we who bear Arms, ſhould ever conſider and always confeſs, that we, of our ſelves, can do nothing without his Divine Bounty, which inſpires us with Courage, and ſupplies us with Strength to attempt and execute thoſe great and hazardous Enterpriſes which preſent themſelves to our Undertaking.

And becauſe ſome of thoſe who ſhall read theſe Commentaries (for it will be very hard to pleaſe all, though ſome will ſet a juſt value upon my Book) may perhaps think it ſtrange, and accuſe me of Vain-Glory for writing my own Actions; and ſay, that I ought in Modeſty to have transferred that Work to another Hand: I ſhall tell ſuch once for all, that in writing the Truth, and attributing to God the Glory thereof, there

will be no harm done: Neither (beſides that the Teſtimonies of ſeveral Men of Honour yet living will juſtifie the Truth of what I ſhall deliver) can any one give a better Account of the Deſigns, Enterprizes, and Executions, and the Actions happening thereupon, than my ſelf, who was an Eye-witneſs, and an Actor in them all; and who alſo deſign not herein to deprive any one of his due and particular Honour.

Cæſar. The greateſt Captain that ever liv'd was *Cæſar*, and he has led me the way, having himſelf writ his own Commentaries, and being careful to record by Night the Actions he perform'd by Day. I would therefore by his Exemple contrive mine, how rude and impoliſht ſoever (as coming from the hand of a Soldier, and moreover a *Gaſcon*, who has ever been more ſolicitous to do, than to write or to ſpeak well) Wherein ſhall be comprehended all the Exploits of War, in which I have either been perſonally engaged, or that have bren performed by my Direction; and thoſe beginning from my greener years, when I firſt came into the World; to ſignifie to ſuch as I ſhall leave behind me, how reſtleſs I (who am at this day the oldeſt Captain in *France*) have ever been in the Search and Acquiſition of Honour, in performing Services for the Kings my Maſters, which was my ſole and only end, ever flying all the Pleaſures and Delights, which uſually divert young men whom God has endowed with any commendable Qualities, and who are upon the point of their Advancement, from the Paths of true Virtue and undiſputed Greatneſs. A Book not intended however for the Learned Men of the World, they have Hiſtorians enough of their own, but for a Soldier, and wherein a Captain, and perhaps a Lieutenant of a Province may find ſomething that may be worth his Obſervation. At the leaſt I can affirm that I have written the Truth; having my Memory as good and entire at this inſtant as ever, and being as perfect in the Names both of Men and Places, as if all things had paſt but yeſterday, as yet I never committed any thing to Paper, for I never thought at ſuch an Age as this, to undertake any thing of this kind: which whether I have well or ill performed, I refer my ſelf to ſuch, as ſhall do me the Honour to read my Book, which is properly an Account of my own Life.

To you therefore (Captains my Companions) it is, that this Treatiſe does principally addreſs itſelf, to whom peradventure it may in ſome meaſure be uſeful. And you ought to believe that having ſo many years been in the ſame Command wherein you now are, and having ſo long diſcharg'd the Office of a Captain of Foot, and thrice that of Camp Maſter and Colonel, I muſt needs have retein'd ſomething of that Condition, and that in a long Experience I have ſeen great Honours confer'd upon ſome, and great Diſgraces befal others of that Degree. There have been ſome who in my time have been caſhier'd and degraded their Nobility, others who have loſt their Lives upon a Scaffold, others diſhonoured and diſmiſt to their own Houſes, without ever having been more regarded either by the King or any other: And on the contrary, I have ſeen others who have trail'd a Pike at ſix Francs pay, arrive at great Preferments, performing things ſo brave, and manifeſting themſelves men of ſo great Capacity, that ſeveral who in their Original have been no better than the Sons of poor labouring Men, have rais'd themſelves above many of the Nobility by their Proweſs and Virtue. Of all which having my ſelf been an Eye-Witneſs, I am able to give a preciſe and a true Account. And although I my ſelf am a Gentleman by Birth, yet have I notwithſtanding been rais'd to that degree of Honour wherein I now ſtand, as leiſurely, and as much ſtep by ſtep, as any the pooreſt Soldier who has ſerv'd in this Kingdom theſe many years. For being born into the World the Son of a Gentleman, whoſe Father had made ſale of all his Eſtate, to only eight hundred or a thouſand Livres yearly Revenue, and being the eldeſt of ſix Brothers that we were, I thought it principally concern'd me to illuſtrate the Name of *Montluc* (which is that of our Family) as I have alſo done with as much Peril, and as many Hazards of my Life, as Soldier or Captain ever did; and that without ever having the leaſt Reproach from thoſe by whom I was commanded; but on the contrary with as much Favour and Eſteem as ever any Captain had who bore Arms in the Armies, wherein I had the Honour to ſerve. Inſomuch that whenever there happened any Enterpriſe of Importance, or Danger, the Kings Lieutenants, and Collonels, would as ſeon, or ſooner, put me upon it, as any other Captain of the Army; of which the enſuing pages will give you ſufficient Teſtimony.

Play, Drink, and Avarice pernicious to Men in Command.

From the time therefore that I was firſt advanc'd to the Degree of an Enſign, I made it my buſineſs to underſtand the Duty of an Officer, and to learn to be wiſe by the Exemple of ſuch as committed Overſights, or were otherwiſe negligent in their Command. To which purpoſe I firſt totally wean'd my ſelf from Play, Drink, and Avarice; as knowing

knowing well, that all Captains of that Complexion, are ſo unfit ever to arrive at any thing of Great, as to be much more likely to fall into the before-nam'd Misfortunes. That Knowledge it was that made me poſitively reſolve againſt all theſe three things, which Youth is very prone unto, and which are very prejudicial to the Reputation of a Chief. Of theſe Play is of ſuch a Nature, that it ſubjects a man, neither to do nor intend any other thing, and that whether he win or loſe; for if you win, you are evermore ſolicitous to find out new Gameſters, being prepoſſeſt with an Opinion, that you ſhall ſtill win more, and continue in that Error until all be loſt. Being reduc'd to this point you run almoſt into Deſpair, and meditate nothing day nor night, but where and how to get more money to play again, and to try to recover your Loſſes by a better Hand. In which Condition how can you think to acquit your ſelf of the Charge the King has put into your hands, when you ſhall wholly bend your Study, and employ your whole time in another thing, and inſtead of contriving how to over-reach your Enemy by laudable Stratagems of War, you plot nothing elſe, but how to ruin your Camrade and Friend by an infamous Cheat at Cards or Dice? This muſt of neceſſity wholly divert you from your Duty; whereas you ought to be continually amongſt your Soldiers, and ſo frequent, as if poſſible to know every man by his diſtinct Name; and that for theſe two Ends, firſt to prevent any Acts of Inſolence in their Quarters, for which you may expect and fear a juſt Reproach from the Lieutenant of the Province or your own immediate Colonel: And in the next place to take care that there happen no Mutiny amongſt them; nothing being more pernicious to a Company, nor of more dangerous Conſequence to an Army, than mutinous Spirits. And how can you poſſibly have an Eye to ſuch Diſorders, or give any tolerable Account of the Truſt repoſed in you, when your Heart ſhall be wholly bent upon Play; that will alarm you a hundred and a hundred times a day, and put you beſides your ſelf. Fly then (my dear Companions) fly I beſeech you this hateful Vice, which I have often known to be the Ruine of many, not only in their Fortunes; but which is more, and that ought to be dearer, in their Honour and Reputation.

Now for what concerns Wine; if you be ſubject to debauch, you cannot avoid falling into as many and as great Inconveniences as he that Plays; for nothing in the World ſo much ſtupefies the underſtanding of a Man, and that inclines him ſo much to ſleep, as Wine. If you drink but little you will conſequently not eat too much; for Wine calls upon the Appetite to eat, that you may the longer enjoy the Pleaſure of Drinking: So that in the end being full of Meat and Drink before you riſe from Table, it will be neceſſary to go ſleep, and perhaps at ſuch a time when you ought to be amongſt your Soldiers and Companions, near your Colonel and Camp-Maſter, to enquire what News or Orders they have received from the Kings Lieutenant, that you may know when any Occaſion is preſented, wherein you may employ your Valour and Wiſdom. To this; Exceſs in Wine brings along with it another and extreme Danger, which is, that a Captain being drunk knows not how himſelf to command, and leſs how to permit others to do it; but will fall to ſtriking and beating his Soldiers without all Senſe or Reaſon; whereas, if there were a juſt Occaſion, he ought firſt to chaſtiſe his Soldier with Remonſtrances, mixt with ſome tart Menaces and Reproofs, giving him to underſtand, that if he relapſe into the ſame Offence, he is to expect nothing but an exemplary Puniſhment. And is it not better to chaſtiſe your Soldier with Words and Threats, than with Baſtinadoes, Cuts and Thruſts, killing him or maiming of his Limbs which Wine will prompt you to do? Neither muſt you expect to be the more fear'd for ſuch Uſage of your men, but on the contrary mortally hated by all your Soldiers. And what rare Exploits can you think to perform with men that hate you? I beſeech you believe me, for I have ſeen the Experience of it, as much as another of my Age, I have ſeen no leſs than four Captains die by the hands of their own Soldiers, who have aſſaſſinated them behind, for the ill Uſage they have receiv'd at their hands. They are Men as we are, not Beaſts; if we be Gentlemen, they are Soldiers; they have Arms in their Hands, which inſpire Mettle into any man's Breſt, that bears them. Wine is apt to make you unreaſonable and bloody for the leaſt Offence, and that without all manner of Diſcretion, for you are not your ſelves. Moreover, neither the Kings Lieutenant, nor your own Colonel, nor Camp-Maſter will ever put you upon any Enterprize of Honour, that might perhaps procure your Advancement; but will ſay, Shall we entruſt an Execution of this importance to ſuch an one as will be drunk, when he ought to have his Wits about him to know and diſcern what he has to do? He will do nothing but throw away ſo many men, and by his ill Conduct bring upon us Loſs and Confuſion. O the vile Repute that this

Wine will brand you withal, when nothing of good ſhall be expected from you! Fly then (my Companions) fly then this Vice, equally hateful, and more beaſtly, and ſcandalous, than the former.

A Captain likewiſe ſhould in no manner be covetous; for though Wine and Play may moſt aptly be term'd Companions, yet Avarice is alſo one of the Gang that occaſions a million of Miſchiefs, and brings as great or greater Inconveniences upon a Leader, as any other Vice whatever. For in the firſt place, if you ſuffer your ſelf to be carried away by this inſatiate Thirſt of getting, it is moſt certain, that you ſhall never have a Soldier worth any thing under your Command; all the good Men will avoid you, and report of you, that you value a *French* Crown more than a valiant Man; ſo that you ſhall never have men of any Reſolution about you, but ſuch as upon the firſt Occaſion wherein you ought to give a Teſtimony of your Valour and Conduct, will leave you in the lurch, where you muſt either fly to your eternal Infamy, or ſtay to loſe your Life, and that without any hopes notwithſtanding, whether you live or die, ever to recover your Reputation. For if you be kild, though you have done bravely in your own perſon, every one will be apt to ſay, that your great Avarice brought you to your Ruine, for want of good men to ſtand faithfully by you; and if you ſave your ſelf by running away, be you ſure you will imprint ſuch a mark in your Fore-heads, as it will be hard ever to waſh away; at leaſt you will be oblig'd to hazard your Life upon all Occaſions more than another man, to clear the Prejudice that all men will have againſt you, and to wipe away the Blemiſh wherewith you have ſpotted your Reputation; wherein 'tis great odds you will loſe either Life or Limb. And after all (as it is the ordinary Recompence of men who are more than commonly adventurous upon ſuch occaſions) for the Reward of your Merit it ſhall be ſaid, that the Deſpair of your former Miſcarriage, has puſh'd you upon the Execution you ſhall have perform'd, and not your own Bravery and Reſolution. O how many more Misfortunes could I here reckon, that have befaln, and do daily befal Commanders, who have been and are tainted with this avaritious humor?

I know you will ask me now, what ſhall we do, if we do not lay up money, and clip the Soldiers Pay? When the War is at an end, we muſt go to the Hoſpital, for neither the King nor any one elſe will regard us, and we are poor of our ſelves. But can you imagine that a wiſe and valiant Captain, a man of great Attempt and Execution ſhall be ſent to ſtarve in an Hoſpital, as if ſuch men flutter'd in a Camp by hundreds; It were well for the King and the whole Kingdom, if there were but a dozen ſuch in an Army. Put forward then to get but a Leg amongſt this dozen, and try to get in by your Valour, Wiſdom, and Virtue. For theſe twelve cannot live for ever, and one being dead, though you cannot skrew in your whole Body at that time, yet you may edge in the one half, and the next that dies, you are in. And can you then believe, that either the King or any of the Princes, who have taken cognizance of your Valour, will ſuffer you to go to the Hoſpital? This is an Apprehenſion ſo unbecoming a wiſe and valiant Captain, that it is only ſutable to Drunkards, Gameſters, and mean hide-bound fellows of no Value nor Account. And whoever applies himſelf to great and generous Actions, and has a care with Diligence and virtuous Reſolution to exclude and baniſh from his Thoughts all the fore-mention'd Vices, nothing can be wanting to him. I have ſaid that it were a great deal, if there were a dozen only ſuch men in an Army; but if there were an hundred, yet the King is rich enough to provide that men of that Merit need not be ſent to the Hoſpital. Or ſuppoſe that the King could not ſuddenly provide for the ſupport of ſuch deſerving men; there is notwithſtanding no Prince, nor any other great Perſon, who has been engag'd in the War, where you ſhall have ſignaliz'd your ſelves for men of Honour, who will not be proud to receive and take ſome one into his Care and Protection, and that will not take hold of all occaſions of doing you a good Office to the King, and of advancing you into ſome degree, and then on the other ſide, can you think the King will always continue you in the ſame Condition, or leave you in the ſame Command? Do not believe it, but aſſure your ſelves, that ſuch men will be lookt after, on whom to confer the Care and Honour of greater Employments, who have honourably diſcharged thoſe of leſs moment and account.

A brave Man is never to deſpair of his Fortune.

I pray what was I, but a poor Soldier like one of you? What were, or what yet are ſo many valiant Captains yet living, for whom the King and all Mankind have a ſingular Eſteem? Have we who are yet in being enrich'd our ſelves by nimming from our Soldiers Pay? Have we purchas'd any great Eſtates out of the Thefts of our Commands? I could name ſome of our own Country of *Guienne* (who could get nothing but

but I muſt know it, no more than I could unknown to them) who have never got five Hundred Crowns by their Service; and yet are thoſe men deſpis'd? Are they ſent to the Hoſpital? The King, the Queen, the Monſieur, all the Princes of the Bloud, and all the Lords of the Court have ſo great a Reſpect for theſe men, out of the eſteem every one has of their Valour, that they have got the ſtart of many great men in the Kingdom. Nay when they are in their own Country (where no man is a Prophet) they are there honour'd by men of all ſorts and conditions, not from the Families from whence they are deſcended, nor for the Poſſeſſions they enjoy; but upon the ſingle account of their own Merit. Now there are ſome who perhaps will ſay, If I do not purloin from the King, and poll from the Soldier, now whilſt I am in Command, how ſhall I make Proviſion for my Children? To which I ſhall return, Would you enrich your Children with an ill Reputation and an infamous Name? A pretious Inheritance you will leave them, when for ſhame of your Miſcarriages and Miſdemeanours, they ſhall be forced to hang down their heads amongſt the Great ones, from whom they ſhould derive their Fortunes and receive honourable Commands. What Difference will there then be betwixt the Reception and Eſteem the King and all the Princes will then make of the Sons of ſuch Fathers as I have mentioned, and of yours, who will not dare to appear before Men of Honour, having their Faces covered with their Fathers Shame? But perhaps ſome one may ſay, that I for my part, by the Places and Commands I have been inveſted withal by the King, have rais'd great Profits and got a great Eſtate, and therefore may talk at my eaſe: But I proteſt before Almighty God, and call him to witneſs, that in my whole Life I never had thirty Crowns more than my Pay; and what Condition ſoever I have been in, or what honourable Commiſſions ſoever I have had, whether in *Italy*, or in *France*, I have ever been neceſſitated to borrow money to carry me home.

At my Return from *Sienna*, where I had the Honour to command in the quality of the Kings Lieutenant, Monſieur the *Mareſchal de Stroſſy* gave me five hundred Crowns. When I returned a ſecond time from *Montalſin*, Monſieur *Beauclair*, who was our Treaſurer, was fain to examine all the Purſes in Town to provide me three hundred and fifty Crowns to carry me to *Ferrara*, and yet I had no leſs than ten Gentlemen in my Company. The Duke of *Ferrara* furniſh'd me with a ſupply when I put my ſelf into *Verſeil*, and afterwards to carry me to *Lions*, where I found in *Catherin Ican* the Poſt-Maſters hand, two or three thouſand Franes that *Martineau* had there depoſited for me, of my Pay, with which I defrayed my Charges to Court. To a worthy and a brave man, nothing can ever be wanting. Now would I fain know, if for all this I ever went to the Hoſpital, and whether I have not advantaged my ſelf a hundred times more in ſerving my Kings and Maſters, in all Integrity and Loyalty, than by all the Tricks and Shifts I could have? Oh (my Companions) take exemple by thoſe who for having been loyal in their Charges, can walk with their Faces erect before all the World, and are therefore honoured and eſteemed by all ſorts of men; and not by ſuch who by the Conſcience of their Crimes are conſtrained to hide their heads in their houſes, or that make their Poſterity bluſh for them. Wealth will fall upon you when you leaſt dream on 't, or expect it; and one Reward or Bounty from the King, is worth more than all the ſharking Tricks, Thefts, and Larcenies of your whole Life.

O how happy are thoſe Soldiers, who follow Leaders, that for their Proweſs and Virtue are eſteem'd by all the World! How ſecure are their Lives and Honours under ſuch Captains, and into what Diſaſters and Diſgraces do thoſe frequently fall, who follow the more unworthy ſort of men. For with the former you ſhall learn and acquire Honour and Renown, that will raiſe you to an equal degree with your Chiefs, and on the contrary following the latter, you ſhall learn nothing but Vices, or at leaſt things of very little Value, and they will rather lead you on to the ruine of your Lives, than to the Advancement of your Honour and the Improvement of your Name, there being nothing elſe to be learn'd of ſuch as have no Valour nor Virtue in themſelves. A man may ſerve a long Apprenticeſhip under a bad Maſter, and perhaps, not be much the wiſer when he has done: but provided you be free from the three fore-mentioned Vices, and that you have Honour in your Proſpect, it is impoſſible but that all things muſt ſucceed with you; at leaſt you will have the Satisfaction of a noble End, if you propoſe to your ſelves to die like men of Honour, which is the ordinary Recompence of War, and what every brave Man ſhould heartily wiſh.

There yet remains a fourth, which if you cannot wholly avoid; yet go to it as ſel-

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dom, and as ſoberly as you can, and without loſing your ſelves in the Labyrinth and that is, the Love of Women. Imbark not by any means in that Affair, for it is utterly an Enemy to an heroick Spirit. Leave Love at home whileſt *Mars* is in the field; you will afterwards have but too much leiſure for thoſe Delights. I can ſafely ſay, that never any fond Affection, or affectionate Folly of that kind could ever divert me from undertaking and executing what was given me in command. Such little Amoroſo's as theſe are fitter to handle a Diſtaff than a Sword. Love is a great Enemy to a Soldier, and beſides the debauch and the time loſt in thoſe little Intrigues, it is an Occupation that begets a numberleſs number of Quarrels, and ſometimes even with your deareſt Friends. I have known more People fight even upon this account, than upon the ſcore of Honour. And what a horrid thing it is, that a man ſhould forfeit his Reputation, and very often loſe his Life for the Love of a Woman! As for you Soldiers, above all things I recommend to you the Obedience that you owe to your Commanders, to the end that you may one day learn how to command: for it is impoſſible that Soldier ſhould ever know how to command, who has not firſt learn'd to obey: And take notice, that the Virtues and Diſcretion of a Soldier are chiefly manifeſted in his Obedience, and in his Diſobedience lies the Ruin of his Life and Honour. A reſty Horſe never yet made good Proof. The Proverb will ſerve, and you ought not to ſlight the Advice I give you, if but in reſpect to my Experience, who have ſeen a great deal; and I muſt needs be a very ignorant and ſenſeleſs fellow, if in all this time of my Life, I have made no Obſervations of the Succeſſes and Misfortunes both of the one and the other. But I have committed ſome to memory, and that is it which has given me occaſion to write this Book in the latter end of my days.

Monſieur *Montluc's* Education.

Having in my greener years been bred up in the Family of *Anthony* Duke of *Lorain*, and now grown up towards a Man, I was preſently preferred to an Archer's Place in the Dukes own Company, Monſieur *Bayard* being at that time Lieutenant to the ſame. Not long after being enflam'd with the Report of the noble Feats of Arms every day perform'd in *Italy*, which in thoſe days was the Scene of Action, I was poſſeſs'd with a longing deſire to viſit that Country. To this end making a Journey into *Gaſcony*, I made ſhift to procure of my Father a little Money and a *Spaniſh* Horſe, and without further delay began my Journey in order to my Deſign, leaving to Fortune the hopes

His firſt Sally.

of my future Advancement and Honour. About a days Journey from my Fathers houſe, and near unto *Leitoure*, I turn'd a little out of my way to viſit the Sieur *de Caſtetnau*, an antient Gentleman who had long frequented *Italy*, of him to inform my ſelf at large of the State, Condition, Manners and Cuſtoms of that Country in order to my future Conduct. This Gentleman told me ſo many things, and related to me ſo many brave Exploits which were there every day perform'd, that without longer abode, or ſtaying any where longer than to refreſh my ſelf and my Horſe, I paſt over the *Alpes*, and took my way directly to *Milan*. Being come to *Milan*, I there found two Uncles of mine by my Mothers ſide, call'd the *Stillatts*, both of them men of great Reputation and Eſteem, of which the one ſerv'd under Monſieur *de Leſcut*, Brother to Monſieur *de Lautrec* (the ſame who was afterwards Mareſchal of *France*, and then known by the Name of the *Mareſchal de Foix*) by whom I was preſently put into an Archers place in his own Company, a Place of great Repute in thoſe days, there being in thoſe times ſeveral Lords and great Perſons who rode in Troops, and two or three who were Archers in this; but ſince that Diſcipline is loſt and grown degenerate, and all things are turn'd upſide down, without hopes that any man now alive ſhall ever ſee them reſtor'd to their former Eſtate.

At this time the War betwixt *Francis* the Firſt and the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth broke out again with greater Fury than before, the later to drive us out of *Italy*, and we to maintain our Footing there, though it was only to make it a place of Sepulture to a world of brave and valiant *French*. God Almighty rais'd up theſe two great Princes ſworn Enemies to' one another, and emulous of one anothers Greatneſs; an Emulation that has coſt the Lives of two hundred thouſand Perſons, and brought a million of Families to utter Ruin; when after all neither the one nor the other obtein'd any other advantage by the Diſpute, than the bare Repentance of having been the cauſers of ſo many Miſeries, and of the Effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Bloud. If God had pleas'd that theſe two Monarchs might have underſtood one another, the whole Earth had trembled under their Arms; and *Solyman* who was contemporary with them, and who during their Conteſts enlarg'd his Empire on every ſide, would have had enough to do to defend his own. The Emperour was, 'tis true, a great and a magnanimous Prince, yet in nothing ſuperiour to our Maſter, during his Life, ſaving

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in a little better Succeſs, and in that God gave him the Grace to bewail his Sins in a Convent, into which he retir'd himſelf two or three years before his Death. During the ſpace of two and twenty months that this War continued, I had the good fortune to be an Eye-witneſs of ſeveral very brave Actions, which were very fit to ſeaſon a raw Soldier; neither did I fail continually to preſent my ſelf in all places and upon all occaſions, where I thought Honour was to be purchas'd at what price ſoever; and it is to be imagin'd I had my ſhare of fighting, when I had no leſs than five horſes kill'd under me in the ſhort continuance of that Service, and of thoſe two in two days, which Monſieur *de Roquelaure*, who was Coſen-Germain to my Mother, was pleaſed to give me. For in this beginning of my armes I had the good fortune to gain ſo far upon the affections of the whole Company, that my horſes being loſt, every one was willing to help to remount me, and being moreover taken priſoner in Battel, I was ſoon after delivered by the procurement of my friends.

Five horſes kill'd under Monſieur *Montluc*.

Let ſuch therefore as intend to acquire honour by feats of Arms, reſolve to ſhut their eyes to all hazards, and dangers whatever, in the firſt encounter where they ſhall happen to be preſent; for that's the time when every one has his eyes fix'd upon them, to obſerve their behaviour, and thence to form a judgment of their future hopes. If in the beginning they ſhall, by any handſom action, ſignalize their courage, and boldneſs, it ſets a good mark upon them for ever, and not only makes them noted, and regarded by all: but moreover inſpires them themſelves with mettle, and vigour to perform more, and greater things. Now you muſt know that in this War we loſt the Dutchy of *Millan*. Of which (though I do not pretend to be any great Clerk) I could write the true Hiſtory, and ſhould his Majeſty command me, I would deliver the truth, and I am able to give as good an account (though I was my ſelf very young at that time) as any man whatever in *France*, I mean of thoſe paſſages where I had the fortune to be preſent, and no other; for I will write nothing by hearſay. But I intend not to buſie my ſelf with a Relation of other mens actions, and leſs of the faults, and overſights by them committed, though they are yet as freſh in my memory, as at that moment; and ſeeing that what I my ſelf perform'd in that Country, at that time, was in the quality of a private Souldier only, I being not as yet ſtep'd into Command: I ſhall no longer inſiſt upon this melancholy Subject, which has alſo been writ before by others; only this I ſhall make bold to affirm, that Monſieur *de Lautrec* was by no means to be blam'd, he having there performed all the parts of a good, and prudent General; and, who indeed was in himſelf one of the greateſt men I ever knew. Neither ſhall I trouble my ſelf to give a narration of the Battel of the *Bicoque*, in which I fought on foot, as alſo did Monſieur *de Montmorancy*, ſince Conſtable of *France*; A Battel that Monſieur *de Lautrec* was compelled to conſent unto, through the obſtinacy of the *Swiſſe*, quite contrary to his own judgment. A Nation whoſe wilfulneſs I have ſeen occaſion the loſs of ſeveral places, & cauſe great inconveniences in his Majeſties affairs. They are, to ſpeak the trute, a very warlike people, and ſerve as it were for Bullwarks to an Army: but then they muſt never want, either money, or victuals; for they are not to be paid with words.

The loſs of the Dutchy of *Millan*.

A Character of the *Swiſſe*.

After the unfortunate loſs of this fair Dutchy of *Millan*, all the forces returned back into *France*, and with them the Company of the ſaid Mareſchal *de Foix*, wherein I then had not only the place of a Man at armes; but moreover an Aſſignation of an Archers pay. Sometime after the Emperour ſet another Army on foot to recover *Fontarabie*; whereupon our Company, and ſeveral others were ordered to repair to *Bayonne* to Monſieur *de Lautrec*, who was his Majeſties Lieutenant in *Guienne*. The ſaid Sieur *de Lautrec*, that he might the better make head againſt the enemy, (who made a ſhew of attempting ſomething upon the Frontier) made a ſuddain leavy of fourteen or fifteen Enſigns of Foot; which was the occaſion that I (who ever had an inclination for foot ſervice) entreated leave of Captain *Sayas* (who carryed the Cornette in the abſence of Captain *Carbon* his brother) for three months only; that I might accept of an Enſign offer'd to me by Captain *Clotte*; who at laſt very unwillingly granted my ſuite, although he himſelf had firſt ſent to Captain *Carbon* to ſollicite it in my behalf. Suddainly after this (the Enemy being dayly reinforced with freſh ſuplies) *la Clotte* was commanded away to *Bayonne*, & a few days after that, Captain *Carbon* took the Companies of Monſieur *de Lautrec*, and the Mareſchal his brother, with two Companies of Foot, to wit, that of *Megrin Comenge*, and *la Clotte* to conduct us thorough the Woods ſtraight to St. *Jean de Luz*, where the enemies Camp at that time lay. So ſoon as we were arrived at the top of a little Hill about half a quarter

Montluc made Enſign of foot.

of

of a League diſtant from *Luz* (having already paſs'd a little River by a wooden bridge, another half quarter of a League behind this little hill, at the foot whereof, and before us, there ran a rivolet of fifteen, or twenty paces broad, and deep to a mans girdle, joyning to which there is alſo a plain which extends it ſelf in an eaſie deſcent, down to the ſaid Rivolet; from whence one may eaſily diſcover St. *Jean de Luz*, one of the fineſt Bourgs in all *France*, and ſeated upon the Margent of the Ocean Sea) Captain *Carbon* who commanded the Party, leaving two Cornets upon this little hill, the one whereof was carried by Captain *Sayas*, which was ours, and the other by Captain *d' Andouins*, which was that of Monſieur *de Lautrec* (but both of them onely in the abſence, the one of Captain *Carbon*, the other of Captain *Artiquiloube*,) and only twenty horſe with each; together with our two Companies of foot, took the reſt of the *Gens-d' armes*, and with them Monſieur *Gramont*, the ſame who afterwards dyed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and who was at this time Lieutenant to the Company belonging to Monſieur *de Lautrec*.

With this Party Captain *Carbon* paſs'd over the little River, and having divided his men into three ſquadrons (as one might eaſily diſcern from the Hill where we ſtood) trotted along the plain directly towards St. *Jean de Luz*. Being come to the middle of the plain, he there made a halt for an hour, or more, whilſt a Trumpet went twice, and ſounded the *Fanfare* to the Enemy, after which being about to retreat, as not believing any one would ſtir out of the Enemies Camp, the forlorn which he had ſent out towards the utmoſt skirts of the plain, return'd back upon the ſpur, to acquaint him that all the Enemies Camp began to move; and ſuddenly after we began to diſcover three of their Squadrons of Horſe, appearing upon their march, one upon the heels of another, and making directly towards Monſieur *de Carbon*. Of theſe the firſt that came up, preſently, and ſmartly charg'd the foremoſt of ours, where there were many Launces broken on both ſides; but more of ours, than theirs, for as much as in thoſe times the Spaniards carried but few Launces, and thoſe very ſlender, long, and pointed at both ends. During this charge Captain *Carbon* was leiſurely drawing off the other two Squadrons towards the place where we were, when the ſecond of the Enemies ſquadrons coming up, and uniting with the firſt, beat up our firſt to our ſecond ſquadron, commanded by Monſieur *Gramont*, where the skirmiſh was very hot, and a great many men thrown to ground both on the one ſide, and other, amongſt whom were the Seigneurs *de Gramont*, who had his horſe kill'd under him, *de Luppe* Standard-bearer to Monſieur *de Lautrec*, *de Poigreſſi*, who is ſince turn'd Hugonot, *de la Fay de Xaintonge*, who is yet living, and divers others. At the ſame inſtant we diſcover'd another great Party of Horſe advancing towards us a little on our left hand, at the ſight of which the Captains who carried our Colours came both of them running to me, and ſaying we are all loſt, whereupon I told them, that it were better, than ſo to conclude, to hazard fourſcore, or an hundred Foot, to bring off our Horſe who were engag'd. To which *la Clotte*, and *Megrin* made anſwer, that that venture would only occaſion a greater loſs, and that moreover they very much doubted the Souldiers would hardly be perſwaded to go down, ſeeing death ſo manifeſt before their eyes. Now you muſt underſtand there was no one preſent at this diſcourſe, ſaving the two forementioned Captains, and my ſelf, our Foot ſtanding drawn up fourteen, or fifteen paces behind; and it was not amiſs; for I make a great queſtion had they heard what we ſaid, and ſeeing the *Gens-d' armes* in manifeſt danger to be loſt, whether I ſhould have been ſo cheartully followed, as I was. And it is a good rule, as much as a man can to conceal from the Souldier the danger of any enterprize, if you intend to have them go briskly to their work. To this laſt objection of the two Captains, I made anſwer that I would run the hazard to lead them on, and that loſt, or loſt not, it was better to hazard, and to loſe fourſcore, or an hundred Foot, than all our *Gens-d'-armes*. And thereupon without further deliberation (for long conſultations are often the ruine of brave attempts) I return'd back to the Souldiers, and the Captains with me (for the buſineſs requir'd haſt) ſaying to them only theſe few words, Come on, come on Comrades, let us go, and relieve our *Gens-d' armes*, and was thereupon follow'd by an hundred Foot of our own Company, who with very great reſolution deſcended with me to the foot of the Hill, where at the head of my men I paſſed over the brook, and there deliver'd twenty of my men to be led by the Baſtard of *Auzan*, a Gentleman who has nothing blemiſh'd the legitimate Sons of his race; though all of them men of ſingular bravery, and remarkeable valour.

The Action at St. *Jean de Luz*.

Now you muſt know that the Company I commanded, was no other than Croſs-bows, for at this time the uſe of the Harquebuze, had not as yet been introduc d amongſt

French Croſs-bows.

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mongſt us; only three, or four days before ſix *Gaſcon* Harquebuſiers came over to us from the Enemy, which I had received into my Company, having by good fortune been that day upon the Guard, at the great Gate of the City; and of thoſe ſix, one was a native of the Territory of *Montluc*. Would to heaven that this accurſed engine had never been invented, I had not then receiv'd thoſe wounds which I now languiſh under, neither had ſo many valiant men been ſlain for the moſt part by the moſt pitiful fellows, and the greateſt Cowards; Poltrons that had not dar'd to look thoſe men in the face at hand, which at diſtance they laid dead with their confounded bullets: but it was the Devil's invention to make us murther one another. Being thus paſt the River, I order'd the Baſtard *d' Auzan* not to ſuffer his men to ſhoot, but only to preſent as if they intended to do it, to the end that he might favour mine, and give them time to diſcharge and retire again into their order, Now when I was under the foot of the Hill, I could not poſſibly ſee what our men did; but being advanc'd a little further into the plain, I ſaw all the Enemies three Squadrons drawn up into one body, and the great party on the left hand, marching upon a good round trot directly towards ours, who were rallyed, and ſtood firm, without being able either to advance forwards, or to retire back, by reaſon of ſome great ſtones that lay ſcatter'd in their Rear. Here it was that Captain *Carbon* (who had no Arms on, having before been wounded in his left arm by an Arquebuze ſhot) ſeeing me ſo near him, came up to me, and ſaid, Oh *Montluc*, my dear friend, charge up boldly, I will never forſake thee: Captain, ſaid I, take you only care to ſave your ſelf, and your *Gens-d' Armes*, at the ſame inſtant crying out, ſhoot, Comrades, at the head of theſe Horſe. I was not above a dozen paces diſtant from the Enemy when I gave them this Volley, by which (as it appear'd by the teſtimony of the Priſoners, who were taken a few days after) above fifty Horſes were kill'd, and wounded, and two Troopers ſlain, an execution that a little cool'd their courage, and caus'd their Troops to make a halt. In the mean time Captain *Carbon* had leiſure with his party to retire full gallop towards the brook I had paſs'd over to relieve him; where ſuch as had their horſes loſt, taking hold of the others horſe tayls ſav'd themſelves alſo, and all together paſs'd over the River. Which haſt they were neceſſitated to make, or otherwiſe the great party of horſe on the left hand, had charg'd them in the Flank, had they drawn more leiſurely off. In the mean time under favour of the twenty Croſs-bows of *d' Auzan*, who ſuſtain'd us, we rallied again, and gave another volley. So ſoon as Captain *Carbon* had paſſed the River with his Horſe, remounted Monſieur *de Gramont*, on another horſe, and mounted the reſt *en Crouppe*, he commanded the ſaid Sieur *de Gramont* to ride to the top of the hill, and in all haſt to draw off the Enſigns both of horſe and foot, at a round trot, directly to the other River, where the bridg was, that leads towards *Bayonne*. Which order being given he ſuddenly turned back again towards me, having in his company an *Italian* call'd Signior *Diomede*, and the Sieur *de Mainahaut*, where he found me retreating towards a ditch, upon the edg of a Mariſh, and of which I might be within ſome twelve, or fourteen paces, which not only hindred him from getting up to me, but moreover gave him enough to do to ſave himſelf. I notwithſtanding in ſpite of the Enemy recovered the ditch of the Mariſh, being ſtill ſheltred by *d' Auzan*, whom I commanded to climb over in great diligence, and there to make head, which he accordingly performed.

The *Spaniards* in the mean time made a ſhew, as if they meant to charge, but they durſt not attempt to break into me; neither were my ſix Harquebuſiers idle all this while, but did wonders with their ſhot, when having at laſt retreated my men within five or ſix paces of the ditch, I cauſed them all in an inſtant to throw themſelves into it, and under favour of *d' Auzan*, almoſt as ſuddainly to mount the ditch bank on the other ſide, over which we all got ſafe and ſound, ſaving three Soldiers, who were ſlain with Harquebuze ſhot, for not having been ſo nimble as the reſt; and here was that, as in a little fort, I made head againſt the Enemy. Now you muſt know, that that party of the Enemy which came up on the left hand, made a halt at the bank of the River, when they ſaw our Horſe were already got half way up the hill; and thoſe who had fought, and to whom I had given a ſtop at the ditch bank, were now upon their retreat home, when ſeeing three Squadrons of Harquebuſiers coming along the plain, and making towards them with all the ſpeed they could, it reviv'd their ſpirits, and inſpir'd them with new courage to face about again. I, in the mean time (having alſo diſcover'd theſe freſh ſuccours) began to ſhift along by the ditch, till being by the return of a corner of it, ſlipt out of their ſight, I led my men into a very narrow meadow, from whence at full ſpeed I gain'd the

foot of the hill I had deſcended before, and having repaſs'd the River, ſoon recovered the top of the mountain. The danger wherein I ſaw my ſelf to be, as well of the Horſe I had preſſing upon my Rear, as of the Battaillon of Infantry which I ſaw faſt advancing towards me, did not however make me looſe my Judgment in a time of ſo great need; nor hinder me from diſcerning and taking this opportunity for my retreat, during which I made the little handful of men I had march very cloſe together; and by turnes encouraging, and ſpeaking to them, made them often face about and ſalute the Cavalry, who purſued me both with Croſs-bow, and Harquebuze ſhot; when having gain'd the top of the hill, I drew into an Orchard, making faſt the Gate on the inſide, that the Horſe might not ſo ſuddainly enter, and by the favour of that, and ſeveral others planted with Apples, ſtill made on towards the Bridge, till I came to a little Church call'd *Haitée*, from whence I perceived the great road to be all covered over with the Enemies Horſe, there being nevertheleſs a great ditch betwixt them and me, from whence I beſtow'd upon them ſome Arquebuze, and Croſs-bow ſhot, which alſo very ſeldom fail'd of their effect, and compell'd them (ſeeing they could not come up to me) ſome to advance forwards, and others to retire. I then put ſome of my men into the Church yard, thinking there again to make head; the greateſt folly I committed throughout the whole action; for in the mean time a good number of their Horſe gliding along by the meadow ſtraight towards the Bridge, were already advanc'd ſo far, that I ſaw my ſelf totally enclos'd, without all manner of hope to eſcape, and to ſave my ſelf.

Now ſo ſoon as Captain *Carbon* had recover'd the Bridg, and that the Horſe, and Foot were all paſs'd over, he commanded Monſieur *Gramont* to haſt away, not only a trot, but a full gallop; for he already diſcover'd the Enemies Infantry in the Orchards, which I could not do; neither did I ever perceive them, till they began to ſhoot at me; and then I made a ſign to my Soldiers in the Churh yard to come, and draw up to me in the great high way. Captain *Carbon* in the interim, being he ſaw nothing of me, half concluded us all for kill'd, or taken, and yet ſeeing all the Enemies Troops of horſe both on the right hand, and on the left, making directly towards the Bridg, would leave Captain *Campai* (an admirable good Soldier) at the end of the Bridg with five and twenty horſe, and thirty Croſs-bows of Captain *Megrin*'s Company, to try if there were any poſſible means to relieve me, were I yet alive, cauſing the Bridg in the mean time to be broken down. Now becauſe that Troop of the Enemies horſe which march'd on the right hand, made a great deal more haſt towards the Bridge, than that of the left, I quitted the great high way, and under favour of a hedg made ſtraight towards the River, where I was again to encounter the Horſe, which notwithſtanding I made my way thorow, chopt into the River, and in deſpite of them all, paſſed over to the other ſide: wherein, the banks of the River being high, favour'd me very much, they being too ſteep for the horſe to get down, neither was our ſhot of both ſorts idle in the mean time. At laſt I recover'd the end of the Bridg, where I found Captain *Campai* very buſie at work to break it, and who ſo ſoon as he ſaw me, was very importunate with me to ſave my ſelf, at the ſame time preſenting me the Crupper of his horſe to that end: but he had no other anſwer from me, but this, that God had hitherto preſerved me, and my Soldiers alſo, whom I was likewiſe reſolved never to abandon, till I had firſt brought them into a place of ſafety. Whilſt we were in this diſpute we were aware of the *Spaniſh* Infantry coming directly towards the Bridg, when finding our ſelves too weak to ſtand the ſhock, *Campai* with the Croſs-bows of Captain *Megrin* took the Van in order to a retreat, and I remain'd in the Rear, having gain'd a ditch that enclos'd a little meadow, which was ſufficient to defend me from the horſe, it being ſo high, that they could not come to charge.

A brave reſolution in a Captain.

I had now nothing left me but my ſix Harquebuſiers, my Croſs-bows having already ſpent all their Arrows; nevertheleſs to ſhew that their hearts were not down, I caus'd them to hold their Swords ready drawn in the one hand, and their Bows in the other to ſerve inſtead of a Buckler. Now Captain *Campai*'s men had broken down the greateſt part of the Bridg before they went away, by reaſon of which impediment the Cavalry could not ſo ſoon come up to us, having been conſtrain'd to foord the River two Harquebuze ſhot on the right hand, whilſt the Foot in the mean time with great difficulty fil'd it over one by one by the rails of the Bridg, a poſture wherein it had been a very eaſie matter to defeat them, had I not foreſeen that then the Cavalry would have come up to encloſe me, and our honor depended

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upon our retreat. Wherefore ſtill getting ground, and from ditch to ditch, having gain'd about half a quarter of a league of way, I made a halt, that my men might not be out of breath, when looking back I perceiv'd the Enemy had done ſo too, and ſaw by his countenance that he grew weary of the purſuit, a thing at which I was very much aſtoniſh'd and not a little glad, for in plain truth we were able to do no more; having taken a little Water and Cider, and ſome Maiz bread out of a few ſmall houſes we met upon the way. In the mean time Captain *Campai* ſent out ſome Horſe to ſee what was become of us, believing me to be either dead, or taken. And now behold us arriv'd in a place of ſafety, with the loſs of only three men in the firſt ditch; and the brave Baſtard *d' Auzan*, who by loytering ſomething too long in a little houſe by the Church was unfortunately loſt.

In the interim of this buſtle which continued pretty long, the alarm was carried to Monſieur *de Lautrec* to *Bayonne*, together with the news, that we were all totally defeated, at which he was exceedingly troubled, in regard of the ill conſequences that uſually attend the fleſhing and giving an Enemy blood in the beginning of a War. However he drew out preſently into the field, and was advanc'd but a very little way, when he diſcover'd our Enſigns of Foot conducted by the Sieur *de Gramont*, marching upon the Road towards him, who ſo ſoon as he came up, preſently gave him an account of what had happened, and did me the honor to tell him, that I was the cauſe of their preſervation: but that withall I was loſt in the ſervice. Captain *Carbon* was not yet arriv'd, foraſmuch as he had made a halt to ſtay for Captain *Campai*, from him to learn the iſſue of the buſineſs: but in the end he came up alſo, to whom Monſieur *de Lautrec* ſpake theſe words. *Well*, Carbon, *was this a time wherein to commit ſuch a piece of folly as this? which I do aſſure you is not of ſo little moment, but that you have thereby endangered the making me loſe this City of* Bayonne, *which you know to be a place of ſo great importance.* To which *Carbon* made anſwer. *Sir, I have committed a very great fault, and the greateſt folly that ever I was guilty of in my whole life: to this hour the like diſgrace has never befallen me; but ſeeing it has pleaſed God to preſerve us from being defeated, I ſhall be wiſer for the time to come.* Monſieur *de Lautrec* then demanded of him, if there was any news of me, to which he made anſwer, that he thought I was loſt: but as they were returning ſoftly towards the City in expectation of further news, Captain *Campai* alſo arriv'd, who aſſured them that I was come ſafely off, relating withal the handſom retreat I had made, in deſpite, and in the very teeth of the Enemy, with the loſs of four men only, and that it was not poſſible, but that the Enemy muſt have loſt a great number of men. I was no ſooner come to my Quarters, but that a Gentleman was ſent from Monſieur *de Lautrec*, to bring me to him, who entertained me with as much kindneſs, and reſpect, as he could have done any Gentleman in the Kingdom, ſaying to me theſe words in *Gaſcon*; *Montluc mon amic you a' oublideray jamai lou ſervice qu'abes fait au Roy, & m'en ſevicra tant que you vivrai.* Which is, *Montluc, my friend, I will never forget the ſervice you have this day performed for the King: but will be mindful of it ſo long as I live.* There is as much honor in an handſom retreat, as there is in good fighting; and this was a Lord who was not wont to careſs many people; a fault that I have often obſerv'd in him; nevertheleſs he was pleas'd to expreſs an extraordinary favour to me all the time we ſate at ſupper, which he alſo continued to me ever after, inſomuch that calling me to mind four or five years after, he diſpatch'd an expreſs Courrier to me from *Paris* into *Gaſcony* with a Commiſſion to raiſe a Company of Foot, entreating me to bear him company in his expedition to *Naples*, and has ever ſince put a greater value upon me, than I deſerved. This was the firſt action I was ever in the quality of a Commander, and from whence I began to derive my reputation.

You Captains (my Camrades) who ſhall do me the honor to read my Life, take notice, that the thing in the world, which you ought moſt to deſire, is to meet with a fair occaſion wherein to manifeſt your courage in the firſt Sally of your Arms; for if in the beginning you ſhall prove ſucceſsful, you do (amongſt others) two things. Firſt you cauſe your ſelves to be praiſed, and eſteemed by the great ones, by whoſe report you ſhall be recommended to the knowledg of the King himſelf, from whom we are to expect the recompence of all our Services, and Labours: And in the next place, when the Soldier ſhall ſee a Captain who has behav'd himſelf well, and performed any notable thing at his firſt trial; all the valiant men will ſtrive to be under his command, believing that ſo auſpicious a beginning, cannot fail

of a proſperous iſſue; but that all things will ſucceed well with him, and that under ſuch a man they ſhall never fail to be employ'd; for nothing can more ſuite a man of courage, than to be left at home to burn his ſhins by the fire, whilſt other men are employ'd abroad in honorable action. So that by this means you ſhall be ſure always to be follow'd by brave men, with which you ſhall continue to get more honor, and proceed to greater reputation; and on the contrary, if you chance to be baffled in the beginning, whether through your Cowardiſe, or want of Conduct, all the good men will avoid you, and you will have none to lead, but the Lees, and Canaille of the Army, with whom (though you were the Heroe of the world) there will be no good to be done; nor other, than an ill repute to be acquir'd. My Exemple upon this occaſion, may ſerve for ſomething, wherein though perhaps there were no great matters perform'd, yet ſo it is, that of little exploits of War, great uſes are ſometimes to be made. And remember, whenever you find your ſelves overmatch'd with an Enemy, that you can bridle, and hold at bay with the loſs of a few men, not to fear to hazard them. Fortune may be favourable to you, as ſhe was to me; for I dare confidently ſay, that had not I preſented my ſelf to lead on theſe hundred Foot (which all play'd their parts admirably well) we had certainly had all the Enemies Cavalry upon our hands, which had been a power too great, for ſo few as we were to withſtand.

The Enemies Camp ſoon after retir'd into *Navarre*, whereupon Monſieur *de Lautrec* disbanded the one half of his Companies, reſerving only the two Enſigns of Monſieur *de Cauna*, and that of the Baron *Jean de Cauna*, conſiſting each of only three hundred men (the firſt time they had ever been reduc'd to that number) they having formerly conſiſted of five hundred, or a thouſand; a device whereby the King's Treaſury was very much relieved, as it ſav'd the pay of ſo many Lieutenants, Enſigns, Serjeants, and other Officers: but withall the command of a good number of men, uſually invited men of Condition, and Eſtates into the Service, who at preſent diſdain to accept of Commiſſions, where they ſee ſo many pitiful Captainetts, who are admitted into Command, without ever having ſtrook a ſtroke.

At this time you muſt know Monſieur *de Lautrec* beſtow'd my Captains Company upon me, though I was then but twenty years of age, and leaving four Companies in *Bayonne*, took Poſt, and went away to Court: which departure of his encouraged the Enemy to renew his Camp, and to lay Siege to *Fontarabie*, which they alſo took before his return. The loſs of this place was occaſioned, either through the indiſcretion, or the treachery of a Nephew to the Conſtable of *Navarre*, and Son to the late Mareſchal *de Navarre*, who having been baniſh'd from *Spain*, for ſiding with *Henry* King of *Navarre*, was, together with a Garriſon of four hundred men (Exiles like himſelf) put into this City, where he was at this time ſo well ſolicited by his Uncle, that he revolted to his ſide, by which means this place was loſt, which otherwiſe had been impregnable, though the Enemy had made two great breaches in it: but being I was not there preſent, and that I will deliver nothing upon report, I ſhall ſay no more but this, that Captain *Frangett* who ſurrendred it up to the *Spaniard*, and who for ſo doing laid the blame to the ſaid Don *Pedro*, was afterwards for his pains degraded at *Lyons*. The loſs of this place depriv'd us of very good footing we had in *Spain*. It was here that ſome years before, Monſieur *de Lude* won immortal glory, by enduring a whole years Siege in all the extremities that mankind can undergo, and he for ſo doing carried away honor, and reward, but *Frangett* infamy and ruine; thus goes the world, and fortune. In the mean time, if any of the Princes, or the Kings Lieutenants ſhall vouchſafe to peruſe this Book of mine (and perhaps they may read worſe) let them take notice by this exemple, and others that I have ſeen, and that I may perchance make mention of hereafter, that it is very dangerous to make uſe of a man, that has once abandon'd his own Prince, and natural Soveraign; not that he is to be rejected, when he flies into a mans arms for refuge, and protection; but he ought not by any means to have a place entruſted to him, with which he may at any time make his own peace, and reſtore himſelf to his Princes favour. Or if they ſhall think fit to truſt him, it ought not to be however till after by a long tryal, he ſhall have ſo manifeſted his fidelity, that there is no more queſtion to be made of his Faith; and then in ſuch a proceſs of time, the Country, into which he ſhall come at firſt a ſtranger, or fugitive, and an Exile, will be grown natural and familiar to him, and he will have received benefits, and acquir'd

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ſuch intereſts, and poſſeſſions, as may fix him there: and yet even then let it be at a ſufficient diſtance from ſuch as he may have had any private correſpondencies, or ſecret practices withal: For by what I have heard from ſeveral of the Emperour's Captains, had *Charles* of *Bourbon* taken *Marſelles*, and *Provence*, the Emperor would never have committed ſo great an error, as to have entruſted them in his hands, though he had faithfully promis'd ſo to do. But let us proceed.

All theſe Foot Companies being disbanded, excepting thoſe which were left in Garriſon, I who had no mind to be immur'd within the walls of a City, again put my ſelf into the Company of Monſieur *Le Mareſchal de Foix*, wherein I continued till ſuch time as King *Francis* went his expedition againſt Monſieur *de Bourbon*, who, together with the Marqueſs of *Peſcara* laid Siege to *Marſelles* (which Sieur *de Bourbon*, for an affront that had been offer'd to him, was revolted to the Emperor (there is nothing a great heart will not do in order to revenge) where ſeeing the King would permit the Mareſchal *de Foix* to carry no more than twenty men at arms of his own Company along with him, and finding my ſelf at my arrival to be excluded that election, and none of the number, I took ſuch ſnuff at it, that I went with five or ſix Gentlemen, who did me the honor to bear me company, to be preſent at the Battel, with a reſolution to fight volunteer amongſt the Foot. But Monſieur *de Bourbon* after having lain ſix weeks only before the City, rais'd the Siege. The Signior *Ranco de Cera*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, a brave, and experienc'd Captain, together with the Sieur *de Brion* were within, with a ſufficient Garriſon, his Majeſty had thither ſent for the defence of the Town; So that Monſieur *de Bourbon* found himſelf to be deceiv'd in his intelligence, and that he had reckon'd without his Hoſt. The *French* did not as yet know what it was to rebell againſt their Prince; for ſo ſoon as he had notice of the Kings approach, he retir'd himſelf over the Mountains, and deſcended into *Piedmont*, by the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, and *Piguerol*, and not without very great loſs, fled away to *Milan*, which alſo both he, and the Viceroy of *Naples*, were conſtrain'd to abandon, and to fly out at one gate, whilſt we entred in at another.

Signior Don *Antonio de Leva* (who was one of the greateſt Captains the Emperor had, and who I do believe had he not been hindred by the Gout (with which he was infinitely tormented) would have ſurpaſs'd all others of his time) was choſen in this poſture of affairs to be put into *Pavie*, with a ſtrong Garriſon of *German* Soldiers, ſuppoſing that the King would infallibly fall upon that place, as in effect he did. The Siege continued for the ſpace of eight months, in which time Monſieur *de Bourbon* went into *Germany*, where he ſo beſtirr'd himſelf with the money he had borrowed from the Duke of *Savoy*, that he thence brought along with him ten thouſand *German* foot, together with four or five hundred men at armes from the Kingdom of *Naples*, with which Forces encamping himſelf at *Lode*, he came to offer the King Battail upon a St. *Matthias* day, our army being very much weakened as well by the length of the Siege, as by Sickneſs, with which it had been miſerably infected. To which diſadvantages the King had moreover unluckily disbanded three thouſand *Griſons* commanded by a Collonel of their own called *le grand Diart*, I ſuppoſe, to contract the charges of the War. Oh that theſe little pieces of good Husbandry do very often occaſion notable loſſes! Alſo a few days before Monſieur *d' Albaine* was, by the King's command, departed with great Forces towards *Rome*, from thence to fall into the Kingdom of *Naples*: but in the end all vaniſh'd away in ſmoke; for, to our great misfortune, we loſt the Battail, and all theſe enterprizes came to nothing.

The Deſcription of this Battail is already publiſh'd in ſo many places, that it would be labour loſt therein to waſt my paper; I ſhall therefore only ſay, that the buſineſs was not well carried in ſeveral places on our ſide, which occaſioned their ruine, who behav'd themſelves beſt upon that occaſion. The King was taken priſoner, Monſieur the Mareſchal *de Foix*, both taken and wounded with an Arquebuze ſhot in his thigh, which moreover enter'd into his belly, Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* taken, and wounded with thirteen wounds, with which he had been left for dead upon the place, and was ſtript to his ſhirt: but a Spaniard coming to cut off his Finger, for a Ring he could not otherwiſe pull off, he cried out, and being known, was carried with the ſaid Mareſchal into *Pavie*, to the lodging of the Marqueſs *de Scadalfol*; ſeveral other great Lords loſt their Lives, as the Brother to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Admiral *de Chabanes*, and many others taken, amongſt whom were the King of *Navarre*, Meſſieurs *de Nevers*, *de Montmorency*, *de Brion*, and others: but I ſhall not taxe the memory

memory of any one for the loſs of this Battel; nor ſet a mark upon thoſe who behaved themſelves ill enough, even in the preſence of their King. During all the time of my abode in the Army, I was continually with a Captain call'd *Caſtille de Navarre*, without any pay, which Captain having the fortune to command the forlorn hope in the day of Battel, intreated me to bear him Company, which accordingly I did, as alſo the five Gentlemen who came in company with me. I was taken priſoner by two Gentlemen of the Company of Don *Antonio de Leva*, who upon the Saturday morning let me go, together with two of my Camrades; for they ſaw they were likely to get no great treaſure of me, the other three were killed in the Battel. Being now at liberty I retir'd my ſelf into the houſe of the Marqueſs, where Monſieur *le* Mareſchal lay wounded. I found him with Monſieur *de St. Pol*, both together in one bed, and Monſieur *de Montejau* lodg'd in the ſame Chamber, who was alſo wounded in his leg. There I heard the diſcourſe and diſpute betwixt Sieur *Frederick de Bege*, who was priſoner, and Captain *Sucra* who belong'd to the Emperor upon the loſs of this Battel, who accuſed our French of many great overſights, particularly nominating ſeveral perſons, whoſe names I am willing to forbear: but I judg'd their opinions to be very good, being both of them very great Soldiers, and what I then heard has ſince been ſerviceable to me upon ſeveral occaſions; an uſe that every one ought to make of ſuch controverſies, who intends to arrive at any degree of perfection in the practice of Arms. A man muſt ſeek not only all occaſions of preſenting himſelf at all rencounters, and Battels; but muſt moreover be curious to hear, and careful to retein the opinions, and arguments of experienc d men, concerning the faults, and overſights committed by Commanders, and the loſs, or advantages to the one ſide and the other enſuing thereupon; for it is good to learn to be wiſe and to become a good Maſter at another mans expence. The Kingdom of *France* has long bewailed this unfortunate day, with the loſſes we have ſuſtain'd, beſides the captivity of this brave Prince, who thought to have found fortune as favourable to him here, as ſhe was at his Battel with the *Swiſſe*: but ſhe play'd the baggage, and turn'd her tail; making him to know how inconvenient, and of how dangerous conſequence it is, to have the perſon of a King expos'd to the uncertain event of Battel; conſidering that his loſs brings along with it the ruine of his Kingdom. Almighty God nevertheleſs was pleas'd to look upon this with an eye of pity, and to preſerve it; for the Conquerors dazled with the rayes of victory loſt their underſtanding, and knew not how to follow their blow; otherwiſe had Monſieur *de Bourbon* turn'd his Forces towards *France*, he would have put us all to our Trumps.

The Munday following Monſieur *de Bourbon* gave order that ſuch as were taken priſoners, and had not wherewithal to pay their ranſom, ſhould avoid the Camp, and return home to their own houſes. Of which number I was one; for I had no great treaſure: he gave us indeed a Troop of horſes, and a Company of Foot for our ſafe conduct: but the Devil a penny of money, or a bit of bread: inſomuch that not one of us, had any thing but Turnips, and Cabbage-ſtalks, which we broyl'd upon the coals, to eat, 'till we came to *Ambrun*. Before our departure Monſieur *le* Mareſchal commanded me to commend him to Captain *Carbon*, and the reſt of his friends, whom he entreated not to be dejected at this misfortune; but to rouſe up their ſpirits, and endeavour to do better than ever, and that they ſhould go, and joyn themſelves to Monſieur *de Lautrec* his Brother. After which he made me a very notable remonſtrance, which was not ended without many tears, and yet deliver'd with a ſtrong accent, and an aſſured coutenance, though he was very ſore wounded, and ſo much that the Friday following he died. I travell'd on foot as far as *Redorte* in *Languedoc*, where his Company then lay; whereof Monſieur *d Lautrec*, after his death, gave one Tertia to Captain *Carbon*, a command that he did not long enjoy; for ſoon after a Villain native of *Montpellier*, who had favour'd the Camp of Monſieur *de Bourbon*, kill'd him behind, as he was riding poſt upon the Road near unto *Lumel*. As great a loſs as has been of any Captain, who has died theſe hundred years; and one that I do believe had he lived to the Wars, that we have ſince ſeen, would have performed wonders, and many would have been made good Captains under his command: For ſomething was every day to be learn'd by following him, he being one of the moſt vigilant, and diligent Commanders, that I ever knew, a great undertaker, and very reſolute in the execution of what he undertook. Another Tertia was given to Captain *Lignac* of *Auvergne*, who alſo did not keep it keep it long, for he ſhortly after fell blind and died. The third Tertia he gave to Monſieur *de Negrepeliſſe*, the Father to him now living, of which a Coſen German of mine called Captain *Serillac* carried the Enſign.

The Character of Captain *Carbon*.

In

In the mean time Madame the Queen Regent, Mother to the King, and with her all the confederate Princes of the Crown, had ſet ſeveral Treaties on foot, and laboured on all hands the Kings deliverance, with great integrity, and vigour, and to ſo good effect, that in the end this mighty Emperor, who in his imagination had ſwallow'd up the whole Kingdom of *France*, gain'd not ſo much as one inch of earth by his victory, and the King had the good fortune in his affliction to derive aſſiſtance even from thoſe who at other times were his Enemies, yet to whom the Emperors greatneſs ſtood highly ſuſpected. His Majeſty being at laſt returned home, and mindful of the injuries, and indignities, had been offer'd to him during his captivity, having in vain tryed all other ways to recover his two Sons out of the Emperors hands, was in the end conſtrain'd to have recourſe to Arms, and to recommence the War. And then it was that the expedition of *Naples* was ſet on foot under the command of Monſieur *de Lautrec*, who (as I have already ſaid) diſpatch'd a Courrier to me into *Gaſcony* to raiſe a Company of Foot, which I alſo in a few days perform'd, and brought him betwixt ſeven and eight hundred men, of which, four or five hundred were Harquebuſiers, though at that time there was but very few of them in *France*. Of theſe Monſieur *de Auſun* entreated of me the one half, for the compleating of his Company, which I granted to him, and we made our diviſion near to *Alexandria*, which at this time was ſurrendred to the ſaid Monſieur *de Lautrec*, who from thence ſent Meſſieurs *de Gramont*, and *de Montpezat* to beſiege the Caſtle *de Vigeue*; before which place, as we were making our approaches, and caſting up trenches to plant the Artillery, I was hurt with a Harquebuze ſhot in my right leg, of which ſhot I remain'd lame a long time after; inſomuch that I could not be at the ſtorming of *Pavie*, which was carried by aſſault, and half burnt down to the ground. Nevertheleſs I cauſed my ſelf to be carried in a Litter after the Camp, and before Monſieur *de Lautrec* departed from *Plaiſance* to march away to *Boulougne*, I again began to walk.

Alexandria ſurrendred.

Pavie taken by aſſault, and half burnt down.

Now near unto *Aſcoly*, there is a little town called *Capiſtrano*, ſeated upon the top of a Mountain, of ſo difficult acceſs, that the aſcent is very ſteep on all ſides, ſaving on thoſe of the two Gates, into which a great number of the Soldiers of the Country had withdrawn, and fortified themſelves. The Count *Pedro de Navarre*, who was our Collonel, commanded our *Gaſcon* Companies to attaque this Poſt, which we accordingly did, and aſſaulted the place. We caus'd ſome * Manteletts to be made wherewith to approach the Wall, in which we made two holes, of capacity ſufficient for a man eaſily to enter in, about fifty or threeſcore paces diſtant the one from the other: whereof I having made the one, I would my ſelf needs be the firſt to enter at that place. The Enemy on the other ſide had in the mean time pull'd up the planks, and removed the boards, and tables from the roof of a Parlour into which this hole was made, and where they had plac'd a great tub full of ſtones. One of the Companies of Monſieur *de Luppé* our Lieutenant Colonel, and mine prepar'd to enter at this place, and now God had granted me the thing, that I had ever deſir'd, which was to be preſent at an aſſault, there to enter the firſt man, or to loſe my life: I therefore threw my ſelf headlong into the Parlour, having on a Coat of Mail, ſuch as the Germans uſed in thoſe days, a Sword in my hand, a Targuette upon my arm, and a Morrion upon my head; but as thoſe who were at my heels were preſſing to get in after me, the Enemy pour'd the great tub of ſtones upon their heads, and trapt them in the hole, by reaſon whereof the could not poſſibly follow. I therefore remain'd all alone within fighting at a door that went out into the ſtreet: but from the roof of the Parlour, which was unplank'd, and laid open for that purpoſe, they pepper'd me in the mean time with an infinite number of Harquebuze ſhot, one of which pierc'd my Targuette, and ſhot my arm quite through, within four fingers of my hand, and another ſo batter'd the bone at the knitting of my arm and ſhoulder, that I loſt all manner of feeling, ſo that letting my Targuette fall, I was conſtrain'd to retire towards my hole, againſt which I was born over by thoſe who fought at the door of the Parlour: but ſo fortunately nevertheleſs for me, that my Soldiers had, by that means, opportunity to draw me out by the legs, but ſo leiſurely withal, that they very courteouſly made me tumble heels over head from the very top to the bottom of the Graſſe, wherein rowling over the ruines of the Stones, I again broke my already wounded arm in two places. So ſoon as my men had gathered me up, I told them, that I thought I had left my arm behind me in the Town, when one of my Soldiers lifting it up from whence it hung, as in a Scarf, dangling upon my buttocks, and laying it over the other, put me into a little heart; after which, ſeeing the Soldiers

* Moving Pent-houſes under the protection of which, Soldiers uſe to approach a wall.

The Sieur *de Montluc* wounded with two Harquebuze ſhot.

And the ſame Arm at the ſame time broken in two places.

diers of my own Company gather'd round about me, Oh my Camrades (ſaid I) have I always us'd you ſo kindly, and ever loved you ſo well, to forſake me in ſuch a time as this? which I ſaid, not knowing how they had been hindred from following me in.

Upon this my Lieutenant, who had almoſt been ſtifled to death in the hole, call'd *la Baſtide* (Father to the *Savillans* now living, and one of the braveſt Gentlemen in our Army) propos'd to two Baſque Captains call'd *Martin* and *Ramonet*, who always quarter'd near unto my Company; that if they would with Ladders ſtorm by a Canton of the wall hard by, he would undertake, at the ſame time, to enter by the hole it ſelf, and either force his entry that way, or loſe his life in the attempt. To which I alſo encouraged them, as much as my weakneſs would permit. The Ladders being therefore preſently brought, and tyed together, becauſe they proved too ſhort, *la Baſtide* made towards the hole, having ſent to the other Captains to do as much to the other; but they did no great feats. In the interim that *la Baſtide* was fighting within, having already gained the hole, *Martin* and *Ramonet* gave a brave Scalado to the Canton, and with ſo good ſucceſs, that they beat the Enemy from the wall, and entred the Town. Of this being preſently advertis'd, I ſent to *la Baſtide* to conjure him to ſave me as many women and maids as he poſſibly could, that they might not be violated (having that in devotion for a vow I had made to our Lady of *Loretta*, hoping that God, for this good act, would pleaſe to be aſſiſting to me) which he did; bringing fifteen or twenty, which were alſo all that were ſaved; the Soldiers being ſo animated to revenge the wounds I had receiv'd, and to expreſs their affection to me, that they killed all before them, ſo much as to the very children, and moreover ſet the Town on fire. And although the Biſhop of *Aſcoly* (this being a member of his Dioceſs) was very importunate with Monſieur *de Lautrec* in behalf of the Town, the Soldiers could notwithſtanding never be made to leave it, till they ſaw it reduced to Aſhes. The next day I was carryed to *Aſcoly*, where Monſieur *de Lautrec* ſent Meſſieurs *de Gramont*, and *de Montpezat* to ſee how I did, with whom he moreover ſent two Chirurgeons the King had given him at his departure, the one called Maſter *Aleſme*, and the other Maſter *George*; who, after they had ſeen how miſerably my arm was mangled, and ſhatter'd, poſitively pronounced, that there was no other way to ſave my life, but to cut it off, the execution whereof was deferr'd till the next morning. Monſieur *de Lautrec* thereupon commanded the ſaid Sieurs *de Montpezat* and *de Gramont* to be preſent at the work, which they promiſed they would, but not without ſome difficulty, out of the friendſhip they both had for me, eſpecially the Sieur *de Gramont*. Now you muſt underſtand that my Soldiers had, a few days before, taken priſoner a young man, a Chirurgion, who had formerly belong'd to Monſieur *de Bourbon*. This young fellow having underſtood the determination to cut off my arm (for I had entertain'd him into my ſervice) never ceaſed to importune me, by no means to endure it; repreſenting to me, that I was not, as yet, arrived to the one half of my age, and that I would wiſh my ſelf dead an hundred times a day, when I ſhould come to be ſenſible of the want of an arm. The morning being come, the forementioned Lords, and the two Chirurgions, and Phyſicians, came into my chamber with all their inſtruments, and plaiſters, without more ceremony, or giving me ſo much as leiſure to repent, to cut off my arm, having in command from Monſieur *de Lautrec* to tell me, that I ſhould not conſider the loſs of an Arm, to ſave my life; nor deſpair of my fortune; for although his Majeſty ſhould not regard my ſervice, nor take it into conſideration to ſettle a ſubſiſtence for me, yet that nevertheleſs his wife, and himſelf, had forty thouſand Livers a year revenue, wherewith to recompence my valour, and to provide that I ſhould never want; only he wiſhed me to have patience, and to manifeſt my courage upon this occaſion. Every thing being now ready, and my arm going to be opened to be cut off; the young Chirurgeon ſtanding behind my bed's head, never deſiſted preaching to me by no means to ſuffer it, inſomuch that (as God would have it) though I was prepared, and reſolved to let them do what they would with me, he made me to alter my determination; whereupon, without doing any thing more, both the Lords, and the Chirurgeons return'd back to Monſieur *de Lautrec* to give him an account of the buſineſs, who (as they have all of them ſeveral times ſince aſſured me) ſaid theſe words. *I am glad to hear he is ſo reſolved, and ſhould alſo my ſelf have repented the cauſing of it to be done; for had he dyed, I ſhould ever have ſuſpected my ſelf to have been the occaſion of his death; and had he lived without an arm, I ſhould never have looked upon him, but with exceeding great trouble, to ſee him in ſuch a condition; let God therefore work his will.*

Capiſtrano taken by aſſault.

Burnt to the ground.

Immediately

Immediately after the two forenamed Chirurgions came to examine mine, whether or no he was ſufficient to undertake the cure; for otherwiſe it was order'd, that one of them ſhould remain with me; but they found him capable enough, to which they alſo added ſome inſtructions, what was to be done upon ſuch accidents as might happen. The next day, which was the fourth after my hurt, Monſieur *de Lautrec* cauſed me to be carried after him to *Termes de Breſſe*, where he left me in his own quarters, to the care of the man of the houſe, who was a Gentleman, and for the further aſſurance of my perſon, carryed Hoſtages with him, two of the moſt conſiderable men of the Town, whereof one was brother to the Gentleman of the houſe, aſſuring them, that if any the leaſt foul play was offer'd to me, thoſe two men ſhould infallibly be hang'd. In this place I remain'd two months and a half, lying continually upon my reins, inſomuch that my very back bone pierced thorough my skin, which is doubtleſs the greateſt torment, that any one in the world can poſſibly endure; and although I have written in this narrative of my life, that I have been one of the moſt fortunate men, that have born arms theſe many years, in that I have ever been victorious wherever I commanded; yet have I not been exempt from great wounds, and dangerous ſickneſſes, of which I have had as many, and as great, as any man ever had, who outliv'd them. God being ſtill pleaſed to curb my pride, that I might know my ſelf, and acknowledg all good, and evil to depend upon his pleaſure: but all this notwithſtanding a ſcurvy, ſour, moroſe, and cholerick nature of my own (which favours a little, and too much of my native Soil) has evermore made me play one trick, or another of a *Gaſcon*, which alſo I have no great reaſon to repent. So ſoon as my arm was come to a perfect ſuppuration, they began to raiſe me out of Bed, having a little cuſhion under my arm, and both that, and my arm ſwath'd up cloſe to my body In this poſture I continued a few days longer, until mounting a little Mule that I had, I cauſed my ſelf to be carried before *Naples*, where our Camp was already ſate down, having firſt ſent away a Gentleman of mine on foot to our Lady of *Loretta* to accompliſh my vow, I my ſelf being in no condition to perform it. The pain I had ſuffer'd, was neither ſo inſupportable, nor ſo great, as the affliction I had, not to have been preſent at the taking of *Malphe*, and other places; nor at the defeating of the Prince of *Orange*, who after the death of Monſieur *de Bourbon* (ſlain at the Sack of *Rome*) commanded the Imperial Army. Had not this valiant Prince (of deplorable memory, for the foulneſs of his revolt from his Lord, and Maſter) dyed in the very height of his Victories, I do believe he had ſent us back the Popes into *Avignon* once again.

At my arrival at the Camp, Monſieur *de Lautrec*, and all the other great perſons of the Army, received me with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and eſteem, and particularly Count *Pedro de Navarre*, who cauſed a confiſcation to be ſettled upon me of the value of twelve hundred Duckets yearly revenue call'd *la Tour de la Nunciade*, one of the faireſt Caſtles in all the Tertitory of *Labour*, and the firſt Barony of *Naples*; belonging to a rich Spaniard call'd *Don Ferdino*. I then thought my ſelf the greateſt Lord in all the Army: but I found my ſelf the pooreſt Rouge in the end, as you ſhall ſee by the continuation of this diſcourſe. I could here dilate at full how the Kingdom of *Naples* was loſt, after it was almoſt wholly conquer'd; a ſtory that has been writ by many: but it is great pity they would not, or durſt not relate the truth, being that Kings and Princes might have been taught to be ſo wary by this Example, as not to ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon, and abuſed, as they very often are: but no body would have the great ones learn to be too wiſe, for then they could not play their own Games with them ſo well, as they commonly do. I ſhall therefore let it alone, both for that I do not pretend to record the faults of other men, as alſo becauſe I had no hand in theſe tranſactions, and ſhall only write my own Fortunes to ſerve for inſtruction to ſuch as ſhall follow after, that the little *Montlucs* my ſons have left me, may look with ſome kind of Glory into the life of their Grandfather, and aim at honorable things by his Exemple.

There were no great matters perform'd after my coming to the Camp; neither did they buſie themſelves about any thing but the City of *Naples*, which alſo they intended to overcome by Famine, and it muſt ſuddainly have fallen into our hands, had it not been for the revolt of *Andrea d' Auria*, who ſent to Count *Philippin* his Nephew to bring back his Gallies to *Genoa*, with which he kept the City of *Naples* ſo cloſe block'd up by Sea, that a Cat could not have got in; which he immediately did, and thereupon an infinite of proviſion was put into the Town by Sea, whilſt our Gallies delay'd to come. God forgive him who was the cauſe thereof, without which accident the Town had been our own, and conſequently the whole Kingdom. This

The revolt of *Andrea d' Auria.*

A great Naval victory obtein'd by *Philippin d' Auria.*

Philippin Lieutenant or Vice-Admiral to *Andrea d' Auria*, near unto *Capo-dorſo* obtained a famous Naval Victory over *Hugo de Moncada*, and the Marquels *de Guaſt*, who came to the relief of *Naples*; but from this Victory proceeded our ruine: for *Philippin* having ſent his priſoners to his Uncle to *Genoa*, and the King being importunate to have them deliver'd over to him, *Andrea d' Auria* would by no means part with them, complaining that he had already delivered up the Prince of *Orange* to the King, without any recompence; upon which occaſion the Marquels *de Guaſt* (a man of as great dexterity, and cunning as any of his time, and a great Warriour) knew ſo well how to manage *Andrea d' Auria*'s diſcontent, that in the end he turn'd his coat, and with twelve Gallies went over to the Emperor's ſide. The King our Maſter was well enough informed of all his practices, and might eaſily enough have prevented the miſchief; but his heart was ſo great, and he was ſo higly offended with *Auria*, that he would never ſeek to him, whereof he repented at leiſure: for he has ſince been the cauſe of many loſſes that have befall'n the King, and particularly of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Genoa*, and other misfortunes. It ſeem'd as if the Sea ſtood in aw of this man; wherefore without a very great, and more than ordinary occaſion, he was not fit to have been provoked, or diſguſted: but perhaps the King might have ſome other reaſon.

In the end our Gallies arriv'd, and brought with them the Prince of *Navarre*, Brother to King *Henry*, with ſome few Gentlemen only of his train, who lived but three weeks after; for he came in the beginning of our ſickneſs. At his landing Monſieur *de Lautrec* ſent *Michael Antonio* Marquels of *Saluzzo* for his Convoy (for he landed a little below *la Magdaleine* within half a mile of *Naples*) and with him a great part of the *Gens d' Armes*, with the black Italian Regiments, which were commanded by Count *Hugues de Gennes*, ſince the death of Signior *Horatio Baillone*, and had been the Companies of Signior *Giovanni de Medicis*, Father to the Duke of *Florence* that now is, who had been wounded in his leg, with a Harquebuze ſhot before *Pavie*, being then in the Kings Service, and was thence carried to *Plaiſance*, where he had his leg cut off, and thereof ſoon after dyed, and after his death the ſaid Signior *Horatio* took upon him the command of his Companies. It ſeem'd that God would at that time ſome evil to the King, when he lay before *Pavie*. For in the firſt place ſome one advis'd him to ſend away the *Griſons*, ſecondly to ſend Monſieur *d' Albain* to *Rome* with another part of the Army, and for the ſum of all misfortunes God ſent this miſchance to Signior *Giovanni*, who (to ſpeak the truth) underſtood more of the affairs of War, than all the reſt, who were about the King, having three thouſand Foot under his command, the beſt that ever were in *Italy*, with three Cornets of horſe, and I do verily believe (and there are ſeveral others of the ſame opinion) that, had he been well at the Battel, matters had not gone ſo ill as they did. Signior *Horatio* afterwards encreas'd the number a thouſand men, which made up four thouſand foot, who carried black Enſigns for the death of the ſaid Signior *Giovanni*, and were moreover all put into mourning, from whence they deriv'd the name of the Black Regiments, and afterwards aſſociated themſelves to the Marquels of *Saluzzo*, who temporiz'd for about two years in *Italy*, and about *Florence*, and afterwards join'd with our Army at *Troyes*, or elſe at *Nocera*, I am not certain which, for that I lay at the ſame time wounded at *Termes en Breſſe*.

The death of Signior *Giovanni de Medicis.*

But to return to the landing of the Prince of *Navarre*, becauſe there was ſomething of Action there performed wherein I had a ſhare, I ſhall give an account of that buſineſs. Captain *Artiguelaube* (who was Colonel of five *Gaſcon* Enſigns which were wont to be under Monſieur *de Luppée*, and of five others commanded by the Baron *de Bearn*) was commanded, as alſo was *Captau de Buch*, eldeſt ſon of the Family of *Candale*, to draw down to that place, and I alſo (poor wretch as I was) was one of the number. So ſoon as we were got down to the ſhore, the Marquels left all our Pikes behind a great Rampire, which the Count *Pedro de Navarre* had cauſed to be caſt up, and that extended on the right hand, and on the left, for about half a mile in length. Cloſe adjoyning to this was a great Portal of Stone, through which ten, or twelve men might march a breaſt, and that I do believe had been a Gate in former times, for the Arch, and other marks thereof were ſtill remaining; to the cheeks of which Portal, our Rampire was brought up, both on the one ſide, and the other. Our Battaillon was drawn up about an hundred paces diſtant from this Portal, the Black Regiments ſome three hundred paces behind ours, and the greateſt part of the Horſe yet further behind them. Monſieur *le Marquis*, Monſieur *le Captau*, the Count *Hugues*, Captain *Artiguelaube*, and almoſt all the Captains as well *Italians* as *Gaſcons* along with them, went

down

down as well to facilitate, as to be preſent at the Princes Landing; which ſaid Seigneur *Captan* had ſix Enſigns, three of *Piedmontoiſe*, and three of *Gaſcons*. They were ſo long about their landing, that they there ſtaid three long hours; for they made the Prince to ſtay and dine abroad, before he came out of the Galley: a little delay ſometimes occaſions a great miſchief, and it had been better, that both he, and all the company with him had made a good ſober faſt; but the vanity of the world is ſuch, that they think themſelves undervalued if they do not move in all the formalities of State, and in ſo doing commit very often very great errors. It were more convenient to move in the Equipage of a ſimple Gentleman only, and not to Prince it at that rate, but to do well, than to ſtand upon ſuch frivolous punctillios, and be the cauſe of any miſadventure, or diſorder.

Captain *Artiguelaube* in the mean time had plac'd me with threeſcore or fourſcore Harquebuſiers upon the croſs of a high way very near to the *Magdaleine*, which is a great Church ſome hundred, or two hundred paces diſtant from the Gates of *Naples*; and upon another croſs of the high way, on the left hand of me, where there ſtood a little Oratory, two or three hundred Harquebuſiers of the black Regiments, with an Enſign of Pikes; In the ſame place alſo, and a little on the one ſide, was plac'd the Company of Seigneur *de Candale*, conſiſting of two or three hundred Harquebuſiers, about two hundred paces diſtant from, and juſt over againſt the place where I ſtood. Being thus upon my Guard I ſaw both horſe and foot iſſuing out of *Naples*, and coming full drive to gain the *Magdaleine*; whereupon mounting a little Mule that I had, I gallop'd ſtraight down to the water ſide. All the Lords and Gentlemen were as yet on board, careſſing, and complementing one another, to whom by certain Skippers that were plying too and again betwixt the Gallies, and the Shoar, I caus'd it to be cry'd out, that the Enemy was ſallying out of the Town by whole Troops to intercept them, and to recover the blind of the *Magdaleine*, and that they ſhould think of fighting, if they ſo pleaſed; an intelligence at which ſome were baſely down in the mouth, for every one that ſets a good face on the matter has no great ſtomach to fight. I preſently return'd back to my men, and went up ſtraight to the *Magdaleine*, from whence I diſcover'd the Enemies Horſe ſallying out diſmounted, with the bridles in the one hand, and their Launces in the other, ſtooping as much as they could, to avoid being ſeen, as alſo did the Foot, who crept on all four behind the walls that encloſed the backſide of the Church: I then preſently gave my Mule to a Soldier, bidding him ride in all haſt to acquaint Monſieur *de Candale*, and Captain *Artiguelaube* therewith, whom he found already got on ſhore, and who upon my firſt advertiſement, had caus'd a Galley to put out to Sea, from whence they diſcover'd all that I had told them, which being in the Port they could not poſſibly do. This Galley upon the ſight preſently began to let fly whole broad-ſides of Canon at us, one whereof kill'd two men of my Company cloſe by me, and ſo near that the brains both of the one, and the other flew into my face. There was very great danger in that place, for all the bullets, as well of this Galley, as of the others, which did the ſame, play'd directly into the place where I was, inſomuch that ſeeing them ſtill to continue their ſhot (for thoſe of the Gallies took us for the Enemy) I was conſtrain'd to draw off my men into the ditches to ſecure them.

In the mean time they mounted the Prince in all haſt on horſeback, and made him to ſave himſelf full ſpeed towards the Camp, all his Gentlemen running after on foot. They had no great leiſure to ſtay with us, for I believe being ſo lately come, they had no mind to dye. Their haſt was ſo great that they had no time to land, either the Princes Baggage, or his Bed, and there were ſome, who were wiſe enough to keep themſelves aboard the Gallies. But the Seigneur *de Candale*, and Count *Hugues* were men of another ſort of mettle, and ſtaid upon the croſs high way where their men had been plac'd before; and Captain *Artiguelaube* went to the Battaillon, that was drawn up behind the Rampire. The Game began with me, and I do not know whether it be my good or my evil fortune; but ſo it is that in all places where I have been, that I have evermore found my ſelf in the thickeſt of the blows, and there where the buſineſs ever firſt began. Now a Band of Harquebuſiers came directly towards me, running: and that becauſe I had plac'd one part of my Harquebuſiers behind a ditch bank that borders all along upon the high way, and the reſt on the right and left hand in the ditches in file (which I did more for fear of the Artillery, that plaid from our own Gallies, than for any apprehenſion of the Enemy) and came within twenty paces of us, where we entertein'd them with a ſmart volly of all our ſhot, by which five or ſix of their men fell dead upon the ground, and the reſt took their heels, and fled, we The Fight.

following after as far as the *Magdalene*. There they rallyed, and withdrew from the high way on their right hand, and on that ſide where Monſieur *de Lavall* of *Dauphiné* ſtood with his Company of *Gens- d' Armes*, he was Nephew to Monſieur *de Bayard*, and Father to Madame *de Gordes*, who is at this time living, and a very valiant Gentleman. Monſieur *de Candalle*, who had ſeen my Charge, and ſaw that the Enemy now all diſcover'd themſelves, and that both Horſe and Foot drew into a great Meadow, where Monſieur *de Lavall* ſtood; fearing they might charge me again, he ſent me a ſupply of fifty Harquebuſiers, juſt at the time when a Battaillon of *German* Foot preſented themſelves within twenty paces on my right hand. The *Spaniſh* Harquebuſiers in the mean time fir'd with great fury upon our *Gens- d' Armes*, who began to draw off at a good round trot towards the high way poſſeſſed by Monſieur *de Candalle*, where there was a great overſight committed, which I will alſo give an account of, that ſuch as ſhall read it, may make uſe of the exemple, when the chance of War (as at one time or another it may) ſhall perhaps reduce them to the ſame condition.

Count *Hugues*, and Monſieur *de Candalle* had drawn up their Pikes upon the great Road, without leaving room for the Cavalry to retire, and there was a neceſſity that Monſieur *de Lavall* muſt, in ſpite of his heart, paſs that way; for betwixt Monſieur *de Candalle* and me there was a great ditch, that Horſe could not poſſibly get over. Had they left the Road open, and drawn themſelves up in Battalia behind the ditch, they might have given a ſtop to the Enemies fury; and by that means Monſieur *de Lavall*, might at great eaſe have got off along by the high way, and have made an honorable retreat. So ſoon as the Enemy ſaw that Monſieur *de Lavall* was forced to his Trot they preſently charg'd him both in flank, and rear, with both Horſe and Foot at once, when having thrown himſelf into the Road to get clear of this ſtorm, he encountred theſe Pikes upon his way, where he was conſtrained againſt his will to force his way thorough, and in ſo doing bore down, and trampled under foot all that ſtood before him; for our Pikes were drawn up ſo cloſe that they had no room to open. This put all into confuſion, and I was ready to run mad to ſee ſo great an abſurdity committed; yet is not the blame juſtly to be laid upon Monſieur *de Candalle*, he being very young, and having never been upon ſuch a ſervice before: but Count *Hugues* is highly to be condemned, who was an old Soldier, and underſtood the diſcipline of War; yet I will not ſay but that he behaved himſelf with very great bravery in his own perſon: but it is not enough to be bold, and hardy, a man muſt alſo be wiſe, and foreſee all that can happen, foraſmuch as overſights are irreparable in matters of Arms, and ſmal faults are oftentimes the occaſion of very great loſſes, as it happened here to him, who had not provided againſt all adventures: For he was himſelf taken priſoner, as alſo Monſieur *de Candalle*, being wounded in his arm with a Harquebuze ſhot. Three days after, the Enemy ſeeing he was not likely to live, ſent him back to Monſieur *de Lautrec*, who was his Kinſman, and the next day he died, and was buried at *Breſſe*.

Captain *de Buch*, Count *de Candalle* ſlain.

He was a brave, and a worthy young man as ever came out of the houſe of *Foix*, and would in time doubtleſs have been a great Soldier, had he lived to hold on as he had begun. I never knew man ſo induſtrious, and deſirous to learn the practice of arms of the old Captains, as this Lord was. To which effect he rendred himſelf as obſequious to the Count *Pedro de Navarre*, as the meaneſt of his Servants. He was inquiſitive into the reaſons of things, and informed himſelf of all, without fooling away his time about trifles, that other young men covet and love: and was more frequent at the Quarters of the Count *Pedro de Navarre*, than at thoſe of Monſieur *de Lautrec*; inſomuch that the Count would always ſay, he was there training up a great Captain. And in truth when he was brought back into the Camp, the ſaid Count kiſs'd him with tears in his eyes. It was a very great loſs of him. All who were at the ſame poſt were either kill'd, or taken, ſome excepted, who ſaved themſelves by the ditches, leaping from ditch to ditch, but thoſe were very few, for the Enemy purſued their victory on that ſide very well.

I on my ſide began to march along by the ſide of a hedg, with my face ſtill towards the *German* Foot, the leſſer evil of the two, and by good fortune both for me, and my Company the Enemy in my rear purſued us coldly enough. At my coming to the Portal I ſpoke of before, I there found a great Troop of the Enemies Horſe, commanded by *Don Ferdinando de Gonzaga* (for it was he who gave the charge) ſo that to recover the Portal I muſt of neceſſity fight with a reſolution either to paſs thorough, or die. I made my men therefore to give them a volly of Harquebuze ſhot, for I for-

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my part had nothing wherewith to fight, but my voice; upon which volly they made me way, ſo that having paſs'd the portal, I fac'd about, and ſtood firm. At which time their Harquebuſiers alſo came up, who at once altogether charged upon us, with all their united power both of Horſe and Foot; when ſeeing this torrent coming upon me, I recover'd the back ſide of the Trench, with my Harquebuſiers only, who had ſaved themſelves from the firſt encounter; which the Marqueſs ſeeing, he was in ſo great a perplexity, that he gave us all over for loſt. I there diſputed the portal a long half hour from the back ſide of the Trench, for it remained free, as well on their ſide, as on ours; they durſt not attempt to paſs, neither did we dare to approach it. If ever Soldiers plaid the men, theſe did it at this time; for all that I had with me could not ariſe to above an hundred and fifty men. The Marqueſs then came up to Captain *Arteguelaube*, to make him riſe, they being all couched upon one knee, for had they ſtood upright, the *Spaniſh* Foot had had them in their aim, and cryed to him, Captain *Arteguelaube*, I beſeech you riſe, and charge, for we muſt of neceſſity paſs the Portal: But he returned him anſwer, that he could not do it without loſing the beſt of our men, as it was very true, for all the *Spaniſh* Foot were then come up. I was cloſe by the Portal, and heard all; but the Marqueſs not ſatisfied with this anſwer, ſpurred up to the black Regiments, commanding them to march up towards the Portal, which they accordingly did. I knew by the manner of their motion, what command they had received, which was the reaſon that I ſtept out, and cried to Captain *Arteguelaube*, Camrade, you are about to be diſgraced for ever, for here are the Black Regiments, that, upon my life, are making towards the Portal, to carry away the honor of the ſervice; at which words he ſtarted up (for the man wanted no courage) and ran full drive towards the Portal, when ſeeing him come, I ſuddenly threw my ſelf before the Portal, and paſſed with all thoſe who followed me, marching ſtraight towards the Enemy, who were not above a hundred paces diſtant from us; we were immediately followed by the Foot, ſent by the Marqueſs: but as we were half paſſed thorough, the Marqueſs gave the word from hand to hand, to make a halt, and to advance no further. The Enemy ſeeing us come on with ſuch reſolution, and the Cavalry following in our Rear, thought it the wiſeſt courſe to retire. I was by this time advanced where we were plying one another, with good round vollies of ſhot, at fifty paces diſtance, and we had a good mind to fall on to the Sword, when the Marqueſs, and another Gentleman with him, came himſelf on horſeback to ſtay me. I think he did ill in it; for had we all paſſed thorough, we had certainly purſued them fighting up to the very Gates of *Naples*. There was in this place very many on both ſides beaten to the ground, that never roſe again, and I admire how I eſcaped, but my hour was not come.

That which occaſioned the Marqueſs to retire, was the fear he had of tempting fortune a ſecond time; he was contented with what he had already loſt, without being willing to hazard any more; ſo that tired out, and over ſpent, we return'd to repaſs the Portal, that had been ſo long diſputed, where a great many good men lay dead upon the place. There it was that the Gentleman who was with the Marqueſs, when he came to command me to retire, I have forgot his name, ſaid to him (for I heard him very well) *Monſieur, I now ſee that the antient proverb is true, which ſays, that one man is worth an hundred, and an hundred are not ſo good as one: I ſpeak it by this Captain who has his arm in a ſcarf, and leans to the Rampire* (for in truth I was quite ſpent) *for it muſt needs be acknowledged, that he is the only cauſe of our preſervation.* I heard likewiſe well enough, though I took no notice of it, the Marqueſs make him this anſwer. *That man will always do well wherever he is.* A paſſage, that although it be to my honor, and my own commendation, I would however inſert it here, without bragging nevertheleſs, or vain glory. I have acquir'd honor enough beſides: but this may perhaps ſerve to excite the other Captains, who ſhall read my Life, to do the ſame upon the like occaſion. And I muſt needs confeſs that I was then better pleaſed with this Character, that this Gentleman, and the ſaid Marqueſs were pleaſed to give of me, than if he had given me the beſt Mannor in his poſſeſſion; though I was at that time very poor. This commendation made my heart to ſwell with courage, and yet more when I was told, that ſome one had entertained Monſieur *de Lautrec*, and the Prince with the ſame diſcourſe, all the time they ſate at Supper. Theſe little points of honor ſerve very much in matters of War, and are the cauſe that when a man ſhall again happen to be in the like ſervice, he fears nothing: it is very true that men are ſometimes miſtaken, and gain nothing but blows: but there is no remedy for that, we muſt give and take.

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You Captains, and Lords who lead men on to death (for War is nothing elſe) when you ſhall ſee a brave act performed by any of your followers, commend him in publick, and moreover relate it to others who were not preſent at the ſervice: if his heart ſit in a right place, he will value ſuch a teſtimony more than all the treaſure of the world, and upon the next occaſion will ſtrive to do ſtill better. But if (as too many do) you ſhall not deſign to regard, or to take notice of the braveſt exploit can by man be performed, and look upon all things with an eye of diſdain, you will find that you muſt recompence them by effects, ſince you would not vouchſafe to do it by word of mouth. I have ever treated the Captains ſo, who have been under my command, and even the meaneſt of my Soldiers; by which they thought themſelves ſo obliged, that I could have made them run their heads againſt a wall, and have ſtood firm in the moſt dangerous poſt in the world, as (for exemple) I did here.

This was the firſt misfortune, and the firſt diſgrace, that had yet befallen us in all this Expedition. It ſeemed to all the world that the Prince of *Navarre* brought us all miſadventure and miſhap: would to God he had ſtaid in *Gaſcony*; neither had it been the worſe for him, who came only to end his days a great way from home, without doing any thing but taking a view of *Naples*. He dyed three weeks, or there abouts, after his arrival, and was the occaſion of the death of this brave young Lord (which I ſhall ever lament) who alſo had the honor to be his Kinſman. Yet was not this all, for ſo ſoon as it was known that ſuch a Prince was arrived, every one preſently concluded that he had brought ſome conſiderable ſuccours, and relief, at leaſt money for the pay of the Army: but there was nothing of all this; for neither he, nor the Gallies brought us one man of recruit; nor any other thing, but his own retinue, and ſome few Gentlemen Voluntiers; which was a great diſcouragement to our diſtreſſed Army, and the Enemy, who were very well informed of all, took new heart at it, knowing very well by that, that the Waters of *France* were very low, when a Prince of his condition, came to ſuch a Siege as this, in an equipage, as if he had only come abroad to ſee the world: but the fault ought not to lie at his door, they were too blame that ſent him.

The death of the Prince of *Navarre*.

'Tis a great fault in Kings and Princes, who put men upon great attempts, to take ſo little care of thoſe whom they know to be engaged in an enterprize of ſo great importance, as was this of the Sieur *de Lautrec*: for the taking of *Naples* had very much aſſured the State of *France*, which by that means would have had its arms at liberty for many years, and we ſhould have diſputed it long, had it once been ours, for we ſhould have been made wiſe by our precedent loſſes. The King committed yet another overſight in not ſending ſome handſom Troop of Gentlemen, and ſome conſiderable Body of Foot with this young Prince, the neglect of which (as I have already ſaid) made our people believe, either that he did not much regard us; or that his hands were full, and that he had elſewhere enough to do. Wherein Monſieur *de Lautrec* was by no means to be blam'd, who never ceaſed to ſend diſpatch after diſpatch, and poſt after poſt, to give his Majeſtie an account of all; but I return to my ſelf; for (as I have always declar'd) I will by no means play the Hiſtorian: if I ſhould, I ſhould have enough to do, and ſcarce know at which end to begin.

This was the laſt engagement where I had any thing to do, wherein though I did not command in chief, yet had I notwithſtanding the command of a very good Company of Foot, and had my full ſhare of the fight that was very handſom; but not for all; which I have ſet down to acquit my ſelf of my promiſe, to wit, that I would give a particular account of all thoſe paſſages, wherein I had the honor to command: paſſing the reſt lightly over, as I do the remainder of this unfortunate Siege, which we were at laſt conſtrained to raiſe, Monſieur *de Lautrec* being dead, to the great misfortune of all *France*, which never had a Captain endowed with better qualities than he was: but he was unhappy, and ill aſſiſted by the King, after His Majeſty had engaged him, as he did firſt at *Millan*, and now laſtly before *Naples*. For my part with that little that was ſaved, which was almoſt nothing, I return'd the greateſt part of my Journey on foot, with my arm in a ſcarf (having above thirty Ells of Taffeta about me, foraſmuch as they had bound my arm and my body together with a cuſhion between) wiſhing a thouſand times rather to die, than to live; for I had loſt all my Maſters and Friends, who knew, and lov'd me, being all dead, excepting Monſieur *de Montpezat* (the Father of this now living) and poor *Don Pedro* our Colonel taken, and carried priſoner into the Rock of *Naples*, where they put him to death, the Emperor having commanded, that for the reward of his revolt, they ſhould cut off his head. He

The death of Monſieur *de Lautrec*, and

Of Don *Pedro de Navarre*.

was

was a man of great underſtanding, in whom Monſieur *de Lautrec* (who confided in few perſons) had a very great confidence. I do alſo believe (and am not ſingle in that opinion) that he counſelled him ill in this War; but what! we only judg by Events.

In this handſom equipage, I came home to my Fathers houſe, where, poor Gentleman, I found him engag'd in too many neceſſities of his own, to be in any capacity of much aſſiſting me; foraſmuch as his Father had ſold three parts of four of the Eſtate of the Family, and had left the remainder charg'd with five children, by a ſecond venture, beſides us of my Fathers, who were no leſs than ten. By which any one may judg, in what neceſſities we who are come out of the Family of *Montluc* have been conſtrained to follow the fortunes of the world. And yet our houſe was not ſo contemptible, but that it had near upon five thouſand Livers yearly revenue belonging to it, before it was ſold. To fit my ſelf in all points I was conſtrained to ſtay three years at home, without being able to get any cure for my arm, and after I was cur'd I was to begin the world again, as I did the firſt day I came out from a Page, and as a perſon unknown ſeek my fortune in all ſorts of neceſſities, and with extream peril of my life. I praiſe God for all, who in all the traverſes of my life, has ever been aſſiſting to me.

Upon the firſt motions of War King *Francis* inſtituted his Legionaires, which was a very fine invention, had it been well purſued (for a ſtart all our Laws, and Ordinances are obſerved, and kept, but after a while neglected, and let down, for it is the true and only way to have always a good Army on Foot (as the *Romans* did) and to train up the people to War, though I know not whether that be good or evil. It has been much controverted, though I for my part had rather truſt to my own people, than to ſtrangers. *The Legionaires inſtituted.* 1534.

Of theſe the King gave one thouſand to the Seneſchal of *Thouloufe*, Seigneur *de Faudoas*, who made me his Lieutenant Colonel, and although it was the *Languedoc* Legion, and that he was Colonel, I nevertheleſs raiſed him all his Regiment in *Guienne*, and appointed him all his Captains, Lieutenants, Enſigns, Serjeants, and Corporals. A great rumor was at that time ſpread over all *France*, that the Emperor through the great intelligences he had within, was, for the conqueſt of ſuch, and ſo great a Kingdom, coming up with vaſt, and invincible Forces; thinking at unawares to ſurprize the King; and in effect he did advance as far as *Provence*. The King to oppoſe ſo mighty, and ſo powerful an Enemy, ſummon'd in all his Forces from all parts: in order to which ſummons, we uſed ſo extraordinary diligence (neither was I ever ſlothful) that our Regiment was the firſt that arrived at *Marſelles*, where we found Monſieur *de Barbezieux* (which was *de la Rochefoucaut*) and Monſieur *de Montpezat*, whom the King had made his joynt Lieutenants there (the one having as much authority as the other) and the Seigneurs *de Boitieres* and *de Villebon* (Provoſt of *Paris*) the Regiments of Monſieur *le Grand Eſcuyer Galliot*, and of the ſaid Seigneur *de Montpezat*, who came from *Foſſan* all diſmounted; having each of them a * Curtal only; for by Article at the ſurrender of the ſaid *Foſſan* (which was loſt through the enormous, and perhaps unheard of Treachery of the Marqueſs of *Saluzzo*) they were oblig'd to leave their great horſes behind. The Emperor being ſoon after come to *Aix*, the Legionary Regiments (conſiſting of a thouſand men each) of Monſieur *de Fontrailles* (the Father of theſe now living) and of Monſieur *d' Aubigeons*, came preſently up to us, as alſo thoſe of *Chriſtophle de Goaſt*, with ſeven *Italian* Companies. I am not certain whether the Regiments of Monſieur *de Boitieres*, and *de Villebon* were there, or no: but I very well remember that of the ſaid Seigneur *de Barbezieux*; and ſo long as the Emperor continued at *Aix*, we remain'd at *Marſelles*, where nothing however of Action paſt, but what I am now going to relate. * Or pad Nag. *The treachery of the Marqueſs of Saluzzo.* 1537.

Whilſt the Emperor lay very long at *Aix*, in expectation of his great Canon, wherewith to come, and batter the walls of *Marſelles*, his proviſions did every day more, and more waſt, and diminiſh. In which point of time the King arriv'd at *Avignon*, where His Majeſty was advertiſed, that if means could be made to deſtroy ſome Mills the Emperor had ſeiz'd into his hands towards *Arles*, and eſpecially one within four Leagues of *Aix*, called the Mill of *Auriolle*, the Enemies Camp would ſoon ſuffer for want of bread. Upon which advice the King commited the execution of the burning of thoſe Mills about *Arles*, to the Baron *de la Garde*, who had a Company of Foot, to Captain *Thorines* Standard-bearer to the Count *de Tandes*, and ſome others, who accordingly executed the deſign. Which notwithſtanding the Spies ſtill brought word to the King, that he muſt alſo burn thoſe of *Auriolle*; foraſmuch as they alone ordinarily nouriſh'd not the *Mills burnt by the French.*

Emperors

Emperors whole houſhold only: but moreover the ſix thouſand old *Spaniſh* Foot, which he always kept about his own perſon. His Majeſty ſent therefore ſeveral times to Meſſieurs *de Barbezieux*, and *de Montpezat* to hazard a Regiment of men, to go, and burn the ſaid Mills of *Auriolle*.

The firſt to whom they recommended the execution thereof, was to the foreſaid *Chriſtophle le Goaſt*, who poſitively refuſed to undertake it, alledging that it was five Leagues to the aforeſaid Mills, where they were to fight threeſcore Guards, that were within it, and an entire Company that were quartered in the Town, ſo that he ſhould have five Leagues to go, and as many to return, by means whereof he ſhould going or coming be infallibly defeated upon the way, for the Emperor could not fail of intelligence, it being no more than four leagues only from the ſaid *Auriolle* to *Aix*; and on the other ſide the Soldiers would never be able to travel ten long leagues without baiting by the way. This anſwer was ſent back to the King, who notwithſtanding would not take it for currant pay; but on the contrary ſent another more poſitive order, than the former, that it ſhould be propoſed to ſome others, and that though a thouſand men ſhould be loſt in the Enterprize, yet let them not concern themſelves, for the benefit that would accrue burning the Mills, would countervail the loſs (ſuch eaſie Markets Princes make of the lives of men.)

Captain *Goaſt* refuſes to undertake the Enterprize,

ard

Whereupon it was offer'd to Monſieur *de Fonterailles*, who was once in mind to undertake it: but ſome of his friends repreſenting to him his certain ruine in the attempt, he piſs'd backwards, and would by no means touch. All which being ſent word of to His Majeſty (who continually had the manifeſt advantage the deſtroying of the other Mills had brought to His Majeſties affaires, reminded to him) he ſtill perſiſted to preſs the aforeſaid Lords, to ſend ſome one, or another to demoliſh theſe. Now one day, after I had heard how diſcontented the King was, and the excuſes that had been alledg'd by thoſe to whom it had hitherto been recommended (which in truth were very rational, and juſt) I began to meditate with my ſelf, which way I might execute this deſign, and to conſider, that if God would give me the grace to bring it about, it would be a means to bring me to the knowledg of the King, and to reſtore me to the ſame reputation and acquaintance, I had formerly acquir'd; and that now by three years idleneſs, and the length of my cure, was as good as vaniſh'd and loſt: for it is nothing to get a good repute, if a man do not uphold, and improve it. Having therefore taken with my ſelf a reſolution to execute this deſign; or to die in the attempt: I enform'd my ſelf at full of my Landlord of the ſcituation, and condition of the place where theſe Mills were: who told me that *Auriolle* was a little Town enclos'd with high walls, where there was a Caſtle well fortified, and a Bourg compoſed of many houſes, with a fair ſtreet thorough the middle of it, and at the end of the ſaid Bourg, which led from the Town towards the Mill, was a little on the left hand the Mill it ſelf. That at the Gate of the ſaid Town there was a Tower, which look'd directly down the great ſtreet towards the Mill, before which no man could ſtand, without running great hazard of being either ſlain, or wounded; and that beyond the Mill was a little Church at the diſtance of about thirty, or forty paces. He told me moreover, that I was to go to *Ambaigne*, two Leagues from *Marſelles*, and that from thence to *Auriolle*, it was three more, if we went by by the Mountains which the Horſe could not poſſibly do; but muſt be conſtrained to go near upon a League about, where they were moreover to paſs a River that was deep to the Saddle skirts, by reaſon that the Bridges had been broken down.

Alſo Monſieur *de Fonterailles.*

It is undertaken by the Sieur *de Montluc.*

My Landlord having told me all this, I conſider'd, that if I ſhould undertake this affair with a great party, I ſhould be defeated; for the place being only four Leagues diſtant from the Emperor's Camp, he would have preſent intelligence, and would ſend out his Horſe to intercept me in my return, as it alſo fell out; for immediately upon our coming to the Mill, the Captain of the Caſtle diſpatch'd away in all haſt to the Emperor. So that I conceiv'd it much better for me to undertake it with a ſmall number of men, and thoſe light and active fellows; to the end that if I did the work I went for, I might either have means to retire by one way or another; or at the worſt if I ſhould throw my ſelf away, and thoſe who were with me, yet they being but a few, the City of *Marſelles* would by that miſcarriage be in no manner of danger to be loſt, which was the thing moſt diſputed in the Council; whereas by loſing a thouſand or twelve hundred men, which were thought a neceſſary proportion for ſuch an Enterprize, the ſaid City might be expos'd to ſome danger, eſpecially in a time when they expected a Siege.

I then deſir'd my Landlord to provide me three fellows, who were expert in the ways,

ways, to guide me by night to the ſaid *Auriolle*, and ſo that, as near as could be gueſs'd, they ſhould bring me to the Mills two hours before day; which he accordingly did, when after having ſome time conſulted with them, I found the men were fearful, and loth to go: but at laſt mine Hoſt ſo encourag'd them, that they were all reſolved; whereupon I gave to each of them a brace of Crowns, and cauſed them to be kept up in my lodging, which was about Noon; and having computed with my Landlord how many hours the nights were then long, we found, that provided I ſhould ſet out about the twilight, I ſhould have time enough to do my buſineſs.

All this being done, that my deſign might not be known, I went my ſelf firſt to Monſieur *de Montpezat*, to acquaint him with what I intended to do; and moreover that I was reſolved to take with me no more, than ſix ſcore men only, which I would chooſe out of the Seneſchall's Regiment, to which I was Lieutenant Colonel. In all places wherever I have been, I have ſtill made it my ſtudy to diſcern betwixt the good men, and the bad, and to judg what they were able to do; for all men are not proper for all uſes.

The ſaid Sieur *de Montpezat* thought my reſolution very ſtrange, and out of friendſhip adviſ'd me not to do ſo ridiculous a thing, as to hazard my ſelf with ſo few men; telling me, that I might as well have five hundred if I would. To which I made anſwer, that I would never demand five hundred men for the execution of an Enterprize, that I could better perform with ſix ſcore, and tormented him ſo, that in the end he was conſtrained to go along with me to Monſieur *de Barbezieux*, who yet thought it more ſtrange, than the other, and would needs know of me my reaſons and by what means I would execute this deſign with ſo few people. To whom I made anſwer, that I would not declare to any one living, which way I intended to proceed: but that nevertheleſs (if they ſo pleaſed) I would undertake it. Whereupon Monſieur *de Montpezat* ſaid to him, let him go; for though he ſhould be loſt, and all thoſe with him, the City will not for that be in the more danger to be loſt, and it will give His Majeſty content. Monſieur *de Villebon* who was preſent at the deliberation, laugh'd, and jeer'd at me, ſaying to Monſieur *de Barbezieux*, let him go, he will infallibly take the Emperor, and we ſhall all be aſhamed, when we ſee him bring him into the City to morrow morning. Now this man did not love me, for ſome words that had paſſed betwixt us at the Port Royal; neither could I forbear to tell him, that he was like a dog in a manger, that would neither eat himſelf nor ſuffer others. All was paſs'd over in jeſt though in plain truth, I was half angry, for a little ſpurring would ſerve to make me ſtart. The Seneſchal *de Tholouſe*, my Colonel, adhear'd to my opinion, whereupon I had immediate leave granted me to go chooſe out my ſix ſcore men, and no more, which I did, taking only one * Centenier, and a Corporal, the reſt were all Gentlemen, and ſo brave a Company, that they were better than five hundred others. It is not all to have a great number of men, they ſomtimes do more hurt than good, which made me entreat Monſieur *de Barbezieux* to cauſe the Gate of the City to be ſhut, being well aſſur'd that otherwiſe I ſhould have had more company than I deſir'd; which he alſo did, and it hapned well for another reaſon, for in leſs than an hour my deſign was ſpread all over the whole City.

* Or Centurion, a term used as ſuiting that of Legion.

Juſt at Sun-ſet, I, with my ſix ſcore men, repair'd to the Gate, the wicket whereof was only open: but the ſtreet was ſo full of Soldiers, ready to go out with me, that I had much ado to diſtinguiſh my own, and was therefore conſtrained to make them all take hands, for I very well knew them every one. As I was going out of the Gate, Monſieur de *Tavannes* (who was ſince Mareſchal of *France*, and at this time Standard-bearer to the Grand Eſcuyer *Galliot*) came to me with fifteen, or twenty Gentlemen of their own Company, telling me, that he, with thoſe friends of his were come to offer themſelves, reſolved to run all hazards with me in the execution of my deſign. I uſed all the arguments I could to divert him from that reſolution: but it was time, and labour loſt; for both he, and thoſe with him were all poſitively reſolv'd. Meſſieurs *de Barbezieux*, *de Montpezat*, *de Boitieres*, *de Villebon*, and the Seneſchal *de Tholouſe*, were all without the Gate, and before the wicket, drawing us out one by one, when Monſieur *de Tavannes* offering to paſs, Monſieur *de Barbezieux* would not permit him, telling him, that he ſhould be none of the party, and there ſome words, and a little anger paſſed, both on ſide and the other: but Monſieur *de Tavannes* overcame at laſt, and paſs'd the wicket; for which cauſe they detain'd from me fifteen or twenty men of thoſe I had choſen: but I loſt nothing by the exchange, only theſe diſputes deferr'd the time ſo long, that the night was ſhut up, before we began to march. Monſieur *de Caſtelpers* Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Montpezat* (who was my very particular friend) having heard how I had been raill'd, and jeer'd amongſt them,

Tavannes.

Caſtelpers.

them, determin'd to get to horſe, with ſome fifteen, or twenty men at arms of the ſaid Company, being all very well mounted, and to that end had ſpoken to Monſieur *de Montpezat* at his going out of the Gate, to entreat him, that he would not be diſpleaſed if he made one in the Enterprize; telling him that I was a *Gaſcon*, and that if I fail'd in the attempt, it would beget matter of ſport for the *French*, and they would laugh us to ſcorn. Monſieur *de Montpezat* was at firſt unwilling to it, but ſeeing him begin to grow into a little heat, at laſt conſented, whereupon he preſently ran to mount to horſe, and there might be nineteen or twenty of the party.

Now to give a full account of this Enterprize, (which although it was not the conqueſt of *Millan*, may nevertheleſs be of ſome uſe to ſuch as will make their advantage of it) ſo ſoon as we came to the *Plan St Michel*, I gave to Captain *Belſoleil* (Centenier to our Company) threeſcore men; and threeſcore I kept for my ſelf (Monſieur *de Tavannes*, and his followers being compriz'd in that number) to whom I alſo deliver'd a good Guide, telling him withal, that he was not to come near me by a hundred paces, and that we would continually march at a good round rate. Which order being given, and Monſieur *de Tavannes*, and I beginning to ſet forward, up comes Monſieur *de Caſtelpers*, of whoſe deliberation we till then knew nothing, foraſmuch as it had been reſolved upon at the very moment of our going out at the wicket, which hindred us another long half hour: but in the end we agreed, that he ſhould go the Horſe way, and gave him another of my Guides, which he mounted behind one of his men; ſo that we had three parties, and to every party a Guide. At our parting I gave him inſtructions, that ſo ſoon as he ſhould arrive at the end of the Bourg, he ſhould draw up behind the Church, for ſhould they enter into the ſtreet, the Company quarter'd in the Town, would either kill them, or their horſes; and that therefore he was not to appear, till firſt he heard us engag'd.

The order of the Enterprize.

We now began to ſet forward, and marched all night, where as far as *Aubaigne*, we found the way to be exceeding good: but from thence to *Auriolle* we were fain to crawl over the ſides of Mountains, where, I believe, never any thing but Goats had gone before: by which abominable way, having got within half a quarter of a league of *Auriolle*, I made a halt, bidding Monſieur *de Tavannes*, to ſtay there for me, for I muſt go ſpeak with *Belſoleil*. I therefore went back, and met him within a hundred paces of us, or leſs; where ſpeaking to him, and his Guide, I told him, that when he ſhould arrive at the Bourg, he was by no means to follow me: but to march directly to the Gate of the Town, betwixt the Bourg and the ſaid Town, and there make a ſtand at the Gate, it being neceſſary that he ſhould gain two houſes next adjoyning to the ſaid Gate, which he muſt ſuddainly break into, to keep the Enemy from ſallying out to diſturb us; and that there he was to ſtay, and fight, without taking any care to relieve us at all; after which order given to him, I moreover paſt the word from hand to hand, to all the Soldiers, that no one was to abandon the fight at the Gate, to come to us to the Mill; but that they were punctually to obſerve whatever Captain *Belſoleil* ſhould command them.

Returning then back to Monſieur *de Tavannes*, we again began to march, when being come near to the Caſtle, under which, and cloſe by the walls of the Town, we were of neceſſity to paſs, their Centinels twice call'd out to us; Who goes there? to which we made no anſwer at all, but ſtill went on our way, till coming cloſe to the Bourg, we left the way that Captain *Belſoleil* was to take, and ſlipt behind the houſes of the ſaid Bourg, when being come to the further end where the Mill ſtood, we were to deſcend two or three ſtone ſteps to enter into the ſtreet, where we found a Centinel, that never diſcover'd us, till we were within a Pikes length of him, and then he cry'd *Qui vive?* to which I made anſwer in *Spaniſh*, *Eſpagne*, (wherein I was miſtaken, for the word was not then *Eſpagne*, but *Impery*) whereupon, without more ceremony he gave fire; but hit nothing.

The alarm being by this means given, Monſieur *de Tavannes*, and I threw our ſelves deſperately into the ſtreet, and were bravely follow'd; where we found three or four of the Enemy without the door of the Mill: but they immediately ran in. The door of this Mill was made with two folding leaves, both which were to be bolted faſt with a great Iron Bar on the inſide; one of theſe had a great Cheſt behind it, and the other the foreſaid Bar held more than half ſhut, and had theſe fellows behind it. The Mill was full of men, both above ſtairs and below (for there was threeſcore men in it, with the Captain, who had no dependence upon the Governor of the Town, each of them having his command apart) and we were one by one to enter this place.

Monſieur *de Tavannes* would very fain firſt have entred, and preſs'd forward with that

that intent; but I pulling him back by the arm, withheld him, and puſh'd in a Soldier that was behind me: the Enemy made but two Harquebuze ſhot, having leiſure to do no more, being all faſt aſleep, excepting theſe three, or four, who had been placed as Centinels before the Mill door in the ſtreet. So ſoon as the Soldier was got in, I ſaid to Monſieur *de Tavannes*, now enter if you will; which he preſently did, and I after him, where we began to lay about us to ſome purpoſe, there being no more but one light only to fight by within. In this buſtle the Enemy by a pair of ſtone ſtairs of indifferent wideneſs, recover'd the upper Room, where they ſtoutly defended the ſaid ſtairs from the floor above, whilſt I in the mean time ſent a Soldier to tell the reſt, that were without, that they ſhould get up upon the outſide of the Mill, and uncovering the roof, ſhoot down upon their heads, which was immediately perform'd; ſo that the Enemy perceiving our men to be got upon the roof, and that they already let fly amongſt them, they began to throw themſelves into the water out of a window on the backſide of the Mill: but we nevertheleſs mounted the ſtairs, and kill'd all thoſe that remain'd, the Captain excepted, who with two wounds, and ſeven others all wounded, were taken priſoners. Hereupon I preſently ſent one away to Captain *Belſoleil*, to bid him take courage, and ſtoutly to diſpute the Gate of the Town, for the Mill was our own.

The Mill of *Auriolle* taken.

The Alarm in the mean time, in the Town was very great, and thoſe within three times attempted to Sally: but our men held them ſo ſhort, that they durſt never open their Gates. I ſent Captain *Belſoleil* moreover moſt of my men to aſſiſt him, and in the mean time, with the reſt, fell to burning the Mill, taking away all the Iron work, eſpecially the Spindles, and Rinds, that it might not be repair'd again, never leaving it till it was entirely burnt down to the ground, and the Mill-ſtones rowl'd into the River. Now you muſt know that Captain *Tavannes* took it a little to heart, that I had pull'd him back by the arm, and ask'd me afterwards upon our returne, why I would not permit him to enter the firſt, ſuſpecting I had more mind to give the honor of it to the Soldiers: to whom I made anſwer, that I knew he was not yet ſo crafty to ſave himſelf, as thoſe old Soldiers were; and that moreover, that was not a place conſiderable enough for a man of his worth, and condition to dye in; but that he was to reſerve himſelf for a noble breach, and not to looſe his life in a paltry Mill.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, Monſieur *de Caſtelpers* arriv'd, and leaving his party behind the Church, came up to us on foot, and upon this the day began to appear: wherefore I entreated Monſieur *de Tavannes*, and *de Caſtelpers* to retire behind the Church (for the ſhot flew very thick in the ſtreet, where they could ſee any one paſs), telling them, that I would go draw off *Belſoleil*; whereupon they both accordingly retir'd, and as I was drawing off our men one after another running down on both ſides the ſtreet, Monſieur *de Caſtelpers* preſented himſelf with his twenty Horſe at the end of the ſtreet by the Church, wherein he did us very great ſervice; for the Enemy might otherwiſe have ſallyed out upon us. I had only ſeven, or eight men hurt, who nevertheleſs were all able to march, one Gentleman only excepted, called *Vigaux*, whom we ſet upon an Aſs of thoſe we had found in the Mill, and preſently began to retire towards the top of a mountain, which was almoſt the ſame way by which Monſieur *de Caſtelpers* had come, when the Enemy diſcovering us to be ſo few, they all ſallyed out in our Rear; but we had already gain'd the top of the Hill, when they arriv'd but at the foot of it, and before they recovered the heighth, we were got into the valley on the other ſide, ready to climb another (there being many little hills in that place) and yet we never marched faſter than a foot pace; and ſo went ſtraight on to *Aubaigne*.

The Impetialliſts make a Sally.

I had given order to the Soldiers that went along with us, that every one ſhould take with him a loaf of Bread, which they eat by the way, and I alſo had caus'd ſome few to be brought, which I divided amongſt the *Gens-d'Armes* of Monſieur *de Tavannes*; and we our ſelves eat as we went; which I here ſet down, to the end, that when any Captain ſhall go upon an Enterprize, where he is to have a long march, he may take exemple to cauſe ſomething to be brought along to eat, wherewith to refreſh the Soldiers, that they may be the better able to hold out; for men are not made of Iron.

So ſoon as we were come to *Aubaigne*, two leagues from *Marſelles*, where we had thought to have halted, and to have taken ſome refreſhment, we heard the Artillery of the Gallies, and of the Town, which at that diſtance ſeem'd to be volleys of Harquebuze ſhot; an Alarm that conſtrain'd us without further delay, or taking any

other refreſhment, than what we had brought along with us, to march forwards, and to enter into conſultation amongſt our ſelves what courſe we were beſt to take; we already took it for granted, that the Emperor was arriv'd before the Town, and that he would certainly ſit down before it; and thence concluded it impoſſible for us to get in again, which made us often repent, and curſe the enterprize that had ſhut us out, the misfortune whereof was wholly laid to my charge, as the Author of all. In this uncertainty what courſe to ſteer, Monſieur *de Caſtelpers* was once reſolved to go charge deſperately thorough the Enemy's Camp, to get into the City; but when he came to acquaint us with his determination, we remonſtrated to him, that that would be to throw himſelf away out of an humor, and that ſince we had together performed ſo brave a ſervice, and with which the King would be ſo highly pleaſed, we ought likewiſe together either to periſh, or to ſave our ſelves. Captain *Trebous* Guidon to the Company of Monſieur *de Montpezat*, told him the ſame, ſo that we concluded in the end to leave the great high way, and croſſing the Mountains on the left hand, to fall down behind *Noſtre Dame de la Garde*, making account, that in caſe we could not enter into the City, the Captain of the ſaid Cittadel would receive us in there. So we turn'd out of the way, and it was well for us that we did ſo, for *Vignaux*, and *les Fleres* keeping on the great Road ſtraight to *Marſelles*, had not gone on five hundred paces, but they met with four or five hundred Horſe, which the Emperor (having had intelligence from thoſe of *Auriolle* of what had been done) had ſent out to meet, and fight us upon the way; and had not the Emperor parted from *Aix* by night to go before *Marſelles*, ſo that the Meſſengers of a long time could meet with no body to whom to deliver their errand, I do believe we had certainly been defeated: but the Emperor knew nothing of it, till break of day, whereupon he preſently ſent out thoſe four or five hundred Horſe upon the Road to *Aubaigne*, who did no other harm to *Vignaux*, and thoſe who were with him, but only took away their Arms.

The Emperor *Charles* before *Marſelles.*

In this manner we travail'd all day from mountain to mountain in the exceſſive heat, without finding one drop of water, inſomuch that we were all ready to dye for thirſt; always within ſight of the Emperor's Camp, and ever within hearing of the Skirmiſhes that were made before the Town, Monſieur *de Caſtelpers*, and his *Gens-d'Armes* marching all the way on foot, as we did, and leading their horſes in their hands, till coming near to *Noſtre Dame de la Garde*, the Captain of the Caſtle taking us for the Enemy, let fly three or four pieces of Canon at us, which forc'd us to ſhift behind the Rocks. From thence we made ſigns with our hats; but for all that he ceas'd not to ſhoot, till in the end, having ſent out a Soldier to make a ſign, ſo ſoon as he underſtood who we were, he gave over ſhooting; and as we came before *Noſtre Dame de la Garde*, we ſaw the Emperor, who was retiring by the way he came, and *Chriſtophle Goaſh*, who had all day maintain'd the Skirmiſh, beginning alſo to retreat towards the City. We then began to deſcend the Mountain, when ſo ſoon as Monſieur *de Barbezieux*, and Monſieur *de Montpezat* (who, with ſome other Captains, were ſtanding without the Gates of the City) had diſcover'd us, they would have gone in again, taking us for the Enemy; but ſome body ſaying, that then thoſe of the Caſtle would have ſhot at us, the ſaid Sieur *Montpezat* preſently knew Monſieur *de Caſtelpers*; and we thereupon arriv'd at the Gate of the City, where we were mightily careſſed, eſpecially when they heard of the good ſucceſs of our enterprize, and they talk'd with the Captain of the Mill, who was wounded in the arm, and in the head, and after every one retir'd to his own Quarters.

Retreat.

I made no manner of queſtion, but that Monſieur *de Barbezieux*, ſo ſoon as the King ſhould come to *Marſelles*, would have preſented me to His Majeſty, and have told him, that I was the man who had perform'd this exploit, that His Majeſty might have taken notice of me: but he was ſo far from doing me that friendſhip, that on the contrary he attributed all the honor to himſelf, ſaying that it was he, who had laid the deſign of this Enterprize, and had only deliver'd it to us to execute; and Monſieur *de Montpezat* was by ill fortune at that time very ſick, and could ſay nothing in my behalf, ſo that I remain'd as much a ſtranger to the King, as ever. I came to know all this by the means of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, who told me that he himſelf had ſeen the Letters which the ſaid Sieur *de Barbezieux* had writ to the King to that effect, wherein he attributed to himſelf the whole honor of that action. Monſieur *de Lautrec* would not have ſerv'd me ſo; neither is it handſom to rob another man of his honor; and there is nothing that does more diſcourage a brave heart: but Monſieur *de Tavannes*, who is now living, can teſtifie the truth. So it is, that the deſtroying of theſe Mills, both the one, and the other, eſpecially

Injuſtice of Monſieur *de Barbezieux* towards the Sieur *de Montluc.*

thoſe

thoſe of *Auriolle*, reduced the Emperors Camp to ſo great neceſſity, that they were fain to eat the Corn pounded in a Mortar, after the manner of the *Turks*; and the Grapes they ate put their Camp into ſo great a diſorder, and brought ſo great a Mortality amongſt them, eſpecially the *Germans*, that I verily believe there never return'd a thouſand of them into their own Country, and this was the iſſue of this mighty preparation.

The Captains who ſhall read this relation, may perhaps obſerve, that in this Enterprize there was more of Fortune, than of Reaſon, and that I went upon it as it were in the dark, though it was happily brought about: but I do not ſuſpect however, that any one will conclude it to be wholly an effect of my good fortune, but will alſo take notice, that I forgot nothing of what was neceſſary to make the deſign ſucceed; and on the other ſide they may obſerve, that my principal ſecurity was, that the Enemy within the Town by the Rule of War, ought not to ſally out of their Garriſon, till they ſhould firſt diſcover what our Forces were, a thing in the obſcurity of the night, which they could very hardly do; all which notwithſtanding, I did not yet ſo much rely upon their diſcretion, but that I moreover put a bridle in their mouths, which was *Belſoleil*, and his Company. A man muſt often hazzard ſomething, for no one can be certain of the event. I concluded the conqueſt of the Mill for certain: but I ever thought it would be a matter of great difficulty, and danger to retreat.

Thus did the Emperor *Charles*, both with ſhame and loſs, retire, where that great Leader *Anne de Montmorency* (all that time Grand Maiſtre, and ſince Conneſtable of *France*) obtein'd renown. It was one of the greateſt baffles the Emperor ever received, and for grief whereof his great Captain *Antonio de Leva* (as was reported) afterwards dyed. I have ſometimes heard the Marquis *de Guaſt* ſay, that this expedition was the ſole contrivance of the ſaid *Antonio de Leva*, and yet both he and his Maſter very well knew, what it was to attaque a King of *France* in his own Kingdom.

The death of *Antonio de Leva*.

The Emperor being with his Forces retir'd, I would no longer continue Lieutenant to the Seneſchal's Regiment; who, had it lain in his power, would have reſign'd it wholly into my hands. Monſieur *de Boitieres* then did me the honor to make me an offer of his Guidon, which I likewiſe refus'd to accept, having ſet my heart more upon the Foot, than upon Horſe ſervice. I had moreover an opinion, that I ſhould ſooner riſe to advancement by the Infantry, which was the reaſon that I again return'd home, where having made ſome little ſtay, I would go into *Piedmont* there to ſerve under Monſieur *de Boitieres*, who was the Kings Lieutenant in that Province, and in order thereunto went firſt to *Marſelles*, where I was ſix or ſeven months detain'd by Monſieur *de Taude*.

Some time after the Emperor rais'd an Army therewith to go and lay ſiege to *Theroaue*, and the King, at the ſame time, rais'd another to relieve it: whereupon I immediately took poſt, and went to Court, where Monſieur *Le Grand Maiſtre* gave me a Foot Company, and another to Captain *Gucrre*, which we preſently rais'd in, and about *Paris*, and were both of us receiv'd into the Guards of Monſieur *le Dauphin*, who was afterwards *Henry* the Second of *France*. The Army march'd preſently away to *Heſdin*, and to *Anchi le Chaſteau*, both which places were taken by the ſaid *Grand Maiſtre*, as alſo Saint *Venant*; neither could the Imperialiſts do any good upon *Theroane*, which Monſieur *de Annebaut* reliev'd in the very face of the Enemy, though there was a diſaſter happened upon that occaſion, thorough the heat, and vanity of ſome young Gentlemen, who becauſe they had a mind to break their Launces, would needs indiſcreetly ſeek the Enemy, by whom they were defeated, and all taken, both Monſieur *d' Annebaut*, and all the reſt.

Soon after which the Imperialiſts retir'd and the King's Army alſo: As for me, ſeeing there was no great matters to be done thereabouts, I return'd preſently after into *Provence*, where I had left my great Horſes, and my Armes: and where about ten or fifteen days after, I received a Packet from the ſaid Monſieur *le Grand Maiſtre*, wherein there was a Commiſſion to raiſe two Enſigns of Foot, and to march them away into *Piedmont*, whither the King himſelf was alſo going in perſon to relieve *Turin*, Monſieur *de Poitieres* being ſhut up within it. I thereupon preſently took Poſt to go into *Gaſcony*, and made ſo good haſt, that in eight days I had rais'd the two Companies, of which I made Captain *Merens* my Lieutenant; when, being about *Tholouſe*, I left the men with him, and went away Poſt, having heard that Monſieur *le Grand Maiſtre* was already arriv'd at *Lyons*, and that he march'd in great diligence to gain

the

the *Pas de Suze*, wherein he ſhew'd himſelf to be no novice in War; So that ſeeing I could not bring up my Companies time enough to be with him at that Engagement, I was reſolved to be there alone: I could not however make ſo great haſt, but that I found the King got before me to *Sorges*, and Monſieur *le Grand Maiſtre* two days march further advanc'd: where His Majeſty commanded me to return to my command, and to come up with *Ambres* and *Dampons*, who had each of them two Companies more, telling me moreover, that we were to be commanded by Monſieur *de Chavigni*, and giving me further inſtructions that we were to ſit down before *Barſellonette*, and to ſeize all the Towns thereabout into our hands.

So ſoon as I came to *Marſelles*, I had news brought me, that my two Companies had disbanded themſelves; for (as the ambition of the world is great) Monſieur *de Lieux* my Brother had ſent to my Lieutenant to deſire him, that he would loyter a while in expectation of him up and down the Country thereabouts, foraſmuch as he was raiſing a Foot Company, which he intended ſpeedily to march away under the ſhadow of my Commiſſion; to which my Lieutenant very indiſcreetly conſented, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had made me to march five leagues a day. But as my Lieutenant had quitted the great Road, and turn'd aſide towards *Albigeois* to ſpin out the time, he came at laſt to a Town call'd *l' Iſle*, where the Inhabitants ſhut their Gates againſt him, which forc'd him to give an aſſault, as he did, and carried the place, with ſo ſuddain an execution, that although my ſaid Brother was then within a days march of him with his Company, yet would he not come up, till the buſineſs was done, where his Soldiers having ſack'd the Town, and being by that means loaden with booty, they were afterwards in ſo great fear to march, that they all disbanded, and every one run home with his ſpoil to his own houſe. By which you may underſtand, that an officer ought very ſeldom to leave his command, if not upon extraordinary occaſion, for the great deſire I had to be one of the firſt, made me to abandon mine, which was the cauſe of this diſorder. I was therefore conſtrain'd to raiſe two other Companies in *Provence*, wherein the Count favour'd me very much, ſo that I had ſoon diſpatch'd, muſter'd at *Villeneufve d' Avignon*, and made ſo great haſt, that (notwithſtanding this accident) I yet arriv'd at the Valleys two days ſooner than *Ambres*, and *Dampons*, and took the Caſtle, and the Town of *Mieulan*, where I made a halt in expectation of Monſieur *de Chavigni*, and the Companies of the ſaid *Ambres*, and *Dampons*, who diſputed the paſſage of *Lauzet*, which they could never have obtained, for all the people of the Country were there gather'd together to defend it: but that the *Spaniards* who were at *Barſelonette*, and thoſe who were gone to defend the paſſage, hearing that I had taken *Mieulan*, retir'd by the Mountains (for I was poſſeſſed of the great Road towards *Barſelonette*) and the common people ſeeing the ſaid *Spaniards* to retire, quitted the paſſe by night, by means whereof they entred into it.

Mr. *Lieux*, brother to Mr. *Montluc*.

A Captain ought as ſeldom as he can to leave his men.

We then went to beſiege *Barſelonette*, before which place we lay three weeks, where I receiv'd a Harquebuze ſhot through my left arm, but it never touch'd the bone, ſo that I was preſently cured; after which the King having relieved *Turin*, His Majeſty return'd, and we for not having been preſent at the ſervice, were all three commanded back; upon which order Monſieur *d' Ambres* went away Poſt to his ſaid Majeſty, with whom he prevailed ſo far, that he was pleaſed to leave him one of his Companies: which when I underſtood with what difficulty he had obtain'd, I carried mine back into *Provence*, where having diſmiſſed them, I retir'd my ſelf to my own houſe. At which time there was alſo a ceſſation (ſeeing no peace was to be made) concluded for ten years.

The Sieur *de Montluc* ſhot.

I thought fit to commit this to writing (though there be no great matter in it) to let the world ſee, that I never reſted long in a place; but was always ready at the firſt beat of Drum; for the days of Peace were whole years to me, ſo impatient I was of lying idle. At the end of this War, the King was pleaſed to honor Monſieur *le Grand Maiſtre* with the Office of Conneſtable of *France*; an employment that has ever been vacant (as it is at this day) after the death of Monſieur *de Montmorency*. A thing that I conceive our Kings have purpoſely ſo ordered, as well to take away all occaſion of Jealouſie amongſt the Princes, as alſo for the danger of entruſting ſo great a power in one mans hands. Witneſs St. *Pol*, and *Bourbon*, the laſt of which indeed was very faithful, and dyed in his Majeſties ſervice, ever approving himſelf a great, and prudent Captain: which teſtimony I am conſtrain'd by truth to give of him, and by no other obligation that I have; for neither he, nor any of his were ever any friends of mine.

The danger of creating a Conneſtable of *France*.

During

During the time of this Truce, I tryed (forſooth) to be a Courtier, but in vain, for I was never cut out for that employment, I have ever been too free, and too open hearted to live at Court; and I ſucceeded there accordingly. Now after the foul, and deteſted aſſaſſinate committed upon the perſons of the Seigneurs *Fregouze* and *Rincon*, Embaſſadours for the King our Maſter, his Majeſty incens'd at ſuch an outrage, and for which he could obtain no manner of ſatisfaction; he reſolv'd to break the Truce, and to that end ſet two Armies on foot, one of which he gave to Monſieur *le Duc d' Orleans*, which was deſign'd for *Luxemburg*, and the other to Monſieur *le Dauphin*, who came into the County of *Rouſſillon* to reduce it to his Fathers obedience, having Monſieur *d' Annebaut* (who ſince was Admiral) in company with him. I therefore hearing that the ſaid Mareſchal was to take with him the Companies of *Piedmont*, which were commanded by Monſieur *de Briſſac*, and alſo an Engineer called *Hieronimo Marini*, reputed the greateſt man of *Italy*, for the beſieging of places, I had a great deſire to go to the Camp, to learn ſomething of this famous Engineer. Where being accordingly come, I put my ſelf under Monſieur *d Aſſier*, who commanded the Artillery in the abſence of his Father, and who never ſtirr'd from the ſaid *Hieronimo Marini*; by which means I happened to be at the approaches that were made before the City of *Perpignan* to which we had laid ſiege: but in two nights I perceiv'd that all he did ſignified nothing; for he begun the Trenches ſo far off, that in eight days the Canon could not be mounted, as he himſelf declared; to which I made anſwer, that in that time the Enemy would have fortified their City, four times as ſtrong as it was on that ſide.

The King had for this Enterprize rais'd the braveſt Army that ever my eyes beheld: it conſiſted of forty thouſand Foot, two thouſand men at Armes, and two thouſand Light horſe, with all neceſſary equipage for ſo conſiderabe a Body. Monſieur *Montpezat* had been the Author of the deſign: though not ſo ſecretly, but that *Spain* was before hand wholly poſſeſſed with the expectation of it: which notwithſtanding, and that the Town was excellently well fortified; yet I dare boldly affirm that if the Mareſchal *d' Annebaut* would have given credit to my words, he had infallibly done his buſineſs. I had taken a private view of it: for ſome years before this, Monſieur *le Conneſtable* being gone to *Leucate* to treat a Peace with the Emperor's Deputy *Granvelle*, had ſent me with General *Bayard*, and Preſident *Poyet* (who was ſince Chancellor) to whom the Emperor's Deputy (at the inſtance of Monſieur *de Veli* Embaſſador for the King) gave permiſſion to go, and recreate themſelves three or four days at the ſaid *Perpignan*. At which time the ſaid Conneſtable made me put my ſelf into the habit of a Cook belonging to Monſieur *de Poyet*, to the end, that under that diſguiſe I might diſcover the place; and yet I once thought my ſelf to be diſcovered: however I found opportunity by the means of a *Fleming* ſervant to the ſaid *de Veli*, which he had left behind him, to take an exact view of the place; for he had led me quite round the Town both without, and within, ſo that I was able to make a report to the Conneſtable of all the ſtrength, and defects of the ſaid City; who was pleaſed to tell me thereupon, that I had made a perfect diſcovery, as by ſeveral others, who had long been inhabitants there, he had been credibly informed.

Now you muſt know this was only a pretended divertiſement of *Poyet*, and *Bayard*, who durſt by no means take the Kings Engineer in their company, as the Conneſtable would have had them, fearing he might be diſcovered, and themſelves, by that means, detained Priſoners: neither did they fail to relate to him afterwards the fright they were in when a *Spaniſh* Captain challeng'd me by my name: but I faced him out of the buſineſs, counterfeiting both my Country, and Language, and diſſembling better to underſtand how to handle a larding-pin, than a ſword, and ſaying that I was a Cook to Monſieur *le* Preſident *Poyet*, who himſelf had not a word to ſay, for the terrible fear he was in leaſt I ſhould be diſcover'd: but General *Bayard* laugh'd the *Spaniſh* Captain out of his conceit, in private telling him, that he was not the firſt who had been ſo deceiv'd: but that the man he took me for, was one of the beſt Captains the King of *France* had. At all this ſtory the Conſtable did only laugh; but I very ſeriouſly told him, that he ſhould never make me play the Spye again ſo long as he liv'd. 'Tis an employment of too great danger, and that I have ever abhorred: but ſo it was, that at that time I plaid the Cook to diſcover the place; which I did exactly well, and that is the reaſon why I have ſaid, that had Monſieur *d' Annebaut* given credit to me, he had eaſily taken the Town: but he would rather believe a ſuborned *Gaſcon* Maſon (which the Enemy had thruſt out of Town on purpoſe, and had order'd to give himſelf up, only to amuſe the Mareſchal, and to perſuade him to aſſault that part,

The Truce broken by reaſon of the Murther of Mr. *Fregonze*, and Mr. *Rincon*, Embaſſadors for the Chriſtian King.

The Sieur *de Montluc* ſent a Spye into *Perpignan*.

which

which he did aſſault) and his Engineer, than any thing I could ſay Inſomuch that we did nothing either worth writing, or relating, which fell out ſo much the worſe, as it was the *Dauphin*'s firſt tryal of Armes, who had a mind to do as well, as Monſieur *d' Orleans* his Brother, who took *Luxemburg*: but it was no fault of his. Two days before the Camp diſlodg'd, the ſaid Mareſchal went round about the Town, where I ſhew'd Monſieur *d' Eſtrée* who is yet living, the place where I would have had them to have made their Attaque, and that very near at hand, though the Canon, and Harquebuze ſhot they liberally beſtow'd upon us, might reaſonably have made us ſtand aloof: which after he had ſeen he cryed out, Good God, what an error have we committed! but it was then too late to repent, for the relief was already entred in, and the time of the Rains was at hand, which would have damm'd up our retreat; and yet we had enough to do as it was to draw off our Artillery, ſo ill a place is that Country, for an Army to move in.

The Siege raiſed from before *Perpignan.*

During the time of this Siege the Company of Monſieur *Boleves* became vacant, which Monſieur *le Dauphin* ſent to entreat for *Boqual* (who ſince is turn'd Hugonot) and I alſo writ to Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother, who was then at the Court at *Salers*; where the King was ſo diſcontented, by reaſon of the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, both with the *Dauphin*, and Monſieur *de Annebaut* (who had alſo ſent to ſollicite it in the behalf of another) that His Majeſty would neither grant it to the one, nor the other: but was pleaſed to confer it upon me. The Camp being raiſed, Monſieur *de Briſſac* had *Capeſtaing* aſſign'd him for Garriſon, and Monſieur *de l' Orge* (Colonel of the Legionaries) *Tuchant* (the place to which they had drawn off all the ammunitions of Corn that had been left in the Camp) aſſigned him for his, Where three days after all the ſaid Legionaries forſook him, nothing but their Captains remaining behind; who thereupon ſent to Monſieur *Briſſac*, that if he did not come ſpeedily to his relief, he ſhould be conſtrain'd to abandon the ſaid proviſions, and to ſhift for himſelf: which made us march with all poſſible diligence, without being more then half a night only upon our way, and found him totally left alone, ſaving for Meſſieurs *de Denez*, and *Fonterailles*, and their ſervants.

Now there was a Caſtle upon the Mountain towards *Perpignan*, about a League from *Tuchant*, and on the left hand of *Milau*, and the ſaid Seigneurs *de Briſſac* and *de l' Orge* being gone out of the ſaid *Tuchaut* to hear Maſs at a little Chappel about a Croſs-bow ſhot from thence; at our coming out from Maſs we heard very many Harquebuze ſhot at the ſaid Caſtle, and diſcover'd a great many men about it, with a great ſmoak of Powder, whereupon I ask'd Monſieur *de Briſſac*, if he were pleas'd that I ſhould go thither with thirty or forty of my men, to ſee what the matter was; who preſently gave me leave ſo to do: wherefore without any more delay, I preſently ſent *la Moyenne* my Lieutenant, to get them together, and to bring me a horſe, which being ſuddainly brought, I march'd directly towards the Caſtle. *Le Peloux* wo was Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Briſſac* had a deſire to follow after, as had alſo *Monbaſin*, St. *Laurens* (a *Breton*) and *Fabrice*, being all Launce-paſſades belonging to the Company of the ſaid Seigneur, together with fifty or threeſcore Soldiers of the ſame. I made very great haſt, when ſo ſoon as the Enemy had diſcovered me, as I was beginning to climb the Mountain, they retreated down the other ſide into a plain which lies below *Tantavel*, where they clapt themſelves down under the Olive trees, to ſtay for the reſt of their fellows, that they had left behind them at *Milau*. The Captain of the Caſtle was *Barennes*, an Archer of the Kings Guard, who had been placed there by Monſieur *de Montpezat*, and whilſt the ſaid *Barennes* was ſhewing me the Enemy, appear'd *Peloux* with his Soldiers, and with them a Gentleman called *Chamant*, a very brave man, ſo that although we knew the Enemy to be above four hundred men (as we were alſo aſſured by *Berennes*) we nevertheleſs concluded to go, and fight them.

This place was all Rock tufted over with a little Copſe, thorough which we were to paſs to get to them; wherefore we agreed, that *Peloux* ſhould take a little path on the right hand, and I another on the left, and that the firſt which came up to them, in the plain, ſhould fall upon them, the one in the Front, and the other in the Rear; which we had no ſooner concluded, but that the Enemy roſe up, and we diſcovered them all plainly at our eaſe. *Monbaſin*, *Chamant*, St, *Laurens*, and *Fabrice* who were all on horſeback, would needs go along with me, at which *Peloux* was a little diſcontented, foraſmuch as they all belong'd to Monſieur *Briſſac*, as he himſelf did, excepting *Chamant*, who belonged to Monſieur *le Dauphin*. *Artiguedieu*, and *Barennes* likewiſe went in my Company.

From

From the very beginning of our deſcent, the Enemy loſt ſight of us, and we of them, by reaſon of the wood, and of the Valley, which was pretty large; *Le Peloux* with his Guide took his way, and I mine, when ſo ſoon as I came into the Plain, I was as good as my word, for, I charg'd the Enemy thorough and thorough; breaking in after ſuch a manner amongſt them, that above twenty of them at this encounter were left dead upon the place, and we purſued them fighting, as far as the bank of the River, which might be ſome four hundred paces or more: But when they ſaw us to be ſo few, they rallied, and as I was about to retire, march'd directly up to me, whereupon I made a halt, as they did alſo at the diſtance of four or five Pikes length only from one another, a thing that I never ſaw done before. As for *Peloux*, when he was got to the middle of the Mountain, he began to think that I had taken the better way, which made him ſuddainly to turn off, and to follow my ſteps: and fortune alſo turn'd ſo well for me, that as we were Pike to Pike, and Harquebuze to Harquebuze, at the diſtance I have already ſaid, grinning and ſnarling at one another, like two Maſtiffs when they are going to fight, *Peloux* and his Company appear'd in the plain; which ſo ſoon as the Enemy ſaw, they turn'd the point of their Pikes towards us, and their faces towards the River, and ſo fell to marching off, whilſt we purſued pricking them forward with our Pikes, and pelting them with our Harquebuze ſhot in their Rear: but they march'd ſo very cloſe, that we could no more break into them as before; and when they came to the bank of the River they made a halt, facing about and charging their Pikes againſt us, ſo that although *Peloux*, and his Company made all the haſt they could to come in to our relief, we were nevertheleſs conſtrain'd to retire fifteen or twenty paces from the Enemy, who immediately all on a thrump leapt into the River, and through water middle deep, paſs'd over to the other ſide. *Monbaſin* in this engagement was hurt with a Harquebuze ſhot in his hand, of which he remain'd lame ever after, St *Laurens* and *Fabrice* had their horſes kill'd under them, and mine was wounded with two thruſts of a Pike; *la Moyenne*, my Lieutenant, was wounded with two Harquebuze ſhots in one arm, *Chamant*, who was lighted off his horſe, had three thruſts of Pikes in his two thighs, and *Artiguedieu* one Harquebuze ſhot, and one thruſt of a Pike in one thigh; to be ſhort, of betwixt thirty and five and thirty that we were, there remain'd only five or ſix unhurt, and only three dead upon the place. The Enemy loſt one Serjeant of great repute amongſt them, together with twenty or five and twenty others kill'd, and above thirty wounded, as we were told the next day by two *Gaſcon* Soldiers who came over to us. In the mean time Meſſieurs *de Briſſac* and *de l'Orge* doubting it would fall out as it did, mounted to horſe, and came ſo opportunely to the Caſtle of *Tantavel*, that they ſaw all the fight, and were in ſo great deſpair at the Charge I had made, that they gave us twice or thrice for loſt: and very ſorely rebuked *Peloux*, for not having obſerv'd the agreement we had concluded amongſt us; which if he had done, we had infallibly cut them all to pieces, and brought away their two Colours; yet I am apt to believe it might not be altogether his fault (for he was a very brave Gentleman) but his Guides that led him the worſe way, as *Peloux* himſelf ſince told me. However ſo it fell out, that the field was mine, with the loſs of three men only, and not one of the Gentlemen dyed.

A brisk skirmiſh.

Soon after the Baron *de la Garde* came to *Nice* with the *Turkiſh* Army, conducted by *Barbaroſſa*, which conſiſted of an hundred or ſix ſcore Gallies, a thing that all the Chriſtian Princes who took part with the Emperor, made a hainous buſineſs of, that the King our Maſter ſhould call in the *Turk* to his aſſiſtance; though I am of opinion that towards an Enemy all advantages are good; and for my part (God forgive me) if I could call all the Devils in Hell to beat out the brains of an Enemy, that would beat out mine, I would do it with all my heart. Upon this occaſion Monſieur *de Valence*, my Brother, was diſpatch'd away to *Venice*, to palliate and excuſe this proceeding of ours to the Republick, who of all others ſeem'd to be moſt offended at it, and the King would by no means loſe their Alliance; who made them an Oration in *Italian*, which I have thought fit to inſert here, until he ſhall think fit to oblige us with his own Hiſtory; for I cannot believe that a man of ſo great learning, as he is reputed to be, will dye without writing ſomething; ſince I who know nothing at all, take upon me to ſcribble. The Oration was this.

Oration of the Biſhop of *Valence* to the Senate of *Venice*.

THE Emperor *having been the cauſe of all the ruines, miſeries, and calamities, which have befallen Chriſtendom for theſe many years; it is a thing (moſt illuſtrious Princes) which to every one ought to appear exceeding ſtrange, that his Miniſters ſhould be ſo impudent, and frontleſs, as to lay the blame thereof to the thrice Chriſtian King my Lord and Maſter, and unjuſtly condemn him for keeping an Ambaſſador reſident in the Court of* Conſtantinople: *But I would fain ask thoſe people, whether they can imagine that the practices which have been ſet on foot by the Command of the Emperor, and the King of the* Romans *with the* Grand Signior *for ten years paſt, have been kept ſo ſecret, that the greateſt part of Chriſtendom are not fully informed thereof. Does not every one know what Truces, and what treaties of Peace (not general, but particular) have been concluded, and what offers have been ſeveral times made to pay yearly a vaſt Tribute to the Great* Turk, *for the Kingdom of* Hungary? *and yet he makes it a caſe of Conſcience to endure, that a little King ſhould hold that Kingdom under the favour and protection of the* Turk, *as a thing inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity, and unbeſeeming a Chriſtian Prince? To which I could truly add, that at the time when the Peace was concluded betwixt your moſt Serene Republick and the* Turk, *the King of the* Romans, *by the ſecret practices of his Agents, did all that in him lay, to hinder that Treaty, as by the ſeveral Letters and Diſpatches that have been intercepted, does moſt manifeſtly appear.*

The ſame Miniſters of the Emperor do think alſo, that they diſcharges themſelves from all blame, in keeping a clutter, and farcing their Poſts and Gazetts, (as their manner is) with obſervations of the long abode that the Naval Army of the Grand Signior *has, for ſome months, made in the Ports of* France, *and under that pretence would, by their paſſionate calumnies, impoſe upon the world a new Article of Faith, to wit, that no Prince, for his own defence, either can or ought to derive ſuccours from ſuch, as are of a Religion contrary to his own; not taking notice, that in condemning the King, my Lord and Maſter, they at the ſame time accuſe* David, *a valiant King, and a holy Prophet, who ſeeing himſelf perſecuted by* Saul, *fled away to* Achiſh, *who was an Idolater, and a profeſs'd Enemy to the Law of God; and not only ſo, but ſome time after, moreover rank'd himſelf in the Squadrons of the Infidels, even then, when they went to fight with the people of his own Religion. They alſo condemn* Aſa *King of* Juda, *who called into his aid the King of* Syria, *to deliver him from the oppreſſion of the King of* Iſrael. *They moreover reproach* Conſtantine, *a moſt Chriſtian Prince, and he, who of all the Emperors, has beſt deſerved of the Chriſtian Commonweal, who in moſt of his expeditions, carried along with him a great number of Idolatrous* Goths *in his Army. They likewiſe taxe* Boniface, *ſo highly commended by St.* Auguſtine *in his Epiſtles, who, for his own defence, and perhaps to revenge ſome injury receiv'd, called into* Affrick *the* Vandals, *profeſs'd enemies to our Religion.*

They calumniate Naſſes *(the ſlave of* Juſtinian, *a very valiant, but, above all, a very religious Captain, as may be concluded from the teſtimony of Saint* Gregory, *and alſo by the Churches he has built, both in this illuſtrious City, and that of* Ravenna,) *who called in the* Lumbards *to his aid, a people, at that time, abhorring the name of Chriſtian.* Arcadius *Emperor of* Conſtantinople (*allowed by all Hiſtorians for a Prince equally religious, and wiſe*) *having in the latter end of his days a deſire to ſubſtitute ſome Governor, and Protector, that might be ſufficient to preſerve the Dignity and Authority of the Empire, turn'd his thoughts towards the King of* Perſia, *an Idolater, and entreated him in his laſt Will to accept the Tuition, and Protection both of his Son, and the Empire. A choice that was ſingularly approved by all the Chriſtian Princes of that time, and ſo much the more, for that the King of* Perſia *not only accepted the charge, but moreover worthily acquitted himſelf of his truſt to the hour of his death. Before* Heraclius *ſuffer'd himſelf to be infected with the poyſon of Hereſy, he ſerved himſelf in an infinite number of Wars with* Saracen *Soldiers.* Baſile, *and* Conſtantine *ſons to* John *Emperor of* Conſtantinople, *took* Apulia, *and* Calabria, *by the means and aſſiſtance of a great number of* Saracens, *which themſelves had firſt driven out of the Iſle of* Candie. *I could ſay as much of* Frederick, *who by the help of the* Saracens, *Lorded it over the greateſt part of* Italy. *I could preſent before you the Example of* Henry, *and* Frederick, *brothers to the King of* Caſtile, *who in the time of Pope* Clement *the fourth, accompanied with* Conradin, *called the* Saracens, *both by land and ſea, not for the ſecurity and defence of their own Country, but to drive the* French *out of* Italy, *and with the ſame Army of* Barbarians, *in a ſhort time, made themſelves Maſters of a great part of* Sicily. *I could ſpeak of* Ludovico Sforza, *who with ſeveral other Princes of* Italy, *made uſe of the Forces of* Bajazet.

What ſhall I ſay of Maximilian *of the houſe of* Auſtria, *who not to defend himſelf, but to ruine your ſtate (moſt illuſtrious Senators) tryed to nettle, and incite the* Turk *againſt you,*

you, to your great prejudice and ruine? as it is faithfully recorded by Signior Andrea Mocenigo, *one of your own Hiſtorians, together with the remedies you were fain to oppoſe in that exigency, and diſtreſs. If yet neither natural reaſon, nor exemples drawn from holy Scripture, and Chriſtian Hiſtory were ſufficient to confirm you in, or to perſwade you into the truth of this cauſe, I could accompany them with ſeveral others, which I am willing to omit, both becauſe I would not tire your Lordſhips patience, and alſo for that I believe there can remain no manner of ſcruple in you, conſidering, that, by the Exemples before alledged, I have already diſcover'd the weak foundation of that Article of Faith, lately forged by the Imperialiſts, to ſerve for their own ends. And which is more, I do ſay, and will maintain, that the moſt Chriſtian King my Lord and Soveraign, by the Exemple of ſo many renowned and religious Princes, may, without any prejudice to the place he holds, or to the Title of* moſt Chriſtian, *which he bears, ſerve himſelf in all affairs and neceſſities, with the aid and aſſiſtance of the* Grand Signior. *And if this with truth and reaſon may be underſtood of all his neceſſary affairs; how much more ought his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, not only be excuſed, but highly applauded, who for no need, how great ſoever he has to defend himſelf, for no ſingle revenge His Majeſty might deſire for ſo many injuries done, and ſo many wrongs received, ſo many aſſaſſinations, and ſlaughters executed upon his people, by the Emperor; or by his procurement, would accept of no other ſuccours, but only thoſe which we by experience ſee are to all Chriſtians, of greater utility, than diſadvantage? And if any one of thoſe who adhere to the Emperor's party ſhould demand how the* Turkiſh *Army can remain in our Ports, no leſs for the benefit of* Italy, *than for our own particular convenience; I could ask him by way of anſwer, which way he can prove that Chriſtendom has received any detriment by our having received, and refreſh'd this Naval Army in our Havens? To which I am certain the wiſeſt, and moſt affectionate of the Imperial party could return me no anſwer, unleſs it were ſome one, who delights to argue for controverſies ſake, and takes more pleaſure in hearing himſelf talk, than that he has really a deſire to enter into a ſerious examination of things, to underſtand the negotiation, and to be enformed of the reaſons thereof. But that we may not leave any thing, that may beget the leaſt imaginable doubt in the minds of ſuch, as are not perfectly inform'd of this Affair, I ſhall handle the point as ſuccinctly, and with as much brevity, as I can.*

So oft as your Serenity has, by the Emperor's Embaſſadors, been applyed unto, for leave to paſs thorough the Territories of any of your Seigniory, with his Alman, Italian, *or* Spaniſh *Forces, immediately thereupon there have been heard a thouſand outcries, and complaints of Rapes, Aſſaſſinations, and other Riots and diſorders of their Soldiers, and it is but a few months ſince, that the* Germans, *who pretended to go to* Carignan *to keep their* Eaſter, *to outdo the villany of thoſe, who before had ſo barbarouſly treated your ſubjects in their perſons, and ſo lewdly ſpoiled them of their Eſtates, diſplaid part of their rage, and Inſolence againſt the Church, to the great diſgrace, and contempt of Chriſtian Religion, cutting off the ears, noſe, and arms of the Crucifix, and other Images repreſenting the Saints who are in Heaven.*

This numerous and mighty Army (moſt Serene Prince) departed from Conſtantinople, *being compoſed of Soldiers who were ſtrangers to our Religion, and being deſigned, and accordingly ſent for the relief of the King, my Lord and Maſter, ſailed thorough the midſt of your Iſlands, landed in the Dominions of the Church, paſs'd thorough the Territories of the* Siennois, *and* Genoeſes *(people both of them, greater favourers of the Emperor's Greatneſs, than friends to their own proper liberty) yet is it not to be perceiv'd, nor can any man be found to complain of any inſolence offer'd to him: but on the contrary, all men have been treated with all humaniy, and free paſſage granted to all thoſe they met upon the Seas, and juſt payment made for all the proviſions they were neceſſitated to take for the ſupport of the Army upon their March. An effect of moderation in that rough ſort of men, which muſt chiefly be attributed to the preſence, and dexterity of Captain* Poli, *the King's Embaſſador; and with ſo great advantage to him, that never in times paſt, did either* Turkiſh *or* Chriſtian *Army behave themſelves ſo modeſtly upon ſuch an occaſion.*

Who is he (moſt Serene Prince) that can, or will deny, but that had not this Army been entertain'd by the King, my Maſter, for the defence of his Frontiers, Chriſtendom had been aſſaulted by it to their infinite damage? Who is he that will not judge, that this Army (its puiſſance conſidered) muſt have triumph'd over an infinite number of Chriſtian Souls, together with ſome City of great importance, had not we converted that power to our own advantage, which otherwiſe muſt neceſſarily have ſucceeded to the general advancement of the Grand Signior's *affairs, and to the private benefit of his Captains, who are Enemies to our Faith? This Army then being a Body diſpoſed to Enterprize, and capable of performing high exploits, any man of a ſound judgment will confeſs, that it has been of much greater advantage to Chriſtendom, that it has been employed in the ſervice of his Majeſty, my King and Maſter, than that they had march'd to invade the Chriſtian borders upon their own account. So that beſides that it was*

needful, and neceſſary for the King, my Maſter, to ſerve himſelf with this Army, therewith to correct the inſolence of the Emperor's people, who had already ſeized upon four of his Gallies at Toulon, *It may moreover be affirmed without reply, that to this private benefit of ours, is conjoyned the publick utility of all Chriſtendom.*

I flatter my ſelf (moſt Serene Prince) clearly to have demonſtrated to you, and to have confirm'd by evident reaſons, and infallible Arguments, theſe two principal things: First that the King without prejudice to his title of moſt Chriſtian, *has accepted the ſuccours that have been ſent him by the* Grand Signior: *and in the ſecond place, that theſe ſuccours ſo ſent have been of greater profit, than diſadvantage to the Chriſtian Common-weal: to which I ſhall add a third, and that with as much brevity, as the importance of the ſubject will permit; and that is, that the Kings Majeſty has not accepted theſe forces, either out of any ambition of Rule, or out of revenge for injuries received; neither to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of others, nor to recover what has been unjuſtly uſurped from himſelf; but has only entertained them for his own defence, that is (Illuſtrious Senators) for the defence of his Kingdom, which the Emperor both by open violence, and clandeſtine practice, by all ſorts of intelligences, and treacheries, contrary to all reaſon and juſtice, has evermore labour'd to overthrow: and yet his Miniſters are not aſhamed to ſay, that his* Cæſarean *Majeſty has had no other motive to invade the Kingdom of* France, *but only to break the friendſhip that was ſaid to be contracted betwixt the Kings Majeſty, and the* Grand Signior. *O tender Conſciences! O holy pretences! fit indeed to delude the credulous, and ignorant, but that will hardly paſs (Illuſtrious Senators) with you, who in your admirable and celebrated wiſdom, even before I could open my lips, muſt needs be ſatisfied in your own boſoms of the contrary, and in your prudence eaſily diſcern the foundation of this War to have been no other than a deſign to ruine that Kingdom, which for theſe thouſand years paſt has approved it ſelf the true and willing refuge of the oppreſſed, and the only Sanctuary of all ſorts of afflicted perſons. I would fain know of theſe men, who invent theſe ſubtil Arguments, what holy motive of Faith ſpurr'd on the Emperor, combined with the King of* England, *to invade* France *on the ſide of* Champagne *and* Picardy, *an expedition that only ended in the burning of ſome few inconſiderable Villages, and the Siege of* Mezieres, *very diſhonorable for him? What devotion prick'd him on, at a time when* Italy *liv'd in peace, and aſſurance, by reaſon that* Naples, Millan, Florence, *and* Genoa *were poſſeſſed by ſeveral Princes, to come and ſhuffle all things into diſcord and confuſion? What Religion (I ſay) moved him to league and combine himſelf with Pope* Leo, *to raviſh away the ſtate of* Millan, *which in a direct line of ſucceſſion appertained to to the Children of my King and Maſter? What mighty zeal for Religion prompted him to cauſe our King to be murthered by means of a Prince of* France, *whom, to that end, he had ſuborned with prayers and tears? when ſeeing his execrable practice, (before it came to execution) to be wholly detected, he ſent the Seigneur* de Bourbon, *with an infinite number of people into* France, *in hope to effect that by open force, which (the bounty and providence of God not permitting him) by ſecret treacheries he could not bring to paſs? What inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt might it be, that ſeven years ſince conducted the Emperor, with ſeventeen thouſand* Foot, *and ten thouſand Horſe, to invade the Kingdom of* France, *then, when he entred by* Picardy, *and* Provence? *What command of the Goſpel can ever be found out, ſuch as theſe men have found, who make a ſhew of ſo great devotion to the Chriſtian Name, that can juſtifie to the world the confederacy betwixt the Emperor and the King of* England, *eſpecially the ſaid King by the proper ſolicitations, and purſuit of his* Cæſarean *Majeſty being at that time by the Pope declared a Schiſmatick, a Heretick, and a Rebel? A conſpiracy that cannot be baptiz'd by the name of a neceſſary ſuccour: but an unjuſt, wicked, and deteſtable confederacy complotted betwixt them two, to the end that they might divide betwixt them a Chriſtian, and a Chatholick Kingdom; which in all times, when any occaſion has preſented it ſelf for the propagation of our Faith, has ever ſhew'd it ſelf prodigal, both of its Blood, and Treaſure.*

He means when *Henry* the eighth repudiated Queen *Katharine.*

But the whole world (moſt Serene Princes) were too little to ſatisfie his appetite of Rule; ſo precipitonſly is he hurried on by his Ambition and Revenge. Would he not have been ſenſible of the ſhameful affront put upon him by the Engliſh *King in the perſon of his Aunt, had not the deſign to ſubjugate all Chriſtendom tranſported him to forget that outrage? How often, to fruſtrate the* Turkiſh *attempts, and to prevent the manifeſt ruine of* Hungary *and* Germany, *have means been tryed, and endeavours uſed, to procure a peace and union amongſt theſe Princes, and ſtill in vain? Whereas now all particular animoſities, and private intereſts, the reſpect to Religion, the common deſire of liberty, the obligation of ſo many benefits anciently received from our Forefathers, and of late from us, laid aſide, and forgot; they are, to our great prejudice, confederated, and united like* Herod *and* Pilate, *who from mortal Enemies that they were, became friends, and Aſſociates only in order to the perſecution of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Shall then this Emperor (moſt Serene Prince) go about to poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom of France

France, *and to offend this King, who, after ſo many injuries receiv'd, ſo amicably and ſo freely conſented to the ten years Truce? ſhall the Emperor go about to ruine this Prince, who after having been ſo many times undeſervedly invaded in his own Kingdom, and as it were coming from the Obſequies of that moſt Illuſtrious and Serene* Dauphin, *his Son (ſo baſely by the Emperors corruptions poyſoned) nevertheleſs with the reſt of his Children, and Princes of the Blood, at the peril of his life, went even into the Emperors own Gally, by that ſecurity to manifeſt to him, how much the peace, ſo neceſſary to all Chriſtendom, was by his Majeſty coveted and deſired? Shall the Emperor go about to ruine, burn, and put to ſpoil this Kingdom, in his paſſage thorough which, he was ſo welcom'd, treated, honored and careſſed, as if he had been an Angel deſcended from Heaven? Shall he attempt, by all undue and all violent ways, to make himſelf Sovereign of this Kingdom wherein for fifty days together, by the courteſie, and bounty of the King my Lord and Maſter, he ſaw himſelf more highly honoured, and reſpected, than their own natural Prince, with a power to command all things more abſolute, than if he had been in his own Palace? Shall the* Almans *go about to make Hinds, and Slaves of thoſe, who for the conſervation of the* German *liberty, have ſo liberally expoſed themſelves, at the vaſt expence, and loſs of their ſubſtance, and the effuſion of their own blood? Shall the* Germans *and the* Engliſh *go about to ruine the Religion, that we with our valiant Armies, and by the Doctrine of an infinite number of men, eminent for piety and learning, have aſſerted and publiſh'd to all the world? Shall the* Spaniards *a people whom ſo often, and by dint of Arms we have reduced to the Chriſtian Faith, go about in revenge to compel us to forſake that Religion, which ſo long, and with ſo great honor to the name of Chriſt, we have maintained and upheld? If it muſt be ſo that (contrary to all duty and right) we muſt be abandoned by the reſt of the Chriſtian world (which, God avert) we who are the Subjects of the King, my Lord and Maſter, may with great reaſon and juſtice, cry unto God for vengeance againſt them all, for ſo foul an ingratitude.*

Theſe are returns, by no means ſuitable to the merits of our Forefathers, for having by the divine aſſiſtance) gain'd ſo many ſignal victories for Chriſtendom under the conduct of Charles Martel *in thoſe times when they fought with, and cut in pieces fifty thouſand* Saracens, *that were come into* Spain. *Theſe are by no means fit rewards for the deſert of our Anceſtors, who (by the favour of the Almighty) acquir'd great advantages for Chriſtendom, at the time, when by their Forces under the conduct of* Charlemain *the Infidels and* Saracens *were driven both out of* Spain, *and a great part of* Aſia. *Theſe are by no means acknowledgments proportionable to the reputation our people (by the Grace of God) acquir'd in the time of* Urban *the ſecond, who without any difficulty, or the leaſt contradiction, diſpoſed our King, his Princes, Nobility, Gentry, and generally the whole body of the Kingdom, againſt the adverſaries of our Faith; inſomuch that altogether, and through our aſſiſtance, they conquer'd the Kingdom of* Jeruſalem, *and the Holy Land. Theſe are by no means fit recompences for the deſert of ſo many expeditions againſt the enemies of our Faith, fortunately undertaken by our Progenitors, under the Reigns of* Philip *and* Charles *of* Valois. *And when his Holineſs ſhall ſee ſo many Nations confederated, with a miſchievous intent to ruine the reſt of Chriſtendom, and reſolved to oppreſs this Kingdom, which of all others has beſt merited of the Chriſtian Common-weal, I cannot doubt, but that he will lend us ſuch ſuccours, and aſſiſtance as he ſhall judge neceſſary fo our protection, and defence. And ſhould his Holineſs do otherwiſe, he would do very much againſt himſelf, and contrary to the duty of an* Italian, *a Chriſtian, and a Prelate. Of an* Italian, *foraſmuch as our Holy Father does very well underſtand, that the ſervitude, and calamity of* Italy, *can proceed from no other accident, than from the ruine and deſolation of the Kingdom of* France: *Of a Chriſtian foraſmuch as the name of Chriſt having in all Ages been defended and propagated by this Kingdom, and it being at this time invaded by the means and ambition of the Emperor, and ſo many Nations ſtrangers to our Religion, it cannot in this exigency be deſerted by any but ſuch, as are no very good friends to the Chriſtian Faith: Of a Prelate foraſmuch as it were contrary to the duty of his Holineſs, being, as he is, thoroughly informed, and very well in his own knowledg aſſured, that the Emperor, obſtinate in his own will, and reſolute to ſubjugate both the* French, Italians, *and all other Chriſtians, would never hearken to any overture of accommodation, that has by his Holineſs been propounded to him. Whereas on the contrary the King my Maſter (equally deſirous of his own, and the publick quiet) has often offered to ſubmit all his intereſts, and differences to the judgment of our Holy Father. To diſcharge then the office of a true Prelate, and a true Judg, may he not take arms againſt him, who has not the confidence to deny, but that he is the ſole perturbator of the publick peace, and the univerſal good? Which though his Holineſs ſhould forbear to do, yet to reprove his ingratitude in this reſpect, the very bones of* Gregory *the third,* Stephen *the ſecond,* Adrian *the firſt,* Stephen *the fourth,* Gregory *the ninth,* Gelaſius *the ſecond,* Innocent *the ſecond,* Eugenius *the firſt,* Innocent *the fourth,* Urban, *and ſeveral other Popes would ſtart up; who being perſecuted, partly by*

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the Enemies of the Faith, and partly by the Emperors, have been relieved by the Forces of this moſt Chriſtian Kingdom, and by the Treaſure of this Crown, as the ſacred Anchor of all Chriſtendom, and have been protected, and reſtored to the holy Chair. The bones and aſhes of Pope Clement *would riſe up, who being, contrary to all reaſon, and equity, reduced to the extreameſt calamity by the Emperor (who at this very time, allyed and confederated with Hereticks, prepares, and ſtirrs up ſo many Tragedies, for good, and true Chriſtians) was delivered from all his oppreſſions by the arms of the King my Maſter, and that at the price of a great number of his people.*

I do not believe (Illuſtrious Senators) that you have in the leaſt forgot the Union, and Allyance, which for ſeven years paſt, has been ſo inviolably obſerved betwixt your Illuſtrious Republick, and the Crown of France. *Can you forget the ſtrict league that was maintained betwixt you and us in the late Wars? Neither can you have forgot that Enterprize wherein you, and we, in ſo ſhort time, conquered* Conſtantinople. *Can you then endure, that a Nation your forefathers have ſo loved, honored, and eſteemed, ſhould be weakened by the means of your Enemies; a people with whom (neither you, nor we being degenerated from the vertue of our Predeceſſors) you may yet expect to perform more exploits, and ſuch as may be for the enlargement of your own Dominions, and the univerſal benefit of all Chriſtendom. I hope you conſider (Illuſtrious Senators) with your wonted prudence, that if (as God forbid) any ſiniſter accident ſhould befall the King, my Lord and Maſter, the liberty of your moſt ſerene Republick, would be without all manner of Remedy, expoſed as a prey to him, who aims at nothing leſs, than to ſubject us both to the ſame ſervile Yoke, as thoſe who have ever been united for the defence of the common liberty. Which though you ſhould not do, yet the very bones of our forefathers would riſe up in our favour, thoſe Anceſtors who ſeeing* Philip Maria Viſconti *to have ſubdued* Genoa, *and already to have reduced all* Tuſcany *to a deplorable condition, not able to ſuffer ſo great an injuſtice, nor to permit the Territories of ſo great Princes to be invironed by ſo dangerous an Enemy, with the Aſſiſtance of the* Florentines, *retook* Genoa, *and by this means, not only fruſtrated and repelled the Ambition of that Tyrant, but moreover with the ſingular applauſe, and obligation of all* Italy, *recovered* Breſcia, Bergamo, *and* Cremona.

I flatter my ſelf by the remembrance of ſo many glorious actions, and by ſo many great examples of the French *fidelity, piety and honor, to have been ſo happy, as to have removed all difficulties, and impediments, wherewith by the calumnies of thoſe of the Imperial party your Lordſhips may have been prepoſſeſſed, and as a moſt humble ſervant to you all, do beſeech, and conjure you (moſt illuſtrious Senators) to conſider the miſerable eſtate of* Italy, *and generally of all Chriſtendom, and before you reſolve or declare for either party, not only to hear the moſt Reverend, and Illuſtrious Cardinal of* Ferrara: *but alſo thoroughly to weigh, and examine what he ſhall propoſe to you in the behalf of the King my Maſter. And once more moſt humbly beſeech your Serene Highneſs with your accuſtomed Prudence to conſider the Emperor, not only as the cauſe of the ruine, and miſery of* Italy: *but moreover to look upon him as the Inſidiator of the liberty of this moſt Serene Republick. Acknowledg, acknowledg, I beſeech you, the houſe of* Auſtria *for your Capital Enemy, and ſuch a one, as has at all times uſed all ſorts of endeavour to encroach upon, and to uſurp the Territories and Dominions of others, and eſpecially thoſe of your moſt Serene Republick. And on the contrary that moſt Chriſtian King, my Lord and Maſter, for your ancient, faithful, and affectionate friend, and remember with what promptitude, and alacrity, he has ever divided his Forces with you, for the recovery of your places unjuſtly poſſeſſed by thoſe of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *of which the recovery of* Breſcia, *and* Verona *may ſerve for a ſufficient proof. Neither is there any cauſe to fear, that ſuch a friendſhip can by any means ſuffer it ſelf to be violated, or diſſolved; foraſmuch as there having been betwixt that Crown of* France, *and this Illuſtrious Seigneury no kind of difference either ancient, or of later date, and the one holding nothing of the other, the occaſions muſt conſequently be wanting upon which the amities of Princes de ordinarily diſſolve: but on the other ſide, their Unity, Allyance, and Conformities are ſuch that the ruine of the one does threaten, and almoſt aſſure the calamity, and diſſolution of the other.*

What opinion the Senate might retain of ſo nice an affair, I am not able to ſay, neither do I know whether my Brothers eloquence made them approve of a thing, at which they had before been ſo highly ſcandalized: but this I know, that I have ever heard that action highly cenſured both then and ſince: and in plain truth, I do believe our affairs were not much better'd by it, but it is not for me to meddle with ſo great affairs. So ſoon as theſe mighty ſuccours of the *Turk* arrived, every one thought the whole Earth had not been capable to receive them, ſuch judgments men make of things before they come to be tryed.

Monſieur *d' Anguien* who was at that time the Kings Lieutenant in *Provence*, having gathered

gathered together ſome Enſigns of *Provençals*, came to ſit down before *Nice*; where after a great Battery had been made, the aſſault was given by the *Turks*, and *Provençals* together: but they were repulſed. In the end the Town ſurrendred, but not the Caſtle. In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* ſolicited the Marquis *de Guaſt* for relief, who accordingly with a good Army put himſelf into the Field. The *Turks* very much deſpiſed our people, yet I do not believe they could beat us number for number: they are, 'tis true, ſtronger men, more obedient, and more patient of any hardſhip, than we are, but I cannot allow them to be more valiant; they have indeed one advantage over us: which is, that they ſtudy nothing but War. *Barbaroſſa* at this Siege was very much diſpleaſed, and caſt out very tart and paſſionate language, eſpecially when we were conſtrain'd to borrow of him powder, and bullet, inſomuch that he reimbarked himſelf, and departed, without doing any great feats, as alſo the winter indeed drew on; but they behaved themſelves very civilly towards all our confederates in their retreat, and the *Provençals* likewiſe disbanded.

Nice beſieged by the *Turks*.

Barbaroſſa diſguſted.

I had forgot to tell you, that after the ill ſucceſs at *Perpignan*, the King ſent us orders to march ſtraight away into *Piedmont*, and Monſieur *d' Annebaut* (who was Admiral) went to beſiege *Cony*, where we ſped as ill as at *Perpignan*, and were very well drub'd in giving the aſſault, for not having well diſcover'd the breach; and where I ſaw the brave and valiant Captain *Santo Pedro Corſo* behave himſelf admirably well, who was almoſt wounded to death. The ſaid Admiral having taken ſome few little places, and ſeeing the winter at hand, returned back into *France*, leaving Monſieur *de Boitieres* in the quality of the Kings Lieutenant there, whom he ſent to Garriſon at *Gavaret*; and we to *Savillan*, where Monſieur *de Termes* was Governor, who was very glad of our coming, for he ſtood in need of us. During our abode there, ſeveral attempts were made both upon *Turin*, and upon us, and we likewiſe attempted ſomething upon the Enemy, wherein our fortune was ſometimes better and ſometimes worſe: but there being nothing that particularly concerned me, I ſhall paſs them over, and indeed ſhould I give a relation of all the Actions wherein I have been engaged, I ſhould never have done.

Siege of *Cony*.

Santo Pedro Corſo.

After that the *Turks* were retir'd, as has been ſaid, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marquis *de Guaſt* laid Siege to *Montdevi*, where the Seigneur *de Dros* a *Piedmontois* was Governor, having with him four *Italian* Companies, and two of *Swiſſe*, who there behaved themſelves exceedingly well, though it be none of their trade to keep places, and there were given two or three Scalados. Monſieur *de Boitieres*, had no poſſible means to relieve it, for the King had at that time very few Soldiers in *Piedmont*; and the *Swiſſe*, who had loſt their Captains and Lieutenants with Canon ſhots, began to mutiny againſt the Seigneur *de Dros* the Governor, inſomuch that he was conſtrain'd to capitulate. Now you muſt know, that the Marqueſs *de Guaſt* (who was one of the moſt cautelous and ſubtle Captains of his time) to take from him all hopes of relief, had counterfeited Letters from Monſieur *de Boitieres*, wherein he writ him word to ſhift the beſt he could for himſelf, there being no poſſibility to relieve him: which coming to the Governors hands, and the cheat not being to be diſcover'd, and the *Swiſſe* at the ſame time beginning to mutiny, he ſurrendred the Town upon condition, to march away with Bag, and Baggage. However the Articles (to the great diſhonor of the Marquis *de Guaſt*) were very ill obſerved, and the Seigneur *de Dros* purſued, who ſav'd himſelf upon a *Spaniſh* Horſe, and it was well for him that he did ſo, for all the Gold in *Europe* would not have ſav'd his life, for the hatred the Duke of *Savoy* had conceived againſt him, being that he, who was his Subject, had revolted to the Eenemies ſide. 'Twas ſaid that he made his eſcape in the habit of a Prieſt by the means of an *Italian* Soldier, who had formerly ſerv'd him: but I believe it was after the manner I have related: but this I can ſay without lying, that he was one of the braveſt men, and the greateſt Wits, that ever came out of *Piedmont*, and dyed afterwards very honorably at the Battel of *Serizolles*.

The *Swiſſe* not good for the keeping of places.

A device of the Marquis *de Guaſt*.

Mount *Devi* ſurrendred.

Commendations of the Seigneur *de Dros*.

The ſame day that *Montdevi* was ſurrendred, I had departed from *Savillan* (to the great regret of Monſieur *de Termes*) with five and twenty Foot, to try if I could find means to put my ſelf into it; for with a great party it would be a matter of extraordinary difficulty; and took with me a Guide, who would undertake to conduct me by the deep vallies, and by a River that runs by *Montdevi*, in which we were to march a great way together, the water being but knee deep, and I do believe by that way I might have got in, though it would have ſignified nothing if I had, foraſmuch as I muſt have done as the reſt did, conſidering that the ſtrangers by their number gave the Law: but they dearly paid for't, many of them being maſſacred at their marching out of the

the Town. I had moreover drawn out ten Soldiers, over and above my five and twenty, to convoy me over the *Maupas*, a place ſo call'd, and within half a mile of *Marennes*, where a man ſhould hardly ever fail of meeting ſome of the Garriſon of *Foſſan*. And above, and on the right hand of *Maupas*, there ſtood an empty Inn, from whence one might diſcover all that came from *Savillan* ſtraight to *Cairas*, and from *Cairas* to the ſaid *Savillan*. As I deſcended therefore into the plain that leads directly to *Maupas*, I was there aware of threeſcore *Italian* Soldiers of *Foſſan*, that were ſcouting towards that Inn, which ſtands upon an eminence, and preſently ſaw the Party move, who made haſt to gain the *Maupas* on that ſide towards *Cairas*, to fight me in that ſtraight, which made me turn off on the right hand with intent to fall upon their Rear, ſo ſoon as I ſhould arrive at the Inn; when they perceiving my deſign, endeavour'd to recover the road of *Foſſan* to retire: but I purſued them ſo cloſe, that I conſtrain'd them to take a houſe, which had a ſtable directly oppoſite to it, to which I ſet fire; who thereupon ſeeing themſelves loſt, they began to cry out for Quarter, caſting themſelves headlong, ſome out of the Windows, and ſome by the door, of which my Soldiers diſpatch'd ſome in revenge of one of their companions, very much beloved by them, who was kill'd, and two more wounded, the reſt I ſent back to *Savillan* bound together with match, foraſmuch as they were more in number, than we that took them. I went thence ſtaight to *Cairas*, and at the Mill below *Cairas* found Monſieur *de Cental*, Governor of the ſaid *Cairas*, who told me that *Montdevi* was ſurrendred, having yet the Letters in his hand, that had been ſent him to that effect. I then preſently turned about to recover *Savillan*, and to carry the news to Monſieur *de Termes*, that he might ſend it to Monſieur *de Boitieres*: but as I was on this ſide *Cairas*, and upon the skirts of the plain near unto ſome houſes there called *les Rodies*, looking behind me I ſaw a Troop of Horſe, that came fromwards *Foſſan*, along by the meadow leading towards *Albe* which they then held: which made me to halt at thoſe houſes, to ſee what they would do; in which poſture, they drawing nearer, diſcover'd me; and attempted to come up to me by a little aſcent there was, encloſed with hedges on either ſide: but when I ſaw them advanced half up the Aſcent, I ſent out four or five Harquebuſiers, who, firing upon them, ſhot one of their Horſes, whereupon they very fairly faced about. Which I ſeeing, and concluding it was for fear, advanced boldly into the plain, where I had not march'd five hundred paces, but I diſcovered them again in the ſaid plain (for they had paſſed a little lower out of ſight) being fourteen Launcers, and eight Harquebuſiers on horſeback, with another who came after leading the wounded horſe. I had in all but five and twenty Soldiers, of which ſeven were Pikes, and Captain *Favas* and my ſelf each of us a Halbert on our necks: Their Harquebuſiers came up at a good round trot to charge us, firing all the way as they came, as ſome of ours alſo did at them, and their Launces made a ſhew as if they would charge in amongſt us; but it was very faintly; for upon the firing of our Harquebuſiers they made a halt, and gave way, at which we took heart, and march'd boldly up to them with good ſmart claps of Harquebuze ſhot, upon which one of their men falling dead to the ground, they very fairly left him behind them, and deſcending once more into the plain retreated directly towards *Albe*. And thus I retir'd to *Savillan*, it being two hours within night before I got thither, which I thought fit to commit to writing, to the end, that other Captains may take exemple whenever Horſe comes to charge the Foot, never to ſpend more than half of their ſhot, and reſerve the other half for the laſt extream, which being obſerv'd, they can very hardly be defeated without killing a great number of the Enemy, who will never venture to break in whilſt they ſee the Harquebuſiers ready preſented to fire upon them; who being reſolute men, by the favour of any little buſh, or brake, will hold the Cavalry long in play, the one ſtill firing whilſt the other is charging again. For our parts we were all reſolv'd never to yield; but rather to fight it out with the ſword, fearing they would revenge what we had done in the morning, for the four horſe that eſcap'd to *Foſſan* had carried back the news of their defeat.

A combat near *Maupas*.

So ſoon as Monſieur *de Termes* underſtood that *Montdevi* was taken, he reſolved in the morning to put himſelf into *Beme*, which he accordingly did, where being arriv'd he there found two companies of *Swiſſe*, which were there in Garriſon (having receiv'd alſo the others of *Montdevi*) who immediately abandoned *Beme*, and went to *Cairas*, leaving only the Count's own Company, another of *Italians*, and that of Captain *Renovare*. From thence Monſieur *de Termes* diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger to me on horſeback, writing me word, that if ever I would do the King a timely ſervice, I ſhould immediately come away, and this was the next day after the ſaid Seigneur arrived at *Beme*, which was *Sunday*, and we were but juſt come from Maſs.

After

After therefore having eaten a ſnap or two, I immediately put my ſelf into the field to go thither; yet cou'd I not make ſo much haſt, but that it was above three hours within night before I got thither: it being neceſſary for me to paſs thorough uneaſie valleys, foraſmuch as we believ'd the Town already to be beſieged, all the Enemies Camp being at *Carru*, but three little miles from *Beme*, and they having skirmiſh'd all the day before the Town. By good fortune Monſieur *de* St. *Julian* Colonel of the *Swiſſe*, was at the ſaid *Beme*, it being his Garriſon, and Monſieur *d' Auſſun* alſo, who was come to give him a viſit, and to ſee what would be the iſſue of the Siege of *Montdevi*: but it was impoſſible for the ſaid St. *Julian* to detain the *Swiſſe*, for I met all the four Companies already within half a mile of *Cairas*. I had ſo much honor done me, that both the Count, and the Counteſs his Mother, together with ſeveral other great perſons, came to meet me at the Gates of the City, who were very glad of my coming, expecting in the morning to be beſieged; but two days after my arrival their Camp march'd away toward *Trinitat*, having caſt a Bridge over the River, near to *Foſſan*; and the morning that the Camp remov'd, five or ſix light horſe of Monſieur *de Termes*, and four or five Gentlemen belonging to the Count *de Beme* (who ſerv'd for Guides) with five or ſix Harquebuſiers on horſeback of mine, went in purſuit of their Camp. It was ſo great a miſt that they could ſcarce ſee one another, which was the reaſon that they went to the very head of their Artillery, and took the Commiſſary (whom they call the Captain of the Artillery;) and the day before Meſſieurs *de Termes*, *d' Auſſun*, and *de* St. *Julian* were gone away, having had intelligence that the Enemy were making this Bridge; whereof Monſieur *de* St. *Julian* went ſtraight to *Cairas*, where the *Swiſſe* likewiſe would not abide, but went thence to *Carignan*; Monſieur *de Termes* who doubted alſo they might go to *Savillan*, of which he was Governor, went thither; and Meſſieur *d' Auſſun* went in great haſt directly to *Turin*; In ſhort every one was in fear of his own charge.

The Sieur *de Montluc* puts himſelf into *Beme*.

The ſaid Bridge was further advanc'd than was imagin'd, for thoſe of *Foſſan* made it in three or four days, that their Camp lay at *Carru*, and at the time that the Commiſſary was taken, the greateſt part of the Army was already paſs'd over, and was encamp'd towards *Marennes*: particularly the Battaillon of the *Germans*, who were quarter'd in the Caſtle, and the out-houſes of the Palace of Meſſire *Phillibert Canelons*, a Gentleman of *Savillan*.

Monſieur *de Termes* had brought with him to *Beme* Monſieur *de Caillac*, the Commiſſary of the Artillery, who would needs ſtay with me out of reſpect to the great friendſhip betwixt us (which does yet continue) and we were in deſpair of ever getting any thing out of the ſaid Commiſſary priſoner, till it grew to be very late, and then he told, and aſſured us, that the Army was gone to beſiege *Savillan*: At which Monſieur *de Caillac* and I were almoſt at our wits end; for the ſaid Sieur *de Caillac* had his reſidence more at the ſaid *Savillan*, than at any other place, and I alſo, being it was my Garriſon, and where I had continued for ſeven or eight months before. In the end we both of us reſolv'd to go put our ſelves into it at all hazards and adventures that might befall. I had five and twenty Soldiers of mine own on horſeback, which I took together with four or five more of Monſieur *de Termes*, which he had left at *Beme* (to the great grief of the Count, who would never be perſuaded to permit Captain *Favas*, and the reſt of the Company to depart) and about two hours within night, we arriv'd at *Cairas*, where we ſpoke with Monſieur *Cental*, whom we found in a very great chafe, for that the *Swiſſe* had that day forſook him, and he told us that it was very great odds we ſhould find the Camp lodg'd in the Countrey houſes belonging to *Savillan*, the *Germans* excepted, who were quarter'd as I have ſaid, and took up all the ſpace betwixt that and *Marennes*, thorough which we were to paſs; for my other way it was all ditches and Rivolets very troubleſom to paſs; eſpecially having no Guide with us, which we had not provided our ſelves of, by reaſon we all of us very well know the ordinary way. However we paſs'd thorough the middle of the Village of *Marennes*, without any encounter at all (foraſmuch as the Enemies Cavalry was yet about *Foſſan*) and ſo came to *Savillan*, about two hours after midnight, where at the Gate of the Town we found Captain *Chareſe*, Brother to *Boquemar*, whom Monſieur *de Termes* ſent to Monſieur *Boltieres*, deſiring him to aſſure him, that we were all reſolv'd to dye, or to preſerve the place.

Monſieur *de Caillac*, and I then went to find out Monſieur *de Termes* at his Quarters, where ſtealing upon him before he heard any thing of us, we found him writing down the order of the Siege, with his back towards the door, which being open, he never heard nor ſaw us, 'till I coming behind him, and taking him in my arms ſaid to him: *Did you think to play this Farce without us?* at which he ſuddainly ſtart up, and leap'd about my neck, being ſcarce able to utter a word for joy, and likewiſe embrac'd Monſieur *de Caillac*, telling me, that he wiſh'd he had given half his eſtate, my Company was there alſo with

me; to which I made anſwer, that I would make them to fly, provided he would ſuddainly find a meſſenger to carry a Letter to my Lieutenant Captain *Favas*; and immediately hereupon we diſpatch'd thither a Footman of his, who before noon got to *Beme*, where ſo ſoon as the ſaid Captain *Favas* had read my Letter, he preſently went to acquaint the Count, that he muſt of neceſſity depart. The Count was again very importunate with him to ſtay; but nevertheleſs he march'd out about three of the Clock in the afternoon, and left the Flag of my Enſign as he paſs'd by *Cairas* with Monſieur *Cental*, who plainly told him that he muſt not expect to paſs without fighting, to which he made anſwer, that it was alſo all he did deſire. We had given inſtructions to the Footman, that ſo ſoon as he ſhould come to the end of the plain, he ſhould lead him ſtraight towards the Mill of the ſaid Meſſer *Philibert*, which was about a Harquebuze ſhot diſtant from his Palace, and that then he ſhould follow on along the ſide of the River, preparing himſelf to fight at the ſaid Mill, not doubting but that he would there certainly meet with the *Germans*: but that nevertheleſs if he would avoid fighting, he ſhould by all means do it, and make it his only buſineſs to get into the Town. A caution that was very much in ſeaſon, for the *Germans* had diſlodg'd the very morning that we paſs'd by, and were encamp'd at *Marennes*: but about two hours after midnight he ſafely arriv'd, which redoubled the joy, not of Monſieur *de Termes* only; but moreover of all the other Captains and Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of the Town; for to ſay the truth, I had one of the beſt, and the fulleſt Companies in all *Piedmont*. And indeed I would never have other than the beſt men I could chooſe, for when once I perceiv'd any one not to be right, I ever found one pretence or another to be rid of him.

Two hours before day, Monſieur *de Termes* had news brought him that the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marquis *de Guaſt* were come that very night to *Cavillimor*, two miles from *Savillan*; which made us ſtill more confident that the Camp was advancing with a reſolution to beſiege us, becauſe they planted themſelves upon the way by which we were to receive our relief; and ſo ſoon as the day began to appear there came ſome from *Marennes* to give us notice, that all the Infantry was upon the Road towards *Montiron*, and deſcended into the plain of St. *Fré*, taking the way rather towards *Carignan*, than *Savillan*, of which we had ſtill more and more intelligence.

I then begg'd of Monſieur *de Termes* to give me leave to go out towards *Cavillemor*, to follow in the Rear of their Horſe, which he preſently granted, cauſing Captain *Mons* his Enſign with fifty Launces to mount to horſe. Now in the time that I was gone to *Beme*, our Colonel Monſieur *de Tais* had ſent the Companies of *Boguedemar* and the Baron *de Nicolas* in great diligence to *Savillan*, and my own men being weary, I took only Captain *Favas*, and thoſe who had come in with me, who were pretty well refreſh'd, and ſome forty of the others, that were come overnight. Captain *Lienard* at that time Lieutenant to *Gabarret* with thirty or forty of his Company, and Captain *Breüil* the Baron's Enſign, who (as I was very lately aſſur'd) is yet living, and has ſince been ſhot in the leg of which he is lame (as I am told) with as many of the Company of the ſaid Baron, and went ſtraight to *Cavillemor*, along the banks of a great Rivolet, leading to the ſaid *Cavillemor*, and on the left hand the great high way, when being advanc'd within half a mile of the Town, I was overtaken by one of Captain *Gabarret*'s men, whom he had ſent to me, to deſire I would ſtay a little for him, he being mounting to horſe to come after me with all poſſible ſpeed. I therefore made a halt, but (as he was ever very tedious and ſlow) he made us there to tarry for him above a long quarter of an hour, and ſo unhappily for me, that had I held on my way without ſtaying for him, I had met with the Duke of *Savoy* at a little Chappel without *Cavillemor*, towards *Savillan*, where he was at Maſs, with only five and twenty Horſe for his Guard, the Marquis being gone away with all the Cavalry towards *Roüy*, and already advanc'd above a long mile from thence upon his way. Thus a little delay oftentimes cauſes a great inconvenience, otherwiſe we had at this time perhaps light of a good booty: but ſo ſoon as the ſaid *Gabarret* came up to us, I went on, and came preſently to *Cavillemor*, where the people of the Town enform'd me, that the ſaid Duke could not yet be above half a mile from thence, which made both Captain *Mons*, me and all the Soldiers ready to eat our own fleſh, to think what a prize we had loſt through the negligence of *Gabarret*, whom to his face we curs'd to all the Devils of Hell.

After we had here ſtaid a pretty ſpace, not knowing what we ſhould reſolve to do, we at laſt began to put our ſelves upon our return home, when the intelligence we had from *Marennes* coming into my head, I preſently alter'd that reſolution, and took the way thorough the Meadows that leads towards that plain, ſtill hearing the Drums

of

of the Enemies Camp both before and behind us at the ſame time; for it is not above half a mile from *Cavillemor* to the ſight of the plain, and ſo ſoon as we came within ſight of it, we diſcover'd three or four Lacquais that follow'd the Camp. Two or three of our light horſe ſpurr'd out to take them, and accordingly brought them in, by whom we learn'd that after them follow'd two Enſigns of Foot, and a Troop of Horſe commanded by Monſieur *de la Trinitat*: the ſaid two Companies of Foot were thoſe of the Count *Pedro d' Apporta* Governor of *Foſſan*, which were conducted by a Lieutenant of his call'd Captain *Aſcanio*, and the Horſe were commanded by the ſaid Seigneur *de Trinitat*, together with the ammunition, bread, and a good part of the baggage of the Camp, whereof a great deal belong'd to the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, and was guarded by fifty Soldiers of the one nation, and as many of the other; ſo that they might be ſome four hundred horſes of carriage, or more, and fourſcore and ten wagons laden with Proviſion, and the equipage belonging to the Artillery.

Captain *Mons* thereupon went out to diſcover Monſieur *de la Trinitat*, and went ſo near, that he had his horſe ſhot under him, who preſently returning back ſaid theſe words to me; *Captain* Montluc, *yonder is enough for us both to give, and to take.* Whereupon I ſuddainly leap'd upon a little Mare of one of my Souldiers, and taking one of my Serjeants with twenty Harquebuſiers along with me, went my ſelf to diſcover the Enemy, who making no reckoning of thoſe few Horſe they had ſeen, ſtill with Drums beating, held on their March; when being come pretty near, I ſaw a multitude of men and horſes marching along the plain, which was the Baggage, and the Waggons, and afterwards upon the eminence on that ſide where I was, perceiv'd the two Enſigns and the Horſe upon their march, and counted the Foot to be betwixt three and four hundred men, and likewiſe the Horſe to be betwixt thirty, and five and thirty Launces; which having done I preſently return'd back to Captain *Mons*, and told him, that having miſſ'd one great good fortune, we were now to attempt another, to which he made anſwer that he was ready to do whatever I would command him. Whereupon I deſir'd him to ſtay for me, whilſt I went to ſpeak to my Soldiers, which he did, and I ſpurr'd away to them. Captain *Gabarret* was with the ſaid Captain *Mons* on horſeback, and Captain *Favas*, *Lyenard*, and *le Breüil* conducted the Foot, when coming up to them, I ſpoke both to them, and to the Soldiers, telling them, that as God had deprived us of one good fortune, he had put another into our hands, and that although the Enemy were at this time three times as many as we were, yet if we refus'd to fight them upon ſo fair an occaſion, we were unworthy the name of Soldiers, as well out of reſpect to the honor we ſhould acquire thereby, as in regard to the Riches we ſaw expoſed before us, which was no contemptible prize. To which all the three Captains made anſwer, that it was their opinion we ought to fight, whereupon, raiſing my voice, I ſpake to the Soldiers, ſaying, *Well, fellow Soldiers, are not you of the ſame opinion with theſe Captains? I for my part have already told you mine, that we ought to fight, and aſſure your ſelves we ſhall beat them, for my mind tells me ſo, which has never fail'd me in any thing I have ever undertaken, therefore I pray Gentlemen conclude them already as good as our own.*

Now it was a cuſtom I always had, to make the Soldiers believe, that I had a certain kind of preſage, which whenever it came upon me, I was ſure to overcome: a thing that I only pretended to amuſe the Soldiers, that they might think themſelves ſecure of the victory, and have ever found an advantage by it; for my confidence often emboldned the moſt timorous, and ſimple fellows, nay ſometimes the moſt crafty knaves amongſt them are eaſie to be gull'd, as theſe were, who thereupon with one voice cry'd out, *Let us fight Captain, let us fight.* I then declar'd to them, that I would place four of my Pikes in the Rear, to keep every one from flinching back, which if any one ſhould offer to do, they ſhould kill him, with which they were very well content: but I had much ado to make the ſaid Pikes to ſtay behind, according to that agreement, ſo ardently forward was every one to be the firſt to fight, though it was very neceſſary they ſhould do ſo, for that evermore diſorders are moſt likely to happen in the Rear.

I then began to march, when ſo ſoon as the Enemy diſcover'd the Foot, they made a halt upon the edg of a great hollow, that had in the proceſs of time been worn by the land flouds, which ſtretch'd it ſelf in length till it ended under the Hill where we were. I ſaw them in the plain with their Launces all advanc'd, not offering to move, and ſaw alſo Captain *Aſcanio* upon a little gray Nag, who plac'd his Pikes all in file along the hollow, and then ſpurr'd up to the Waggons to draw them up at the end of the hollow, and then to the Baggage placing them behind, and afterwards to the Horſe, by which order and diligence, I knew him to be a brave man, and fell to conſider with my ſelf, what would be the iſſue of the fight, of which I now began to be in ſome doubt,

thorough the good order of this Chief. I nevertheleſs nothing alter'd my reſolution; but whilſt Captain *Aſcanio* was buſie ordering his Battail, I was as diligent to order mine, giving the Harquebuſiers to Captain *Gabarret*, who was on horſeback. And you muſt take notice, that the Enemies Foot was upon the top of the hollow directly over againſt us. I took then the three Captains with the Pikes, and left order with the Harquebuſiers by no means to ſhoot till they came within the diſtance of four Pikes, and to Captain *Gabarret* by all means to ſee this order obſerv'd, which he alſo did. I then deſir'd Captain *Mons* to lend me five and twenty of his Launceers to help me to kill; for they were ſo many that in a whole day, though they had had one hand tyed behind them, we ſhould have had much ado to diſpatch them, and with the reſt he was to fight their Cavalry, though they were a great many more then ours. To which he readily conſented, and gave five and twenty of his Launces to the younger *Tilladet* (the ſame who is now call'd Monſieur *de Sainctorens*) and moreover to Captain *Ydron* ſome light horſe of the ſaid Company, who are both of them yet living, as alſo ſeveral others, who were of the ſame Troop.

Theſe orders being given, all of us both Foot and Horſe march'd directly towards the Enemy, and when I expected their Harquebuſiers ſhould have thrown themſelves into the hollow, ſo ſoon as they ſhould ſee our men come full drive upon them, they quite contrary march'd ſtraight up to our men, and all at a clap gave fire within leſs than four Pikes length of one another. Now I had given order to our men, that ſo ſoon as they had powr'd in their ſhot, without ſtanding to charge again, they ſhould run up to them, and fall to the Sword, which they alſo did, and I with the Pikes ran to the end of the hollow, and fell in deſperately amongſt them. In the mean time *Ydron* and *Tilladet* charg'd Monſieur *de Trinitat*, and put him to rout, and our Harquebuſiers and theirs threw themſelves altogether into the hollow: but ours had the upper hand, and our Pike men had thrown away their Pikes, and were fallen to't with the Sword, and ſo couragiouſly fighting we came all up to the Wagons, Captain *Mons*, and all, which were all overturn'd in a moment, and all their men put to flight towards two houſes which ſtood in the bottom of the plain, where, ſtill purſuing our Victory, and the Horſe ſtill firing amongſt them, very few of them reach'd the houſes. At the houſes ſome particular men were taken to Quarter: but of the reſt very few were ſav'd, and thoſe who were left alive were ſo grievouſly wounded, that I do verily believe they had little benefit of their mercy. Our *Gens d' Armes* in thoſe days wore great cutting Fauchions, wherewith to lop off armes of Male, and to cleave Morions, and indeed in my life I never ſaw ſuch blows given. As for the Cavalry they were all taken running away towards *Foſſan*, Monſieur *de Trinitat* excepted, and five others, who being better mounted than the reſt, eſcaped; though young *Tilladet* with two others only purſu'd him within two Harquebuze ſhot of *Foſſan*, and took one who attended one of the Colours, which the Enſign that carried it, had thrown upon the neck of him who carried off his horſe. Preſently after we began to march, leading off the Wagons, and Baggage, which were of neceſſity to return by the ſame way they had come from *Marennes*, foraſmuch as the Carriages could paſs no other way, and there I ſaw ſo great a diſorder amongſt our people, that had twenty of the Enemies horſe turn'd back upon us, we had certainly been defeated; for all the Soldiers both Foot and Horſe were ſo laden with Baggage, and with horſes they had taken, that it had been impoſſible for Captain *Mons* to have rallyed ſo much as one Launce, or I two Harquebuſiers: inſomuch that we left all the dead unrifled and untouch'd; but the Country people of *Marennes* came thither preſently after, and performed that office for them, and have ſince ſeveral times told us, that they got there above two thouſand Crowns; for not above three or four days before, thoſe two Captains had muſter'd for three months. The booty is very often the occaſion of ruine, wherefore Captains ought to be exceeding careful, eſpecially when they know there are enemies Garriſons near at hand, that may ſally out upon them; though it is a very hard thing to take order in, for the avarice of the Soldier is ſuch, that he oftentimes quails under his burthen, and no reaſon will ſerve his turne.

The Imperialiſts defeated.

After this defeat we return'd to *Savillan*, where we found that two Country fellows had given an Alarm to Monſieur *de Termes*, having brought him news that we were all defeated, and indeed we found him almoſt at his wits end, but afterwards he was the moſt overjoy'd man, that ever he had been in his life. There a man might have had fleſh enough good cheap; for we took above forty *German* Whores and more than twenty *Spaniſh*, which kind of Cattel was the greateſt cauſe of our diſorder. We had an intention to have ſhar'd all the ſpoil equally amongſt us, and found that we were but an hundred forty and five men, and fifty horſe, but every one begg'd that he might keep

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what he had gotten, promiſing upon that condition to make me a preſent, foraſmuch as I had not made it my buſineſs to look after ſpoyl, which I conſented to, ſeeing every one was content, and they gave me ſix hundred Crowns, as alſo the horſe preſented Captain *Mons*, but how much I am not able to ſay, and this we did that day in the Rear of their Camp. Of our people there was ſlain upon the place one Soldier only belonging to Captain *Baron*, with five or ſix more hurt, and one Corporal of mine, who all recovered. There are a great many both of the Horſe and Foot yet living, who were preſent at this buſineſs, who when they ſhall read this Book, I am certain will not give me the lye. I cannot remember (which I wonder at my ſelf for) whether Monſieur *de Caillac* was with us at the engagement or no, or whether Monſieur *de Termes* did not detain him at home, but I am ſure that if he was not there, he was in *Savillan*, and may very well remember all this to be true.

Now the deſign of the Marquis *de Guaſt* ſoon diſcovered it ſelf, which was to put himſelf into *Carignan*, and there to raiſe a Fort, and leave in it a ſtrong Garriſon of Foot, as he did, and the very day that I gave them this defeat he encamp'd at a Village near *Carmagnolle*, on the right hand of the Road from *Reoins* to the ſaid *Carmagnolle* (I have forgot the name) and at midnight ſent the greateſt part of his Cavalry to get over the Bridge at *Lombriaſſe*, over which an hour or two before there had paſſed two Light horſe of Monſieur *de Termes* (who had been with us at the fight, and were ſtollen away with their booty, fearing they ſhould be made to diſcount) who gave intelligence to Monſieur *d' Auſſun*, and Signior *Franciſco Bernardin*, who were both at *Carignan*, ſent thither by Monſieur *de Boitieres*, on purpoſe to diſmantle that place, calling to mind that Monſieur *de Termes*, and the ſaid Signior *Franciſco* had told him four months before, that the Marquis would do ſo, and poſſeſs himſelf of it in order to the raiſing of ſome Fortifications there, which would be very prejudicial to the Kings Service.

I had nothing to do to write this, if it were not for a caution to the young Captains, who ſhall read this Book, that they muſt never attempt to retreat at the head of an Army, to which they are not ſtrong enough to give Battel. But (as I was ſaying) ſo ſoon as theſe Light horſe had ſpoke with Monſieur *d' Auſſun*, and told him of the defeat we had given them, he had a great mind (as his heart was in a right place) to do ſomething alſo before he retir'd: but the ſaid Signior *Franciſco* underſtanding by theſe Light horſe where the Enemy was, preſently concluded, that by break of day they would certainly be upon them, which made him very importunate with Monſieur *d' Auſſun* to retire: but he would by no means hearken to him, and ſo ſoon as day appear'd, they ſaw the Marquis *de Guaſt*, all the Infantry, and part of the Horſe marching all along the ſide of the River, when the Marquis advancing he caus'd Monſieur *d' Auſſun* to be talk'd withal, only to hold him in play, which Signior *Franciſco* perceiving, call'd out to him, that the Marquis did only this to amuſe him; but he was deaf as before, and would believe nothing (a man cannot avoid his Deſtiny) till two Light horſe he had ſent out upon the Road towards *Lombriaſſe*, came and brought him an account of the truth: but it was too late, for already the greateſt part of their Cavalry was got over. There was but two Boats there, but they were very large, and they had begun to paſs an hour after midnight.

Upon this Monſieur *d' Auſſun* commanded Signior *Franciſco* to retire as far as the Bridge of *Loges*, and there to make a halt, which he did. Foot he had none, but the Chevalier *Abſal*, with his ſingle Company, to whom he gave order to march ſoftly, after the ſaid Signior *Franciſco*, and halt very often to relieve him, if occaſion were, which he accordingly obeyed, when on a ſuddain came up fifty or threeſcore of the Enemies Horſe to begin the skirmiſh. It is very true, that beſides his own Troop, and that of Signior *Franciſco*, he had thirty Launces of the Company of Monſieur *de Termes*, commanded by the elder *Tilladet*, which had parted from Monſieur *de Termes* ſeven or eight days before, by the command of Monſieur *de Boitieres*, and at his entreaty to ſend them, which the ſaid Monſieur *de Termes* very much repented after, wanting them himſelf, at the time when he expected a Siege. The ſaid Seigneur *d' Auſſun* then began himſelf alſo to retire, dividing his men into three Squadrons, whom the Enemy follow'd very cloſe: his Lieutenant, call'd *Hieronymo Magrin*, commanded the firſt Squadron, whom the Enemy ſometimes beat up to the ſecond, commanded by Monſieur *de Auſſun*, and otherwhiles the ſaid *Hieronimo* recharg'd the Enemy, who were continually ſupplyed by a great number of freſh men, and who, as they found themſelves the ſtronger, charg'd Captain *Hieronimo* with might and main, driving him back into the Squadron of Monſieur *d' Auſſun*, who thereupon gave a charge, and repell'd the ſaid Enemies up to their main body, which again charg'd the ſaid Seigneur *d' Auſſun*, and beat him back to the forenam'd Captain *Tilladet*, and at the ſame time another Troop of the Enemy, beſides

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thoſe, who came up upon the Gallop, charg'd the ſaid *Tilladet*, who was advanc'd to relieve Monſieur *d' Auſſun*; ſo that the Enemy was four times ſtronger in Horſe, than we were, and freſh ſupplies, as they landed, ſtill came up to them, inſomuch that all was put to rout and confuſion, Monſieur *d' Auſſun* beaten down to ground his Lieutenant, and above fifty more taken priſoners, Captain *Tilladet* twice taken, and reſcued by his men, who cloſing together, and often facing about, made good their retreat in ſpite of the Enemy even to the Bridge of *Loges*. Signior *Franciſco Bernardin*, who ſtood drawn up cloſe by the Bridge, ſeeing this torrent coming upon him, and knowing that he with his Troop was not ſufficient to remedy the diſorder, took it into conſideration, and paſſed over the Bridge, where he again made head, by which means a great many more of our People ſav'd themſelves, who under his protection fac'd about at the end of the ſaid Bridge. In the mean time the Chevalier *Abſal*, who had taken his way a little on the left hand, was ſtill retreating a foot pace, and often made a halt, which was the reaſon that he could never recover the Bridge; for one part of the Enemy ſeeing the victory already ſecure, came up to him, who having ſeen all our Cavalry routed and defeated, any man may judge what courage he, or his men, could have, who were all cut to pieces, their Colours taken, and himſelf upon a little horſe very hardly eſcap'd.

Monſieur *d' Auſſun* defeated, and taken priſoner.

After this manner was Monſieur *d' Auſſun* defeated, more out of vanity to do ſome notable feat, than out of any default of courage or conduct; for in the firſt place he order'd his Troops ſo well, that they all fought, and ſecondly himſelf was taken, overthrown to ground, with his Sword bloody in his hand, for his horſe was killed under him, and would he have been ſatisfied with reaſon, he had never enter'd into diſpute with Signior *Franciſco Bernardin*, who had perform'd all, both in his perſon, and conduct, that a brave Leader ought to do. But the King, after the ſaid Seigneur *d' Auſſun* was ſet at liberty, made them friends; for Signior *Franciſco* had ſent him a Challenge for the wrong he had done him, in reporting to the Marquis *de Guaſt*, and elſewhere, that he had abandon'd him in time of need: but Monſieur *d' Auſſun* made him an honorable ſatisfaction, and indeed both the one and the other had very well perform'd their duty, though had Monſieur *d' Auſſun* taken the advice of Signior *Franciſco*, he had not been defeated; neither was it reaſonable, that he ſhould throw himſelf away to no purpoſe, when he ſaw it was too late to repair the fault committed in deferring the time of their retreat ſo long, as at laſt to be forc'd to do it in the face of an Army. I could give ſeveral exemples of it, if it were convenient ſo to do, where the advice of retreating at the head of an Army, has been as fatal, as it was here, witneſs *Monchant*, where Monſieur *le* Mareſchal *de Strozzy* loſt the Battail, not for want of courage, for he was there deſperately wounded; nor through default of conduct, for he had order'd his men for his retreat to *Luſignan*, as well as any man upon earth could have done. I could alſo inſtance *le* Seigneur *Marion de Santa Fiore*, who loſt me almoſt all my Cavalry near unto *Piance*, in attempting the ſame at the head of an Army. Many others out of inconſideration have committed the ſame error, as I have already inſtanc'd, and I could name ſeveral others, which would be too tedious to recount. But, I beſeech you, fellow Captains, deſpiſe not my counſel, for many brave and prudent Leaders having loſt themſelves after this manner, no good is to be expected. A man is only to attempt what he can, and ought to do, and not attaque his Enemy, and offer to retreat in the face of an Army ſtronger than himſelf.

Diſpute betwixt Mr. *d' Auſſun*, and Signior *Franciſco Bernardin*.

The danger of retreating at the head of of an Army.

The Marquis *de Guaſt*, at the ſame inſtant, with all his Camp, paſſed the Bridge, and put himſelf into *Carignan*, where he deſigned a Fort encloſing the Bourg within it, which he was not long in doing, foraſmuch as the ditches that encloſed the ſaid Bourg and the City, very much contributed to the work; and he there left two thouſand *Spaniſh*, and as many *German* Foot, with Signior *Pedro de Colonne* to command them: wherein, in truth, he made a very prudent choice, and deceived none in the good opinion they had conceiv'd of him; for he was a man of great judgment and valour: having then left *Cæſar de Naples* at *Carmagnolle* with ſome Enſigns of *Italians* (the number of which I have forgot) and two thouſand *Germans*; and at *Reconis*, four Enſigns of *Spaniards*, (that is to ſay, *Loys Quichadou*, Don *Juan de Guibarra*, *Mandoſſa*, and *Argillere*) and his Cavalry at *Pingues*, *Vinus*, and *Vigon*, he afterwards (having firſt ſent back the remainder of his Camp to *Quiers*, and the Duke of *Savoy* to *Verſeil*) retired himſelf to *Milan*.

Carignan fortified.

The Character of *Pedro de Colonne*.

Sometime after Monſieur *de Termes* carryed on an enterprize, that was never diſcovered to any but to Monſieur *Boitieres*, and my ſelf, not ſo much as to Monſieur *de Tais*, though he was our Colonel; and it was thus. There was a Merchant of *Barges*, a great friend,

A notable enterprize carried on by a Merchant.

friend, and ſervant to Monſieur *de Termes*, and a good *French* man, call'd *Granuchin*, who, coming from *Barges* to *Savillan*, was taken by ſome Light horſe belonging to Count *Pedro d' Apporte*, Governor of *Foſſan*, and being a priſoner was ſometimes threatned to be hang'd; and ſometimes promiſed to be put to ranſom, with ſo great uncertainty, that the poor man for ſeven or eight days together was in deſpair of his life: but in the end he bethought himſelf to ſend word to the Count, that if he would be pleaſed to give him leave to talk with him, he would propound things that ſhould be both for his advantage and his honor. The Count thereupon ſent for him, where, being come, *Granuchin* told him, that it ſhould only ſtick at himſelf if he were not Lord of *Barges*, for that it was in his power to deliver up the Caſtle into his hands, the City not being ſtrong at all. The Count greedy to liſten to this enterprize, preſently clos'd with him about it, agreeing and concluding, that *Granuchin* ſhould deliver up his wife and his ſon in Hoſtage; and the ſaid *Granuchin* propoſed the manner of it to be thus; ſaying, that he was very intimate with the Captain of the Caſtle, and that the proviſions that were put into it ever paſſed thorough his hands, and that moreover he had a ſhare in ſome little Traffick they had betwixt them, to wit, betwixt the ſaid Captain of the Caſtle, call'd *la Mothe*, and himſelf; and that the *Scotch* man, who kept the Keys of the Caſtle was his very intimate friend, whom he alſo evermore had cauſed to get ſomething amongſt them, and whom he was certain he could make firm to his purpoſe; not the Captain *de la Mothe* nevertheleſs; but that he was ſick of a Quartan Ague, that held him fifteen or twenty hours together; ſo that he almoſt continually kept his bed; and that ſo ſoon as he ſhould be at liberty, he would go and complain to Monſieur *de Termes* of two men that were reputed Imperialiſts, who had told him, and given the Enemy intelligence of his Journey, and that after having left his wife and his ſon in hoſtage, he would go and demand juſtice of Monſieur *de Boitieres*, by the mediation of Monſieur *de Termes*, and then would go to *Barges* to the Caſtle, and that upon a Sunday morning he would cauſe fifteen or twenty Soldiers that *la Mothe* had there, to go out (leaving only the *Scotch* man, the Butler, and the Cook within) to take thoſe who had told him, as they ſhould be at the firſt Maſs in the morning, and in the mean time the Count ſhould cauſe forty Soldiers to march, who before day ſhould place themſelves in ambuſh in a little Copſe about an Harquebuze ſhot diſtant from the Poſtern Gate, and that ſo ſoon as it ſhould be time for them to come, he would ſet a white Flag over the ſaid Poſtern. Now there was a Prieſt of *Barges*, who being baniſh'd thence, lived at *Foſſan*, that was a great friend to *Granuchin*, and had labour'd very much for his deliverance, and he alſo was call'd into the Council, where amongſt them it was concluded, that the ſaid Prieſt on a night appointed, ſhould come to a little wood the half way betwixt *Barges* and *Foſſan*, where he was to whiſtle, to give notice that he was there, and that if he had corrupted the *Scot*, he ſhould bring him along with him, to reſolve amongſt themſelves how the buſineſs ſhould be further carried on.

Things being thus concluded, *Granuchin* writ a Letter to Monſieur *de Termes*, wherein he intreated him to procure for him a ſafe-conduct from Monſieur *de Boitieres*, that his Wife and his Son might come to *Foſſan*, there to remain pledges for him, for he had prevail'd ſo far by the interceſſion of certain of his friends, that the Count was at laſt content to diſmiſs him upon a ranſom of ſix hundred Crowns; but that if he was not abroad, and at liberty, no man would buy his goods, out of which he was to raiſe that ſum; which ſafe-conduct if he ſhould obtain in his behalf, he deſir'd he would pleaſe to deliver it to a friend of his he nam'd in *Savillan*, to whom he alſo had writ to deſire him to make what haſt he could to ſend his Wife and Son to the ſaid *Foſſan*.

All this being accordingly procur'd, and done, and the ſaid *Granuchin* ſet at liberty, he forthwith came to *Savillan* to find out Monſieur *de Termes*, to whom he gave an account of the whole buſineſs. Whereupon Monſieur *de Termes* (who already began to feel himſelf falling ſick of a diſeaſe that commonly held him fourteen or fifteen days at a time) ſent for me, to whom he communicated the enterprize, where it was by us all three concluded, that *Granuchin* ſhould go talk with Monſieur *de Boitieres*, and inform him at large of the whole deſign. To which purpoſe Monſieur *de Termes* gave him a Letter to Monſieur *de Boitieres*, who, having received and read it, made no great matter of the buſineſs, only writing back to Monſieur *de Termes*, that if he knew *Granuchin* to be a man fit to be truſted, he might do as he thought fit: by which ſlight anſwer Monſieur *de Termes* enter'd into an opinion, that Monſieur *de Boitieres* would be glad he ſhould receive ſome baffle, or affront, (and indeed he did not much love him)

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which made him once in mind to break off the deſign, and to meddle no more in it: but ſeeing the ſaid *Granuchin* almoſt in deſpair to think, that the buſineſs ſhould not go forward, and I being more concern'd than he, that ſuch an opportunity of trapping the Enemy ſhould be loſt, earneſtly entreated Monſieur *de Termes* to leave the whole buſineſs to my care; which he made great difficulty to grant, ever fearing, that ſhould any thing happen amiſs, Monſieur *de Boittieres* would do him a courteſie to the King, as the cuſtom is: for when any one bears a man a grudge, he is glad when he commits any overſight, that the Maſter may have occaſion to be offended, and to remove him from his command; condemning him for that he would not be govern'd by the wiſe: but in the end with much importunity, he was content to refer the management of the buſineſs wholly to my diſcretion.

The ſaid *Granuchin* departed then to go to *Barges*, where he made diſcovery of all to Captain *la Mothe* and the *Scotch* man, to whom Monſieur *de Termes* writ alſo, and the night appointed being come, they both went out, and alone (for *Granuchin* was very well acquainted with the way) and came to the wood, where they found the Prieſt; with whom they agreed, firſt that that the ſaid Count ſhould acquit *Granuchin* of his ranſom, giving him as much as the Soldiers, that took him, had taken from him, and moreover appoint him an Apartment in the Caſtle with the Captain he ſhould put into it, with a certain Penſion for his ſupport; and ſecondly that he ſhould marry the *Scotch* man to an Inheretrix there was in *Barges*, and alſo find out ſome handſom employment for him, foraſmuch as he was never after to return either into *Scotland*, or into *France*. All which was agreed and concluded betwixt them, and moreover that the Prieſt ſhou'd bring all theſe Articles ſign'd and ſeal'd with the Arms of the ſaid Count to a Summer houſe in the fields belonging to the Brother of the ſaid Prieſt, to which he ſometimes repair'd a nights; and that the Sunday following the buſineſs ſhould be put in execution.

Having accordingly received all theſe obligations, *Granuchin* returned again to *Savillan*, where he gave us an account of all, and ſhew'd us the Bond. Now there was only three days to Sunday, wherefore we made him preſently to return, having firſt agreed that he ſhould bring along with him two Guides of the very beſt he could find out; not that he ſhould however diſcover any thing to them of the buſineſs, but only ſhew them ſome counterfeit Letters, wherein mention ſhould be made of ſome Wine he had bought for me.

The Guides came accordingly by Saturday noon to *Savillan*, when, ſeeing them come, I took Captain *Favas* my Lieutenant apart, and privately in my chamber communicated to him the whole deſign, telling him withal, that I had made choice of him for the execution of it; which he made no ſcruple to undertake (for he had mettle enough) and it was agreed that he ſhould tye the Guides together, and that they were by no means to enter into any high way, or Road: but to march croſs the fields. We had much ado to perſuade the Guides to this, foraſmuch as they were to paſs three or four Rivers, and there was Snow and Ice all along, ſo that we were above three hours diſputing this way: but in the end the two Guides were content, to each of which I gave ten Crowns, and moreover a very good Supper.

We were of advice, that we ſhould not take many men, that leſs notice might be taken; and at that time we were making a Rampire at that Gate towards *Foſſan*, where, in order to that work, we had broken down a little part of the wall, and made a Bridge over the Graffe, over which to bring in earth from without. By this breach I put out Captain *Favas*, and with him four and thirty more only, and ſo ſoon as we were without, we tyed the Guides for being loſt, and ſo he ſet forwards. Now the Enemies aſſignation, and ours was at the ſame hour; ſo that *Granuchin* had directed them the way on the right hand to come to this Copſe, and ours he had ordered to march on the left hand, near to the walls of the City; who, ſo ſoon as they were come to the Poſtern, there found *Granuchin* and the *Scot* ready to receive them, it being the hour that the *Scotch* man us'd to ſtand Centinel over the ſaid Poſtern, ſo that they were never diſcover'd, and he diſpoſed them into a Cellar of the Caſtle, where he had prepar'd a Charcoal fire, with ſome Bread and Wine. In the mean time the day began to break, and as the Bell rung to low Maſs in the Town, the *Scot*, and *Granuchin* commanded all the Soldiers in the Caſtle to go take theſe two men (that *Granuchin* had accuſed to have betrayed him) at Maſs, ſo that there remain'd no more in the Caſtle, but only *la Mothe* himſelf, his *valet de Chambre*, who alſo trayl'd a Pike, the Butler, the Cook, the *Scotch* man and *Granuchin*.

The *Scot* then pull'd up the Bridge, and call'd out Captain *Favas*, making him to skulk behind certain Bavins in the base Court, kneeling upon one knee, which being done, they

they went to ſet up the white Flag upon the Poſtern; ſoon after the Prieſt arriv'd; and with him about forty Soldiers, who were no ſooner entred in, but the *Scotch* man ſhut the Gate, and at the ſame inſtant Captain *Favas* and his Company flew upon them, who made ſome little reſiſtance, inſomuch that ſeven or eight of them were ſlain; but *Granuchin* ſav'd the Prieſt, and would not endure he ſhould have the leaſt injury offered to him. In the mean time a Country fellow, as he was coming from a little houſe below the Caſtle, ſaw the *Spaniſh* Soldiers with their red croſſes enter in at the Poſtern Gate, and thereupon ran down into the Town to give the Alarm, and to tell them that the Caſtle was betray'd; at which news, the Soldiers who had been ſent out to take the two men at Maſs, would have return'd into the Caſtle; but ours ſhot at them, though ſo high as not to hit them, taking upon them to be enemies, and crying out *Imperi, Imperi, Savoy, Savoy*, which was the reaſon that the Soldiers fled away to *Pignerol* carrying news to Monſieur *de Boitieres*, that *Granuchin* had betrayed the Caſtle, and that the Enemy was within it. Monſieur *de Boitieres* thereupon in a very great fury, diſpatched away a Courrier to Monſieur *de Termes*, who lay ſick in his bed, and almoſt diſtracted at the diſaſter, often crying out, Ah Monſieur *Montluc* you have ruin'd me, would to God I had never hearkened to you: and in this error we continued till the Wedneſday following. In the mean time the Soldiers who had enter'd were clap'd up in the Cellar, my Soldiers taking the Red Croſſes, and moreover ſetting up a white Flag with a Red Croſs upon a Tower of the Caſtle, and crying out nothing but *Imperi, Imperi.*

Things being in this poſture, *Granuchin* immediately made the Prieſt to ſubſcribe a Letter, wherein he had writ to the Count, that he ſhould come, and take poſſeſſion of the Town and Caſtle, for that *Granuchin* had kept his word with him, and then ſent for a Labourer, who was tenant to the Brother of the ſaid Prieſt, to whom he cauſed the Letter to be given by the Prieſt himſelf, ſaying, and ſwearing to him, that if he made any kind of Sign, either in giving the Letter, or otherwiſe, that he would preſently kill him; making him moreover deliver ſeveral things to the meſſenger by word of mouth; The fellow went away, and upon a mare of his own made all the haſt he could to *Foſſan*, it being but twelve miles only, immediately upon whoſe coming the Count reſolv'd that night to ſend away a Corporal of his call'd *Janin*, with five and twenty of the braveſt men of all his Company, who about break of day arriv'd at *Barges.* So ſoon as he came to the Caſtle, *Granuchin*, the Prieſt, and the *Scot* were ready to let him in at the foreſaid Poſtern, whilſt Captain *Favas* went to plant himſelf behind the Bavins as before, although *Granuchin* was ſomething long in opening the Gate, both becauſe he would clearly ſee, and obſerve whether the Prieſt made any ſign, and alſo for that he had a mind thoſe of the City ſhould ſee them enter; when ſo ſoon as it was broad day, he opened the Poſtern, telling them that the Soldiers who came in with the Prieſt were laid to ſleep, being tir'd out with the long labour they had ſuſtein'd the day before, and ſo ſoon as they were all in, the *Scot* ſuddainly clap'd to the Gate, and as ſuddainly Captain *Favas* ſtart up, and fell upon them, without giving them time, ſaving a very few, to give fire to their Harquebuzes, as ours did, who had them all ready; nevertheleſs they defended themſelves with their Swords, ſo that ſix of mine were hurt, and fifteen or ſixteen of this Company were ſlain upon the place, of which Corporal *Janin* was one (which was a very great misfortune to us) together with a Brother of his, the reſt were led into the Cellar ty'd two and two together, for there were already more priſoners in the Caſtle, than Soldiers of our own.

Now this fight continuing longer than the former, the Enemy in fighting ſtill cry'd out *Imperi*, and ours *France*; inſomuch that their cries reach'd down into the City, and eſpecially the rattle of the Harquebuze ſhot, ſo that to avoid being ſo ſoon diſcovered, their deſign being to Train the Count thither (for to that end tended all the Farce) they all got upon the walls of the Caſtle, and from thence cryed out *Imperi* and *Savoy*, having on their red croſſes, as I ſaid before. Now the Country fellow that had been ſent with the Letter to the Count, did not return with thoſe men up to the Caſtle, but ſtaid at his Maſter's Country houſe by the way, wherefore he was again ſuddainly ſent for, and another Letter deliver'd to him by the hands of the Prieſt to carry to the ſaid Count to *Foſſan*, wherein he gave him to underſtand, that Corporal *Janin* was ſo weary he could not write, but that he had given him in charge to render him an account of all, and that he was laid down to ſleep. So ſoon as the Count had read this Letter, he put on a reſolution to go, not the next day which was Tueſday, but the Wedneſday following (when God intends to puniſh us, he deprives us of our underſtandings, as it

happened here in the caſe of this Gentleman.) The Count in the firſt place was reputed one of the moſt circumſpect (and as wiſe as valiant) Leaders they had in their whole Army, which notwithſtanding he ſuffered himſelf to be gull'd by two Letters from this Prieſt, eſpecially the laſt, which he ought by no means to have relyed upon; nor to have given credit to any thing, without having firſt ſeen ſomething under his Corporal's own hand, and ſhould have conſider'd whether or no it were a plauſible excuſe, to ſay, that the ſaid Corporal was laid down to ſleep. But we are all blind when we have once ſet our hearts upon any thing of moment. Believe me, Gentlemen, you that are great undertakers of Enterprizes, you ought maturely to conſider all things, and weigh every the leaſt circumſtance, for if you be ſubtle, your Enemy may be as crafty as you. *A Trompeur trompeur et demy*, ſays the Proverb, *Harm watch harm catch*, And *The cunning'ſt ſnap may meet with his match.* But that which moſt of all deceived the Count was, that the Tueſday thoſe of the Town, who thought themſelves to be become Imperialiſts, and yet in ſome doubt by reaſon of the various cries they had heard during the fight, had ſent five or ſix women to the Caſtle under colour of ſelling Cakes, Apples, and Cheſnuts, to ſee if they could diſcover any thing of Treaſon (for all thoſe that remain'd in the Town had already taken the Red Croſs;) whom ſo ſoon as our people ſaw coming up the Hill, they preſently ſuſpected their buſineſs, and reſolving to ſet a good face on the matter, went to let down the little draw bridge to let them in. My Soldiers then fell to walking up and down the baſe Court with their red croſſes, all ſaving three or four that ſpake very good *Spaniſh*, who fell to talk with the Women, and bought ſome of their Wares, taking upon them to be *Spaniards*, inſomuch that they afterwards returning to the Town, aſſur'd the Inhabitants that there was no deceit in the buſineſs: and moreover brought a Letter which *la Mothe* writ to a friend in the Town, wherein he entreated him to go to Monſieur *de Boitieres*, and to tell him, that he had never conſented to *Granuchin*'s treachery; which Letter he delivered to one of the Women, knowing very well, that the party to whom it was directed, was not there to be found; but would be one of the firſt to run away, as being a very good *French* man: but their deſign was, that the Letter ſhould fall into the hands of thoſe of the Imperial party, as accordingly it did.

As the Count was coming on Wedneſday morning, our people in the Caſtle diſcover'd him marching along the plain, and the people of the Town went to meet him without the Gate, where being come, he ask'd them if it were certainly true, that the Caſtle was in his hands, to which they made anſwer, that they believed it ſo to be: but that at the entrance of his men the firſt time, there were a great many Harquebuzes ſhot off within, and a very great noiſe was made: and that on the Munday morning, when the others entred, they likewiſe heard a very great noiſe, that continued longer than the former, and that they once thought they heard them cry one while *France*, and another *Imperi* and *Duco*: but that notwithſtanding they had yeſterday ſent their Wives into the Caſtle with Fruit, Bunns and Cheſnuts, whom they had permitted to enter, where they ſaw all the Soldiers with red croſſes. The Count hearing this, commanded his Lieutenant to alight, and to refreſh his horſes and men, bidding thoſe of the Town ſpeedily get ſomething ready for him to eat; for ſo ſoon as he had taken order in the Caſtle, he would come down to dinner, after which he would take their Oath of Fidelity, and ſo return back again to *Foſſan*. Now you muſt know it is a very ſteep and uneaſie aſcent from the Town to the Caſtle, by reaſon whereof the Count alighted, and walk'd it up on foot, accompanied with a Nephew of his, another Gentleman and his Trumpet. So ſoon as he came to the end of the Bridge, which was let down, and the Gate ſhut; but the Wicket left open, ſo that a man might eaſily paſs, and lead his horſe after him; *Granuchin* and the Prieſt being above in the window, ſaluting him, deſir'd him to enter; to which nevertheleſs he made anſwer, that he would advance no further, till he had firſt ſpoken with Corporal *Janin*; ſeeing then that he refuſed to enter, *Granuchin* in his hearing ſaid to the Prieſt (to get him from thence) *Pray Father go down, and tell Corporal* Janin *that my Lord is at the Gate, where he ſtays to ſpeak with him*, and at the ſame time himſelf alſo departed from the window, pretending to go down; whereupon Captain *Favas* and his Soldiers ran to open the Gate, which was only bolted, and all on a ſuddain leap'd upon the Bridge. Seeing this, the Count who was one of the moſt active men of all *Italy*, and who held his horſe by the bridle (the beſt one of them, that ever that Country bred, and which I afterwards gave to Monſieur *de Tais*) vaulted over a little wall which was near to the Bridge, drawing his horſe after him, with intent to have leap'd into the Saddle (for there was no horſe ſo tall (provided he could lay his hand upon the Pummel) but he could arm'd at all pieces, vault into the Seat) but

he

he was prevented by the Baſtard of *Bazordan*, call'd *Janot* (yet living, and then of my Company) who by misfortune being he either could not, or would not, get over the wall to lay hands upon him, let fly at him an Harquebuze, which taking the default of his Arms, went into his belly, piercing thorough his bowels almoſt to the other ſide, of which ſhot he ſunk down to the ground. Captain *Favas* took his Nephew, and another the Trumpet, but the other Gentleman eſcap'd down the Hill, crying out that the Count was either kill'd or taken; whereupon the Lieutenant, and all his Company skuttled to horſe in ſo great a fright, that they never look'd behind them till they came to *Foſſan*. Had it ſo fallen out that *Janin* at the ſecond entry had not been ſlain, they had not only ſnap'd the Count, and by degrees all his whole Troop (for they might have compell'd him to have ſpoke to them, with a dagger at his reins ready to ſtab him ſhould he make a ſign) but moreover might perhaps from hence have ſpun out ſome contrivance againſt *Foſſan* it ſelf; for one Enterprize draws on another.

Count *Pedro* Governor of *Foſſan* wounded.

Theſe things being done, they in the evening diſpatch'd away Captain *Milhas* (a Gentleman of my Company) to bring me the news, and to relate to me from point to point how all things had paſſed; together with a Letter from the ſaid Count, wherein he entreated me, ſeeing he was my priſoner, and that greater advantage was to be made of his life than of his death, to do him the courteſie, as to ſend him with all ſpeed a Phyſician, a Chirurgeon, and an Apothecary. Captain *Milhas* arriv'd juſt at the time that they open'd the Gates of the City, ſo that he found me putting on my cloaths, and there related to me the whole buſineſs, thereby delivering me from the great anxiety, and trouble wherein from Sunday till Wedneſday I had continually remain'd; for though I was really concerned for the place, yet was I much more afflicted for the loſs of my Lieutenant, and my Soldiers, who were moſt of them Gentlemen, and all very brave men. Immediately upon the news, I ran to Monſieur *de Termes* his Lodgings, whom I found ſick a bed: but I dare ſay, that neither he nor I were ever ſo overjoy'd; for we both very well knew, that had it fallen out otherwiſe, there were Rods in piſs. So ſoon as I departed from him, I preſently ſent away a Phiſician, a Chirurgeon, and an Apothecary, whom I mounted upon three horſes of my own for the more ſpeed; neither did they either ſtop or ſtay until they came thither: but it was impoſſible to ſave him, for he died about midnight, and was brought to *Savillan*, whom every one had a deſire to ſee, even Monſieur *de Termes* himſelf, as ſick as he was, and he was very much lamented by all. The next day I ſent the Body to *Foſſan*, but detein'd the Nephew, and Trumpet with the reſt that were taken priſoners at *Barges*, until they ſhould ſend me back the Wife, and Son of the ſaid *Granuchin*, which the next day they did, and I alſo deliver'd up all the Priſoners.

His death.

I beſeech you, Captains, you who ſhall ſee and hear this Relation, to conſider whether or no this was a ſtratagem for a Merchant; believe me, the eldeſt Captain would have been puzled, and have had enough to carry it on with ſo much dexterity, and reſolution as he did; wherein although Captain *Favas* was the performer of it, when it came to execution; nevertheleſs the Merchant was not only the original contriver, but alſo a principal Actor throughout the whole buſineſs, having the heart in order to his revenge, to expoſe his Wife and Son to the extreameſt danger. In reading of which (fellows in Arms) you may learn diligence with temper, and take notice what ſleights, and polices were uſed, and continued for the ſpace of four days together, ſuch as no man either of theirs, (or which is more, of our own) could poſſibly diſcover, both parties being held equally ſuſpended. The Count for a prudent Cavalier, behav'd himſelf herein with very great levity, eſpecially upon the ſecond Letter; but he repair'd his fault when he refuſed to enter the Caſtle, without firſt ſeeing his man; though that caution ſignified nothing as it fell out. Whenever therefore you deſign an enterprize, weigh every thing, and never go hand over head; and without precipitating your ſelves, or being too eaſie of beliefe upon light foundations, judge and conſider whether there be any appearance, or likelyhood in the thing; for I have ſeen more deceived than otherwiſe, and whatever aſſurance is given you, or whatever promiſes may be made, be ſure to raiſe your Counter-battery, and never rely ſo wholly upon him, who is to carry on the work, but that you have ſtill a reſerve to ſecure your venture, ſhould his faith, or conduct fail. It is not, I confeſs, well done to condemn him who has the management of an affair, if it do not ſucceed; for men ſhould always be attempting however they ſpeed, and hit or miſs 'tis all one, provided there be neither treaſon nor abſurdity in the caſe. Men muſt try, and fail; for being we are to confide in men, no one can ſee into their

hearts: but however go warily to work. I have ever been of opinion (and do think that every good Captain ought to have the ſame) that it is better to aſſault a place upon a ſurprize, where no one is privy to the deſign, than to have perhaps ſome Traytor for your Guide; for as much as you are certain there can be no counter-treaſon againſt you; and though you fail, you retire with the leſs danger, for your enemy can have laid no ambuſcados to entrap you.

Ceſar de Naples being this day at *Carmagnolle*, had there news brought to him of the Count's diſaſter and death, at which he was extremely afflicted; and to ſecure *Foſſan*, would ſend thither three Companies of *Italians*, which had formerly been in Garriſon there, to wit, that of *Blaiſe de Somme* a *Neapolitan*, that of *Baptiſta* a *Millaneſe*, and that of *Rauſſanne* a *Piedmontois*, who nevertheleſs refus'd ſuddainly to depart (fearing we would fight them by the way) and would not ſtir till they might have a good and ſtrong Convoy; and the *Germans* he had with him would not be perſwaded to go, by which means he was conſtrain'd to ſend to *Reconis* to the four *Spaniſh* Companies which were in Garriſon there; that is to ſay, that of Don *Juan de Guebara* Camp-Maſter, of *Louys de Quichadou*, *Aquilbert*, and *Mendoza*, which made it two days before they durſt ſet out to march. In the mean time Monſieur *de Termes* was advertiſed by his ſpy, that the ſaid *Italian* Companies were to ſet forth the next morning, to go put themſelves into *Foſſan*, and that they were to have two Troops of Horſe to conduct them: but he had heard nothing that the *Spaniards* were to go.

The ſaid Seigneur was at this time but newly recovered of his ſickneſs, who the ſame morning communicated the affair to me, and at the very inſtant we concluded to draw four hundred Foot out of all our Companies, all pick'd and choice men, to wit, two hundred Harquebuſiers, and as many Pikes wearing Corſlets. Captain *Tilladet* (who had loſt but two or three of all his Launces) was not yet return'd to *Savillan*, which was the reaſon that Monſieur *de Termes* his Company was not ſo ſtrong; and on the other ſide Monſieur *de Bellegarde* his Lieutenant was gone to his own houſe, and had taken ſome few with him, by which means Captain *Mons* could make but fourſcore Horſe in all; and the Spy told us, that the *Italian* Companies were to take the ſame way by which their Army had march'd when they went to *Carignan*, which was by the Plain, where we before had fought the *Italians*. We therefore concluded to take the way of *Marennes*, and to be there before them; when as we were going out of the Town Monſieur *de Cental* arriv'd, who came from *Cental*, having with him fifteen Launces of Seigneur *Mauré*, and twenty Harquebuſiers on horſeback, which hindred us a little, foraſmuch as he entreated Monſieur *de Termes* to give him a little time to bait his horſes, for he was alſo of neceſſity to paſs the ſame way we were deſign'd to march, to go to his Government of *Cairas*. To whom we made anſwer, that we would go but very ſoftly before, and ſtay for him at *Marennes*: but that he ſhould make haſt; for in caſe we ſhould hear the Enemy was paſſing by, we could not ſtay for him. Monſieur *de Termes* had once a great mind to have gone along with us himſelf; but we entreated him not to do it, both becauſe he had been ſo lately ſick, and alſo that the Town being left in a manner naked, ſhould any misfortune happen to us, it would be in great danger to be loſt.

A deſign to cut off the ſuccours of *Foſſan*.

Being come to *Marennes*, we there made a halt, ſtaying for Monſieur *Cental*, where we orderder'd our Battail in this manner, to wit, that the Captains *Gabarret* and *Baron* ſhould lead the two hundred Corſlets, and I the two hundred Harquebuſiers, with whom I preſently took the Vanne, the Corſlets following after me, and ſo march'd out of the Village. Captain *Mons* alſo divided his Horſe into Troops: but to whom he gave the firſt I am not able to ſay, they being all Camrades, but I do believe it was either to *Maſſes*, *Mouſſerie*, *Ydrou*, or the younger *Tilladet*; and when we had march'd a little way, before we would diſcover our ſelves to the valley, thorough which the Enemy was to paſs, we made a ſtand. I then took a Gentleman along with me call'd *la Garde* (he being on horſeback) and advanc'd a little forward to diſcover the valley, where preſently on the other ſide in the plain of *Babe*, (a Caſtle belonging to the *Caſtellano* of *Savoy*) I diſcover'd the three *Italian* Companies, and the Cavalry marching directly towards *Foſſan*. At which I was ready to run mad, curſing Monſieur *de Cental*, and the hour that ever he came, thinking there had been no more than thoſe I ſaw on the other ſide, who were already got a great way before us; when being about to return to tell the reſt, that they were already paſs'd, and looking down into the valley (for before I had only look'd into the plain on the other ſide) I diſcover'd the *Spaniſh* Foot ſhewing them to *la Garde* (who before ſaw them no more than I) having almoſt all of them yellow breeches; and moreover ſaw their Arms glitter againſt the Sun,

by

by which we knew they were Corſlets. We never dream'd of meeting any more than the three *Italian* Companies only, ſo that had we not by accident made ſome ſtay in expectation of Monſieur *Cental*, we had met the *Spaniards* and the *Italians* together, and do verily believe had been defeated, conſidering what defence the *Spaniards* made alone. I preſently then went and gave the reſt of the Captains an account of what I had ſeen, adviſing them withal, by no means as yet to diſcover themſelves; for the *Spaniards* had made a halt, and ſtood ſtill. I alſo began to loſe ſight of the *Italians*, who march'd directly to *Foſſan*: it was a very great overſight in them to ſeparate themſelves at ſo great a diſtance from one another; *la Garde* then return'd, and told me, that Monſieur *Cental* was coming hard by, bringing a Trooper along with him, whom I made to ſtay above, keeping always his eye on the *Italians*, whilſt I, with *la Garde*, went down to number their men, who let fly ſome Harquebuze ſhot at me: but I notwithſtanding went ſo near, that I made ſhift to count them, to betwixt four and five hundred men at the moſt, and preſently return'd to the top of the Hill, where I ſaw their Cavalry returning towards them, having left the *Italians*, who were already a great way off, and clean out of ſight. I then ſent the Soldier to my Companions to bid them preſently march, for the *Spaniards* began to beat their Drums to return. The Troops of Horſe they had were thoſe of the Count *de Saint Martin d'Eſt*, Kinſman to the Duke of *Ferrara*; who himſelf was not there, but his Lieutenant only, and of *Rozalles* a *Spaniard*. Their Companies of Foot were thoſe of Don *Juan de Guibara*, *Aguillere*, and *Mendoza*, with one half of that of *Louyſ de Guichadon*, he with the other half having put himſelf into the Caſtle of *Reconis*. Here Monſieur *de Cental* and Captain *Mons* came up to me, they two only, and ſaw as well as I, that the ſaid *Spaniards* put themſelves into file, which we judg'd to be eleven or thirteen in File, and in the mean time their Cavalry came up to them.

Now they had already diſcover'd us, although they had hitherto ſeen no more than five, and I for my part was particularly known, when I went down to diſcover, by the Serjeant of *Mendoza*, who had been taken at the defeat of the *Italians*, and deliver'd three days after; whereupon they plac'd all their Cavalry before, and only twenty or five and twenty Harquebuſiers at the head of them, a great Company at the head of their Pikes, and the remainder in the Rear; in which order with Drums beating they began to march. I took my Harbuebuſiers which I divided into three Squadrons, the firſt whereof I gave to Captain *Lienard*, the ſecond to *le Pallu* Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Carces*, who had his two Companies at *Savillan*, and I my ſelf led the third in the Rear of them, the Corſlets following after; where, at the firſt coming up, I had *la Garde* killed by my ſide. The Enemy ſtill held on their march, without making any ſhew of breaking, firing upon us all the way with very great fury, and we alſo upon them, ſo that I was conſtrain'd to call Captain *Lienard* to come and join with me, foraſmuch as a Squadron of Harquebuſiers was drawn off from their Front, to reinforce their Rear. I likewiſe call'd up *le Pallu*, and after this manner they march'd on till they came within ſight of the Caſtle of St. *Fré*, which was three miles, or more, continually plying us with their Harquebuze ſhot. I had once almoſt put them to rout, at the paſſing over a great ditch, near to a houſe where was a baſe Court, where we purſued them ſo cloſe, that we came to the Sword, whereupon twenty or five and twenty of them leap'd into the baſe Court, and there ſome of ours falling in pell-mell amongſt them, they were all cut to pieces, whilſt in the interim of that execution, the reſt got over the ditch: Our Cavalry had thought to have charg'd them, but did not, being kept off by the Harquebuze ſhot, by which many of their horſes were ſlain, and as for Captain *Gabarret* and *Baron*, they committed an error, who, ſeeing us in the ditch, all ſhuffled pell-mell together, forſook their horſes, and took their Pikes, yet could they not come up in time, which if they had, and that the Corſlets could have march'd at the rate the Harquebuſiers did, they had there been infallibly defeated: but it was not poſſible, being hindred by the weight of their Arms, ſo that the Enemy march'd on, ſtill ridding ground, till being come near to a little Bridge of Brick, I left our Harquebuſiers ſtill fighting, and gallop'd to our Cavalry, that was in three Bodies, Monſieur *de Cental* leading his own, which ſtill keeping at diſtance out of the reach of the ſhot march'd ſometimes before, and ſometimes a little on one ſide, to whom, coming up to him, I ſaid, *Ah Monſieur* de Cental *will you not charge? do you not ſee that the Enemy will eſcape us, if they once get over that Bridg, and immediately recover the wood of St.* Fré? *which if they do, we are never more worthy to bear Arms, and for my part I will from this hour forſwear them.* Who in a great fury made anſwer, that it ſtuck not at him, but that I was to ſpeak to Captain *Mons*, which I alſo did, ſaying to him theſe words. *Hah Camrade! muſt we this day receive ſo great a diſgrace, and loſe ſo fair an opportunity, becauſe your Horſe will not charge?* Who thereupon anſwered, *What would you have us do, your Corſlets*

Encounter betwixt the Imperialiſts and the *French*.

ſlets cannot come up to the fight, would you have us fight alone? To which I made anſwer, ſwearing for rage, that I had no need of Corſlets, wiſhing they were all at *Savillan*, ſince they could not come up to fight; he then ſaid to me, go ſpeak to the foremoſt Troop, and in the mean time I will advance; I then ſpurr'd to them, where I began to remonſtrate to Monſieur *de Termes* his Gentlemen, that it was not above nine or ten days ſince we had fought with the *Italians*, and beaten them, and now that we ſhould fight with the *Spaniards* to obtain greater honor, muſt they eſcape from us? Who thereupon with one voice all cryed out, It does not ſtick at us, It does not ſtick at us. I then ask'd them if they would promiſe me to charge ſo ſoon as I ſhould have made the Harquebuſiers betake themſelves to their Swords, to run in upon them, which they did aſſure me they would upon pain of their lives. There was at that time amongſt them a Nephew of mine call'd *Serillac* (who after was Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Cypierre* at *Parma*, and there taken priſoner with him, and ſince ſlain at *Montepullſianne*, and, in truth, amongſt theſe thirty Launces there were the beſt men that Monſieur *de Termes* had in all his Troop) to whom I ſaid; Serillac, *thou art my Nephew, but if thou doſt not charge in the firſt man amongſt them, I henceforth diſclaim thee, and thou ſhalt no more be any Kinſman of mine*; who immediately return'd me anſwer, *You ſhall preſently ſee, Uncle, whether I will or no.* Which ſaid he clap'd down his Beaver, as alſo did all the reſt, to charge. * I then cryed out to them to ſtay a little, till I firſt got up to my men, and thereupon ran to my Harquebuſiers, where being come, I told them, that it was now no longer time to ſhoot, but that we muſt fall on to the Sword. Captains, my Camrades, whenever you ſhall happen to be at ſuch a feaſt as this, preſs your followers, ſpeak firſt to one, and then to another, beſtir your ſelves, and doubt not but by this means you will render them valiant throughout, if they but half ſo before. They all on a ſuddain clap'd hands to their Swords, when ſo ſoon as Captain *Mons*, who was a little before, and Monſieur *de Cental*, who was on one ſide, ſaw the firſt Troop ſhut down their Beavers, and ſaw me run to the Harquebuſiers, and in an inſtant their Swords in their hands, they knew very well that I had met with Lads of mettle, and began to draw near. I for my part lighted from my horſe, taking a Halbert in my hand (which was my uſual weapon in fight) and all of us ran headlong to throw our ſelves in amongſt the Enemy. *Serillac* was as good as his word, for he charg'd in the firſt, as they all confeſs'd, where his horſe was kill'd at the head of the Enemies Harquebuſiers, and our own Horſe, with ſeven Harquebuze ſhot. *Tilladet*, *Lavit*, *Ydron*, *Montſelier*, *les Maurens*, and *les Maſſes*, all *Gaſcon* Gentlemen of the ſame Troop, and companions of the ſaid *Serillac*, charg'd the Horſe thorough and thorough, whom they overturn'd upon the head of their own Foot. Monſieur *de Cental* alſo charg'd in the Flank, quite thorough both Horſe and Foot, Captain *Mons* charg'd likewiſe on the other ſide, ſo that they were all overthrown, and routed both Horſe and Foot. And there we began to lay about us, above fourſcore or an hundred men being left dead upon the place. *Rozalles*, Captain to one of the two Troops of Light horſe, with four others got away, as alſo did Don *Juan de Guibara* upon a Turk with his Page only, who happened to be on horſeback, being ſhot thorough the hand, of which he ever after remain'd lame, and I do believe is yet living.

The Imperialiſts overthrown.

This is the true relation of this fight, as it paſs'd, there being ſeveral at this day alive, who were preſent at it, and I deſire no other teſtimony to prove whether I have fail'd in one tittle of the truth. Monſieur *de Cental* carried away priſoner with him the Lieutenant of the Count St. *Martin*, he having been taken by ſome of his people, together with ſome others both of Horſe and Foot, and with us went Captain *Aguillere*, and *Mendoza* the Lieutenant of *Rozalles*, he that carried the Cornette, and he that carried that of the Count Saint *Martin*, (though they had not their Colours with them) and all the reſt both of Horſe and Foot to *Savillan*. In ten days were all theſe three Actions performed, to wit, the rout of the *Italians*, the death of Count *Pedro d' Apporte* at *Barges*, and this defeat of the *Spaniards*. I muſt needs therefore ſay, for what concerns my ſelf, that if ever God accompanied the fortune of a man, he went along with mine; and do ſtedfaſtly believe, that had he not put to his Almighty Arm, we had been overcome. But he ſent us *Cental*, who deferr'd the time in very good ſeaſon for us, which had it fallen out otherwiſe, a more fulous combat had never been heard of then that had been; for if they were brave and hardy, we were nothing indebted to them. Ours was a marvellous ſpritely little Body, and (that I may leave nothing imperfect) I would not that any one ſhould imagine, that the Corſlets came not up to the fight for want of courage, nothing hindering them from advancing ſo faſt as need requir'd, but the weight of their Arms: for we had ſcarce made an end, when they arriv'd upon the place of Battel, curſing their arms, that had hindred them from having part of the feaſt.

The good fortune of Mr. *de Monluc.*

Now theſe three Companies and a half of *Spaniards* thus defeated, the three that went to

* *Foſſan*,

thoſe who were retir'd with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marquis *de Guaſt*, and the four thouſand *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot, which were left in *Carignan*, had altogether very much weakened the Enemies Camp; ſo that after ſome time Monſieur *de Boitieres* reſolv'd (having Monſieur *de Tais* and *de* St. *Julien* with him) to draw all his Forces in the ſeveral Garriſons together, to make a flying Army. To this end he ſent me order, with my own Company, the two Companies of Monſieur *de Carces*, and that of Count *Landriano* an *Italian*, to meet him at *Pignerol*. He alſo ſent to Monſieur *de Termes*, that he ſhould only keep two Companies with him at *Savillan*, namely thoſe of *Gabarret*, and *Baron*; where alſo the Quarters were ſo good, that the forenamed Gentlemen were very glad, that Monſieur *de Termes* invited them to ſtay with him. I will write a word or two to ſerve for a caution to my fellow Captains, and to ſhew them, that they ought to conſider all the inconveniences that may happen to them, and to provide remedies againſt every accident that may befall.

Monſieur *de Termes* had a mind to perform an exploit at *Caſtillholle* in the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, upon three Enſigns of the Enemies, that had put themſelves into three Palaces, one cloſe by another, having Baſtion'd the Streets in ſuch manner, that they could go from one Palace to another, within their own lines, and his deſign was to kill two Birds with one ſtone; that is, to accompany me as far as *Caſtillholle*, and with two field pieces he intended to carry along with him to force the Palaces, and that from thence I ſhould go on to *Pignerol*, and he (taking the two Companies of *Baron* and *Nicholas* to guard the Artillery) would return to *Savillan*. Now all the Enemies Forces were quater'd at *Pinguons*, *Vimus*, and *Vigon*, and in two or three adjacent places; ſo that I had no great ſtomach to this enterprize, foraſmuch as the Enemies ſtrength lying ſo near to the ſaid *Caſtillholle*, they might in ſeven or eight hours time have intelligence of any thing ſhould there be attempted, and conſequently in as much more be upon us: But Monſieur *de Termes*, who had ſet his heart upon this deſign, would hear no argument of mine to the contrary, eſpecially being that not four months before Monſieur *de Auſſun* and St. *Julian* had at the ſame place defeated two Companies, and taken their Captains, where I was preſent with them, they having borrowed me of Monſieur *de Boitieres*, and my Company alſo: but I repreſented to him, that theſe were the ſame Captains, that having paid their ranſoms, were newly come out of priſon, and who having ſeen the error whereby they had loſt themſelves before, had doubtleſs now provided againſt ſuch ſurprizes. For after a man has once been trapp'd in a place, he muſt have a damnable thick skull, if, when he ſhall be again expos'd to the ſame danger, he look not better about him than before, and become wiſe at his own coſt. And I have heard great Captains ſay, that it is convenient to be beaten ſometimes, becauſe a man becomes more circumſpect by his diſaſters: but I am very glad that I never was, and had rather learn to be wiſe at another mans expence than my own.

All my remonſtrances could do no good, ſo that in the beginning of the night we began to march, and an hour before day arrived at the place. Monſieur *de Termes* then planted his Canon within an hundred paces of one of the Palaces, which *le Baron* and *Nicolas* immediately undertook to guard, and Captain *Pallu*, the Count *de Landriano* and my ſelf were to fight. I won one of the Palaces, not that which was batter'd by the Artillery, but by breaking thorough from houſe to houſe, till at laſt I had broke a hole into the Palace it ſelf, thorough which nevertheleſs they kept me from entring (beſides I very well remembred the Hole where I had been ſo well cudgell'd, in the voyage to *Naples*) which made me ſet fire to a little houſe adjoyning to the ſaid Palace. They then retir'd into one of the others, the fight having continued until two of the clock in the afternoon, without any other laying to a helping hand, ſave our four Companies only. I there loſt fifteen or ſixteen of my men, Monſieur *de Carces* as many of his, and the Count *de Landriano* eſcaped not ſcot-free. We had notwithſtanding compell'd them to quit the other, which the Artillery had batter'd, and to retreat to the third; where, being we were to unwall two Gates, ſome were of opinion not to make any further attempt, but that Monſieur *de Termes* ſhould return with all ſpeed to *Savillan*, and I, with my four Companies to take my way directly to *Pignerol*, which (to my great grief) was concluded; for I would either have made an end, or, with the remainder of my men, have periſh'd in the attempt. And it is a vice that has ever been obſerv'd in me, that I have always been too obſtinate in fight: but let them all ſay what they will, I have ever done better than worſe. But Monſieur *de Termes* conſented to give over, fearing he might loſe ſome Captain, for which he might afterwards receive a rebuke, the King's Lieutenant having no knowledge of the enterprize; and I march'd on ſtraight to *Barges*. When I came to *Bourg* the night fell upon me, and, I had yet three long miles of plain to march over, before I could come to *Cabours*, where I intended

ded to bait, and to take three or four hours repoſe; when being entred into the Plain, I ſent Captain *Lienard* (who was with me) to go ſpeak with Monſieur *de Boitieres*, to know what kind of way it was to *Cabours* (for I had never been in that Country before) who brought me word that it was all plain. I then made a halt, and fell to diſcourſe with Captain *Lienard*, that we had ſet out from *Savillan* the night before, that in ſeven or eight hours *Cæſar de Naples* might have intelligence of our motion, and that two days before it had been known all over *Savillan*, that I was to go to *Pignerol*; of which *Cæſar de Naples* might have notice, and it was not above ſix or ſeven miles to *Vigon*, where the greateſt part of their Cavalry lay, wherefore we could not poſſibly paſs over this plain without running a manifeſt danger, which (eſpecially in the night, where there is no ſhame) we might without any diſhonor avoid. Captain *Lienard* confeſs'd that all this might be, but that nevertheleſs I had no other way to go, unleſs I would go three or four miles about, and paſs the ſtreight near to the ſource, where he thought we ſhould however meet with water. Upon this my Guides overbearing our diſcourſe, told me that there was water up to the middle of the thigh, and there was not a man amongſt them, but was of a contrary opinion to mine: but I, contrary to the opinion of all, turned on the left hand, and took the way directly towards the Mountain, finding the water, by good fortune, but knee deep, ſo that we recover'd the ſide of the Mountain leading ſtraight to *Barges*, whither we did not however expect to come till break of day; which we did without ſleeping from the day we ſet out: For the evening we ſlept not, at night we began to march, all day long we fought at the Palaces, and the night after we march'd to *Barges*, which was eight and forty hours. I have done the like without ſleeping five or ſix times in my life, and ſix and thirty ſeveral times. You muſt (fellow Soldiers) enure your ſelves betimes to labour and hardſhip, without ſleeping, or eating, to the end, that in time of need, you may ſupport all ſorts of toyl, and travel with patience.

Now you muſt know, that my ſuſpition was not vain, for *Cæſar de Naples*, having had intelligence of our deſign, parted from *Carmagnolle* with five hundred Harquebuſiers on horſeback, drawing out of *Vinus* and *Vigon* five hundred Horſe, with which he came, and laid an Ambuſcado in the middle of the plain, about a Croſs-bow ſhot on the one ſide of my way, where he lay all night; ſo that when I came to *Barges*, a little after Sun-riſe, as I was juſt laid down to ſleep, I heard the Artillery of *Cabours*, which ſhot at them as they went off; for they were of neceſſity to paſs by the Suburb of the ſaid *Cabours*. I was not certainly enform'd of this Ambuſcado, till three days after my coming to *Pignerol*, that Monſieur *de Boitieres* put himſelf into the field, at which time we went directly to *Vigon*, to force the Cavalry that were there, for Foot they had none at all; where we gain'd the houſes adjoining to the Gate: but being we could not enter the Town, our Camp retreated a mile off, and in the night the Cavalry ſecretly abandoned the place; inſomuch that at break of day, when we had thought to have gone on to the aſſault (Monſieur *de Boitieres*, having ſent for two pieces of Canon from *Pignerol*) we found no body there, and the place totally empty. The ſame alſo did thoſe of *Vinus*, *Pingues*, and the other places, withdrawing themſelves to *Carmagnolle*.

I thought fit to diſcourſe this affair, and commit this paſſage to writing to rouſe up our Captians ſpirits, that they may look about them, and whenever they ſhall find themſelves engaged upon the ſame account, may carefully compute, what time the Enemy may have wherein to be advertis'd of their motion, and alſo what time is requir'd wherein to make their retreat. Whereupon if you ſhall find, that your Enemy has time enough to take you upon your march, and that you are not ſtrong enough to fight them, never ſcruple to turn out of your way, for the trouble of going three or four leagues about; for it is better to be wary, than to be kill'd or taken. You muſt not only have your eye at watch, but your underſtanding alſo. 'Tis under your vigilance and care, that your Soldiers repoſe, conſider therefore every thing that may happen, always meaſuring the time, and taking things at the worſt, and deſpiſe not your Enemy If you have the art, with chearful and frolick expreſſions to cajole and route up the Soldier, by times repreſenting to him the danger of a little delay, you may make them do what you liſt, and without giving them leiſure to ſleep, convey them and your ſelves into a place of ſafety, without engaging your honor, as ſeveral, whom I have known taken a bed *a la Françoiſe* (as the ſaying is) have done. Our Nation cannot ſuffer long, as the *Spaniard* and *German* can; yet is not the fault in the air of *France*; nor in the nature of the people, but in the Chief. I am a *French* man, impatient (they ſay) and moreover a *Gaſcon*, who exceed the other *French* in choler and impatience, as I think they do in valour; yet have I ever been patient of all ſorts of toyl and ſuffering, as much as any other could be, and have known ſeveral of my time, and others whom I have bred, that have enur'd and hardned themſelves to all pain and travel, and believe me (you that com-

The nature of the *French*.

command in arms) if you your ſelves be ſuch, you will make your Soldiers the ſame in time. I am ſure, had not I done ſo, I had been kill'd or taken: But let us return to our Subject.

The next day we went to paſs the River of *Pau*, over which we made a Bridge of Waggons for the Foot only, the Horſe fording it over at great eaſe, it being no more than belly deep: we were all night in paſſing, and at break of day when they were almoſt all got over, I with a Company of Harquebuſiers went up cloſe to the Town, where I fell to skirmiſhing, having ſome Horſe alſo with me. *Cæſar de Naples* then immediately put his men in order to quit *Carmagnolle*, and began to march, retiring towards a River there to retreat to *Quiers*. Where had it not been that our Cavalry fetch'd a great compaſs to get clear of the ditches, we had certainly fault, and perhaps defeated them, as (to ſay the truth) we might have done however, had ſome been ſo diſpoſed. I'm ſure it ſtuck not at our Companies; nor at Monſieur *de Tais*: But Monſieur *le* Preſident *Birague*, if he will ſpeak the truth, knows very well where the fought lay, for he was then in the Army with Monſieur *de Boitieres*, and both heard and ſaw all they ſaid and did, and knows very well that I with two hundred Harquebuſiers purſued them upon their retreat, firing all the way for above a mile and a half together, and ready to tear my fleſh to ſee how faintly they advanc'd, which ſhew'd they had no great ſtomach to fight.

'Tis an ill thing when a Generall is in fear of being beaten, and whoever goes timerouſly to work will never do any thing to purpoſe: Had there been no greater men in the Company than my ſelf, without trifling after that manner, I had done as I did by the *Spaniards*, which I defeated but fifteen days before. There were a great many excuſes however on all ſides, why we did not fight, and not only there, but alſo throughout all *Piedmont*, where they ſpoke of us God knows with what Characters of honor. After the report of this Cowardiſe (for it can be call'd by no other name) was ſpread abroad, Monſieur *de Boitieres* was not very well ſatisfied with himſelf: but I ſhall leave this diſcourſe, and fall upon ſome other Subject; only this I muſt ſay, that the world had after, no great opinion of him; he was ill obey'd, and worſe reſpected: if there was any fault on his part or not, I leave others to judge, and there are enough yet living, that can tell better than I; yet was he a prudent and a good Cavalier: but God makes no body perfect at all points.

Three or four days after came *Ludovico de Birague*, who propos'd an enterprize to Monſieur *de Boitieres*, which was, that in caſe he would leave Monſieur *de Tais* about *Boulongne* (where he was Governor) with ſeven, or eight Companies of Foot, that then he would engage to take *Caſſantin*, St. *Germain*, and St. *Jago*; a thing that, becauſe Monſieur *de Boitieres* was upon the deſign of breaking the Bridge at *Carignan*, he made very great difficulty to conſent unto, until the ſaid Bridge ſhould firſt be broken down: but Monſieur *de Termes* being come with his own Company, and the two Companies of the Baron *de Nicolas*, it was concluded amongſt them, that Monſieur *de Tais* might be ſpar'd to go with Signior *Londiné*, with ſeven Enſigns, being that ſtill there would remain five or ſix; the three Companies of Monſieur *de Dros*, which he had again recruited, and ſeven or eight others of *Italians*. I do not well remember whether Monſieur *de Strozzi* was himſelf yet arriv'd or no, for the laſt nam'd were his men: but it may ſuffice, that we made up, what *French* and *Italians*, eighteen Enſigns beſides the *Swiſſe*. It was therefore concluded in the Council, that before they ſhould take in hand the breaking of the Bridge, they ſhould firſt ſee how the enterprize of the ſaid Signior *Ludovico* ſhould ſucceed, which ſhould it miſcarry, and that they were defeated, all *Piedmont* would be in very great danger. But in a few days after news was brought to Monſieur *Boitieres*, that they had taken St. *Germains* and St. *Jago*, with four or five other little enclos'd Towns. Neither muſt I forget that Monſieur *de Tais* ſtiffly inſiſted to have had me along with him, inſomuch that there aroſe ſome diſpute about it: But Monſieur *de Boitieres* proteſted he would not undertake to break the Bridge unleſs I was there: Monſieur *de Termes*, Monſieur *d' Auſſun*, the Preſident *Birague*, and Signior *Franciſco Bernardin* ſtood very high on Monſieur *Boitieres* his ſide, ſo that I was conſtrained to ſtay, very much againſt my will, I having a very great deſire to have gone along with Monſieur *de Tais*, both becauſe he lov'd me, and had as great confidence in me as in any Captain of the Regiment; as alſo that he was a man of exceeding great mettle, and would ſeek all occaſions of fighting: however the forementioned news being brought, the breaking of the Bridge was concluded, and after this manner. The enterprize of breaking the Bridge of *Carignan*.

It was order'd that I with five or ſix Companies of *Gaſcons*, ſhould go fight the hundred *Germans*, and hundred *Spaniards* that had every night kept Guard at the end of the Bridge, ever ſince our Army had been at *Pingues*. To which I made anſwer, that I would not have ſo many; for being to paſs thorough narrow ways, ſo great a number of men would make ſo very long a File, that the ſixth part of them could never come up to

fight: and in ſhort, that I would only have an hundred Harquebuſiers, and an hundred Corſlets, to be equal to the Enemy; not doubting, but, before the Game was done, to make it appear, that our Nation were as good, as either *German* or *Spaniard*: but withal that *Boguedemar*, *la Pallu*, and another Captain (whoſe name I have forgot) ſhould bring all the reſt of the men after, at the diſtance of three hundred paces, to aſſiſt me in caſe the Enemy ſhould ſally out of *Carignan*, to relieve their own people. Which accordingly was left to my diſcretion.

There was a houſe on the left hand the Bridge, which it was order'd the *Italians* (who might be between twelve and fourteen Enſigns) ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of, to favour me, ſhould the Enemy make a Sally; that Monſieur *de Boitieres* ſhould advance with all the Cavalry, and the *Swiſſe* within half a mile; that Captain *Labardac* with his Company ſhould advance on the other ſide of the River, with two pieces of Canon, to make ſome ſhot at a little houſe which was on the Bridge end on our ſide, where the Enemy kept their Guard, and that Monſieur *de Salcede* (who but a little before was come over to us) with three or fourſcore Country fellows (every one bringing a hatchet along with him) ſhould attempt to break the Bridge. For whom alſo ſeven or eight Boats were prepared wherein to convey themſelves under the ſaid Bridge, where they were to cut the Poſts, not quite thorough, but to the thickneſs of a mans leg, and that being done, to cut the long beams that ſupported the Bridge above, which dividing from one another the Pillars would totter and break of themſelves; they had moreover certain fire works deliver'd to them, which they were made to believe, being applyed to the Pillars, would in a ſhort time burn them down to the water. Every one then going to execute the orders they had received; I with my two hundred men, choſen out of all the Companies, went full drive directly towards the Bridge, where I could not however ſo ſoon arrive, but that the Canon had already made one ſhot at the little houſe, had broken into it, and kill'd a *German*, whom at my coming I found there not quite dead. And although it was night, yet the Moon ſhone out ſo clear that we might eaſily ſee from the one end to the other, ſaving that by intervals there fell a miſt, which continued ſometimes half an hour, and ſometimes leſs, during which we could not ſee a yards diſtance from us.

Order for breaking the Bridge.

Now either frighted at the report of the Canon, or at the noiſe I made at the houſe (it being not above an hundred paces diſtant from the Bridge) the Enemy took their heels, and fled away towards *Carignan*, after whom I ſent ſome Harquebuze ſhot: but follow'd no further than the end of the Bridge. At the ſame time alſo Monſieur *de Salcede*, with his Boors and his Boats, arriv'd underneath, who at his firſt coming preſently faſtned his artificial fires to the Pillars: but it was only ſo much time thrown away, and he muſt of force make the fellows fall to't with their Axes, who having ty'd their Boats faſt to the ſaid Pillars, began to lay on at that end where the *Swiſſe* were, cutting on ſtraight towards me, who kept the other end of the Bridge towards the Enemy.

This fury of the Clowns laſted for four long hours, continually laying on upon the Pillars, inſomuch that though they were rank'd four and four together, and of a very great thickneſs, yet before we had any diſturbance, they were all cut to the very place where I was. Monſieur *de Salcede* ever cauſed one Company to reſt themſelves upon the Bank of the River, where he had caus'd a little fire to be made, and from hour to hour made them to relieve one another; during which employment, the Enemy ſent out thirty or forty Harquebuſiers to diſcover what we were doing, juſt at a time when the Fog fell, whom I could neither ſee nor hear for the noiſe of the axes, 'till they were got within four Pikes length of me, and let fly amongſt us, which having done they immediately retir'd: yet could they not ſee us by reaſon of the miſt. Meſſieurs *de Termes* then and *de Moneins* with three or four horſe came up to us to know the meaning of thoſe Harquebuze ſhots; and ſent back to Monſieur *de Boitieres* to tell him that it was nothing, and that for them we nothing deſiſted from the work, themſelves alone ſtill remaining with me. They had not ſtaid an hour but that the miſt again began to fall, and the Enemy as ſoon return'd upon us, that is to ſay, ſix hundred *Spaniards* choſen men, and ſix hundred *German* Pikes, *Pedro de Colonne* (as I have ſince underſtood) having order'd the buſineſs thus. That two hundred Harquebuſiers again choſen out of the ſix hundred ſhould charge full drive directly upon us, the other four hundred to march at an hundred paces diſtance, in the Rear of them, and the ſix hundred *Germans* two hundred paces after all. Now I had plac'd the Captains who led the Enſigns after me, againſt a great ditch bank ſome two hundred paces behi[nd] me, and ſometimes Captain *Fayas* my Lieutenant, and ſometimes *Boguedemar* came to me to ſee what we did, and again return'd back to their place. On that ſide of the Bridge towards the *Swiſſe* we peradventure had broken down ſome twenty paces, having begun to cut the beams above, and found that as the Bridge divided it fell down for fifteen or

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twenty paces together, which gave us hope that we ſhould make an end of the work. In the mean time Monſieur *de Salcede* ſtill made the Pillars to be cut over again, yet not quite thorough; but only a little more then before, which was the reaſon that he had divided his workmen into three parts, whereof one was in the Boats, the other upon the Bridge cutting the Traverſe beams, and ten or twelve by the fire ſide. As God is pleas'd ſometimes to be aſſiſting to men, he this night wrought a real miracle; for in the firſt place, the two hundred Harquebuſiers came up to me, finding me in ſuch a poſture, that ſcarce one Soldier had his match cock'd, for they went by turns ten or a dozen at a time to the Country mens fire to warm their hands, having two Centinels out a hundred paces from me, upon the way towards the City and not doubting but the *Italians* on their ſide would alſo have the ſame, for they were a little nearer than I; but it was a little on one ſide. How they order'd their buſineſs I cannot tell, for I had no more than my two Centinels, who came running in to me, and as they came in with the Alarm, the *Spaniards* alſo arriv'd crying out *Spain*, *Spain*, all the two hundred Harquebuſiers firing upon us together. Whereupon Meſſieurs *de Termes* and *de Maneins* being on horſeback, and alone, ran unto Monſieur *de Boitieres*, who had already ſeen the beginning of the diſorder; and note that almoſt all the the two hundred men I had at the end of the Bridge ran away ſtraight to the Enſigns, and on a ſuddain the Enſigns alſo fled, and in like manner at the ſame time the *Italians* who were on our left hand did the ſame, neither once looking behind them till they came to the head of the Cavalry, where Monſieur *de Boitieres* himſelf ſtood. Our word was St. *Pierre*, but that did me no good; ſeeing which, I began to cry out *Montluc*, *Montluc*, you curſed cowardly whelps will you forſake me thus? By good fortune I had with me thirty or forty young Gentlemen, who had never a hair on their faces, the handſomeſt and the braveſt youth that ever was ſeen in one little Company, who thought I had run away with the reſt: but hearing my voice, returned immediately towards me; with whom, without ſtaying for any more, I charg'd ſtraight to the place, from whence the ſhot came whizzing by our ears: but to ſee one another was impoſſible for the miſt that fell, together with the thick ſmoak that was mixt with it, and in running up to them my men diſcharg'd all together, crying out *France*, as they cry'd out *Spain*; and I dare affirm that we fir'd at leſs than three Pikes diſtance, by which charge their two hundred Harquebuſiers were overturn'd upon the four hundred, and all of them upon the ſix hundred *Germans*; ſo that all in a rout, and confuſion, they fled full ſpeed towards the City, for they could not diſcover what we were. I purſu'd them about two hundred paces: but my purſuit was interrupted, by the great noiſe in our Camp (I never heard the like) you would have ſworn they had been all ſtark ſtaring mad, calling and bawling upon one another: yet theſe great bawlers are none of the greateſt fighters. There are a ſort of men who buſtle up and down, call, command, and keep a great clutter, and in the mean time for one ſtep advance, retire two paces backward: but this hideous noiſe was the reaſon, that I could never diſcover the enemies diſorder; neither could they diſcover ours; by reaſon of the great outcry they made, at their entrance into the City, which was no other than a Poſtern near to the Caſtle, into which three or four men only could march a-breaſt. Thus then I return'd to the end of the Bridge, where I found Monſieur *de Salcede* all alone, with ten or a dozen of the Country fellows whoſe turn it was to reſt; for the others that were in the Boats, cut the Ropes, and fled away with the current of the River ſtraight to *Montcallier*, thoſe on the top that were cutting the traverſe beams, on that ſide towards the *Swiſſe* leaving their axes and hatchets upon the Bridge, caſt themſelves into the water, which was there no more than waſt deep, they being not yet come to the depth of the River. The *Swiſſe*, likewiſe, who heard this diſmal noiſe, fell to running towards *Carmagnolle*, having an opinion that both we and all our Camp were in a rout, and taking the two Cannons along with them made all the haſt they poſſibly could to recover *Carmagnolle*. I ſent one of my Soldiers after the run-aways, to enquire news of my Lieutenant Captain *Favas*, whom he met (having rallyed thirty or forty of his men) returning towards the Bridge, to ſee what was become of me, believing me to be ſlain; who preſently diſpatch'd away to *Boguedemar*, *la Palu* and ſome other Captains, who had made a halt, rallying ſome part of their men, whom he cauſed in all haſt to march directly towards the Bridge, telling them, that I had beaten back the Enemy, who thereupon came at a good rate, to ſeek me. Captain *Favas* was the firſt that came, all torn and tatter'd like a skare-crow; foraſmuch as the Soldiers in a crowd all run over his belly as he thought to have rallyed who found Monſieur *de Salcede* and me at the end of the Bridge conſulting what we were beſt to do. So ſoon as he came he gave us an account of his fortune, and that of the reſt of his companions, when ſeeing him ſo accoutred, we turn'd all into laughter; but the hubub in our Camp continued above a long hour after.

Diſorder in the night.

The other Captains being come up to us, we concluded to make an end of breaking down the Bridge; or there to loſe our lives: whereupon I preſently took fifty or three-ſcore Soldiers, and Monſieur *de Salcede* the ten or twelve Country fellows he had left, giving order to Captain *Favas*, *Boguedemar* and *la Palu* to remain at the end of the Bridge, and to ſet out Centinels almoſt as far as the Gates of the City. I believ'd that the *Italians* notwithſtanding the hurly-burly in our Camp, were yet at their poſt, and therefore commanded Captain *Favas* himſelf to go and ſee if they were there or no; who at his return found, that I had cauſed fifteen or twenty Soldiers to take up the axes the Peaſants had left upon the Bridge, who, together with the ten or twelve Country fellows, were cutting the croſs beams above; where he told us, that he had been at the houſe, but that he had found no body there. This news put us a little to a ſtand, what we were beſt to do: but nevertheleſs we ſtopt not to execute our former reſolution; and ſo ſoon as the tumult was a little over, came Meſſieurs *de Termes* and *de Moneins*, who brought me a Command from Mr. *de Boitieres* immediately to retire. The ſaid Sieur *de Moneins* alighted from his horſe, for Monſieur *de Termes* could not for his Gout, and came to me on foot, where he found that ſince the diſorder, we had at two cuttings made above thirty paces of the Bridge to fall, and were falling upon the third, each of them being fifteen, or twenty paces long; who thereupon return'd to Monſieur *de Boitieres* to acquaint him how all things had paſs'd, Monſieur *de Salcede* having loſt almoſt all his Peaſants: but that our Soldiers had taken their axes, with which they did wonders in cutting, and that all the Captains and Soldiers, Monſieur *de Salcede* and I were reſolved to die rather than depart from thence, till firſt the Bridge was totally broken down. Monſieur *de Boitieres* thereupon ſent him back to proteſt againſt me for any loſs, that might happen contrary to his command, which the ſaid Sieur *de Moneins* did, telling us moreover, that the ſaid Sieur *de Boitieres* was already upon his march to return, though he halted within a mile of us; which I conceive he did to the end, that by that means he might draw me off; for he wanted no courage, but he was always in fear to loſe. Whoever is of that humor, may perhaps make a ſhift to ſave himſelf, but ſhall never atchieve any great conqueſts. Monſieur *de Termes* had made a ſtop at the end of the Bridge, ſo ſoon as he had heard Monſieur *de Boitieres* to be upon his march, and return'd no more back with Monſieur *de Moneins* to carry my anſwer; but preſently ſent orders to his Company not to ſtir from the place where he had left them, and ſo we cut on all the remainder of the night, 'till within an hour of day, that we march'd towards the little houſe upon the Hill. Monſieur *de Moneins* return'd again to us, juſt at the inſtant when the laſt blow was given, and Monſieur *de Termes* ran to his Company, to cauſe them to advance a little towards us, that they might favour our retreat, and Monſieur *de Moneins* ran towards Monſieur *de Boitieres*, whom he found expecting his return; ſo that having deprived the Enemy of a great convenience, we retir'd without any manner of impediment at all. I was willing to commit this to writing, not to magnifie my ſelf for any great valour in this Action; but to manifeſt to all the world, how God has ever been pleaſed to conduct my fortune. I was neither ſo great a Fop, nor ſo fool hardy, but that could I have ſeen the Enemy, I ſhould have retir'd, and perhaps have run away as faſt as the reſt, and it had been madneſs, and not valour to have ſtaid. Neither is there any ſhame attends a rational fear, when there is great occaſion; and I ſhould never have been ſo ſenſeleſs, as with thirty or forty Foot only to have ſtood the fight.

The Bridge broken down.

Captains by this may take exemple, never to run away, or (to put it into a better phraſe) to make a haſty retreat, without firſt diſcovering who there is to purſue them, and moreover having ſeen them, to attempt all ways of oppoſition till they ſhall ſee there is no good to be done. For after all the means that God has given to men have been employed, and to no purpoſe; then flight is neither ſhameful nor unworthy: but believe me (Gentlemen) if you do not employ it all, every one will be ready to ſay (nay, even thoſe who have run away with you) if he had done this, or if he had done that, the miſchief had been prevented, and things had fallen out better than they did; and ſuch a one vapours moſt and ſpeaks higheſt, who perhaps was himſelf the firſt that ran away. Thus ſhall the reputation of a man of honor (let him be as brave as he will) be brought into diſpute with all the world. When there is no more to be done, a man ought not to be obſtinate, but to give way to fortune, which does not always ſmile. A man is no leſs worthy of blame for wilfully loſing himſelf, when he may retire, and ſees himſelf at the laſt extremity, than he who ſhamefully runs away at the firſt encounter: Yet the one is more dirty than the other; and this difference there is betwixt them, that the one will make you reputed raſh and hair-brain'd, and the other a Poltron and a Coward. Both extreams are to be avoided. You are never to enter into theſe ridiculous and ſenſeleſs reſolutions, but when you ſee your ſelves fallen into the hands of a barbarous and mercileſs Enemy; and there indeed you are to fight

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it to the laſt gaſp, and ſell your skin as dear as you can. One deſperate man is worth ten others. But to fly, as they did here, without ſeeing who purſues you, is infamous and unworthy the courage of a man. It's true that the *French* man is accus'd for one thing, that is, that he runs and fights for company: and ſo do others as well as they. There are ill workmen of all Trades. Now after the place was ſurrendred, I will tell you how I came to know the Enemies diſorder. It was by the people of *Carignan* themſelves, and from Signior *Pedro de Colonna*'s own mouth, who related it to *Suſanne*, in the preſence of Captain *Renovard*, who conducted him to the King by the command of Monſieur *d' Anguien*, according to his capitulation after the Battel of *Serizolles*, which you ſhall have an account of in its proper place.

The breaking of this Bridge was not undertaken but upon very mature conſideration, and the Enemy ſoon after began to be very much diſtreſs'd, being no relief was to be had from *Quiers*, as before they had every night duly received. So ſoon as Monſieur *de Tais* and Signior *Ludovico de Birago* had heard the ſucceſs of this enterprize of the Bridge, they ſent word to Monſieur *de Boltieres*, that if he would come into thoſe parts where they were, they believ'd they might carry *Ivreé*. Whereupon both Monſieur *de Boitieres* and his Council were of opinion, that he ought to go, leaving Garriſons at *Pingues*, *Vinu*, *Vigon* and other places, neareſt to *Carignan*. And as I remember Monſieur *d' Auſſun*, with twelve or fourteen *Italian* Enſigns, and three or four of ours, his own and ſome other Troops of Horſe (which I have forgot) remain'd behind to command in chief. The Enemy had no Horſe at all at *Carignan*, which was the reaſon they were kept ſo ſhort on every ſide.

Monſieur *de Boitieres* then departed, with Meſſieurs *de Termes*, *de* St. *Julien*, Preſident *Birague*, and the Sieur *de Mauré*, and went to joyn Forces at St. *Jago* and St. *Germaine*, and afterwards ſate down before *Ivreé*, where we did juſt nothing, becauſe it was not poſſible to break the Cauſey that damm'd up the water; which thing could it have been done, we had infallibly taken the place, foraſmuch as there was no other defence but the River on that ſide: but we were conſtrain'd to let it alone, and to go to beſiege St. *Martin*, which alſo we took upon compoſition, after it had ſtood out two or three hundred Canon ſhot; and ſome other places thereabouts. And as we were returning towards *Chivas*, in the interim of the Siege of *Ivreé*, Monſieur *de Boitieres* had notice given him, that Monſieur *d' Auſſun* was coming to command in his ſtead.

The King, in truth, was highly diſſatisfied with him; both for that he had ſuffer'd *Carignan* at ſo much leiſure to be fortified, and alſo upon other particular accounts. A man muſt walk very upright to ſatisfie all the world. The ſaid Sieur *de Boitieres* was however very angry at it; and 'twas ſaid thereupon withdrew from before *Ivreé* in deſpite, which otherwiſe in the end 'twas thought he might have taken: but I am not of that opinion. So it was that Monſieur *d' Anguien* arrived, bringing with him for ſupplies ſeven Companies of *Swiſſe*, commanded by a Colonel call'd *le Baron*; and, as I remember, it was at this time, that Monſieur *de Dros* with ſeven or eight Enſigns, what of *Provençals* and *Italians*, came up alſo, and Monſieur *de Boitieres* retir'd to his own houſe in *Dauphiné*. There is much to do in this world, and thoſe who are in great command are never without vexation; for if they be too adventurous, and come by the worſt, they are look'd upon as fools and mad men; if tedious and ſlow, they are deſpiſed, nay reputed Cowards; the wiſe therefore are to obſerve a mean betwixt both. Our Maſters in the mean time will not be paid with theſe diſcourſes, they expect to have their buſineſs done, but we muſt ever be prating, and cenſuring others, when were we in the ſame condition we ſhould find we had enough to do.

The End of the Firſt Book.

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THE COMMENTARIES OF *Meßire Blaize de Montluc*, MARESCHAL of FRANCE.

The Second Book.

AT the arrival of this brave and generous Prince, which promis'd great ſucceſſes under his conduct, he being endu'd with an infinite number of ſhining qualities, as being gentle, affable, valiant, wiſe and liberal; all the *French* and all thoſe who bore arms in our favour, did very much rejoyce, and particularly I, becauſe he had a kindneſs for me, and was pleaſed to ſet a higher eſteem upon me than I could any way deſerve. After he had taken a view of all the Forces, Magazines and Places that we held, and that he had taken order for all things after the beſt manner he could, about the beginning of *March* he diſpatch'd me away to the King, to give his Majeſty an account how affairs ſtood, and withal to acquaint him, that the Marquis *de Guaſt* was raiſing a very great Army, to whom new ſuccours of *Germans* were alſo ſent, and moreover that the Prince of *Salerna* was alſo coming from *Naples* with ſix or ſeven thouſand *Italians* under his command. It was at the time when the Emperor and the King of *England* were agreed, and combin'd together joinly to invade the Kingdom of *France*, which they had alſo divided betwixt them. I had waited at Court near upon three weeks for my diſpatch, having already acquitted my ſelf of my Commiſſion, which was in ſum only to demand ſome ſuccours of the King, and to obtain leave to fight a Battel. And about the end of the ſaid Month came Letters alſo to the King from Monſieur *d'Anguien*, wherein he gave him notice that ſeven thouſand *Germans* were already arriv'd at *Millan*, of the beſt of thoſe the Emperor had had before *Landreci*, where there were ſeven Regiments of them; but being he could not at that time fight with the King, he commanded the ſeven Colonels to chooſe each a thouſand out of their reſpective Regiments, ordering them to leave their Lieutenants to get their Regiments ready, and ſo ſent them into *Italy* to joyn with the Marquis *de Guaſt*. Wherefore the ſaid Monſieur *d'Anguien* humbly beſought his Majeſty to ſend me ſpeedily away to him, and alſo requeſted him, that he would pleaſe to do ſomething for me, as a reward for my former ſervices, and an encouragement to more for the time to come. Upon which Letter his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon me the Office of a Gentleman Waiter (which in thoſe times was no ordinary favour; nor ſo cheap as now a days) and made me to wait upon him at Dinner, commanding me in the afternoon to make my ſelf ready to return into *Piedmont*, which I accordingly did. About two of the Clock Monſieur *de Annebaut* ſent for me to come to the King; who was already entred into the Council, where there was aſſiſting Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* the Admiral, Monſieur *le Grand Eſcuyer*, *Galliot*, Monſieur *de Boiſſy* (ſince grand Eſcuyer) and two or three others, whom I have forgot, together with the *Dauphin* who ſtood behind the Kings Chair; and none of them were ſet, but the King himſelf, Monſieur *de* St. *Pol*, who ſate hard by him, and the Admiral on the other ſide of the Table over againſt the ſad Sieur *de* St. *Pol*.

Mr. *d'Anguien* the Kings Lieutenant in *Piedmont*.

Monſieur *de* by *Montluc* ſent Monſieur *d'Anguien* to the King.

1544.

The Sieur *de Montluc* made a Gentleman Waiter.

So ſoon as I. came into the Chamber, the King ſaid to me, Montluc, *I would have you return into* Piedmont *to carry my determination, and that of my Council to Monſieur* d' Anguien, *and will that you hear the difficulties we make of giving him leave to fight a Battel according to his deſire*, and thereupon commanded Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* to ſpeak. The ſaid Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* then began to lay open the enterprize of the Emperor, and the King of *England*, who within ſix or ſeven weeks were determin'd to enter into the Kingdom, the one on the one ſide and the other on the other; ſo that ſhould Monſieur *d' Anguien* loſe the Battel, the whole Kingdom would be in danger to be loſt: for as much as all the Kings hopes (for what concerned his Foot) reſided in the Regiments he had in *Piedmont*, for that in *France* there were no other but what were now Legionary Soldiers, and that therefore it was much better, and more ſafe to preſerve the Kingdom than *Piedmont*, concerning which they were to be on the defenſive part, and by no means to hazzard a Battel, the loſs whereof would not only loſe *Piedmont*; but moreover give the Enemy footing on that ſide of the Kingdom. The Admiral ſaid the ſame, and all the reſt, every one arguing according to his own fancy. I twitter'd to ſpeak, and offering to interrupt Monſieur *de Galliot* as he was delivering his opinion, Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* made a ſign to me with his hand, ſaying *not too faſt, not too faſt*, which made me hold my peace, and I ſaw the King laugh. Monſieur *le Dauphin* ſaid nothing; I believe it is not the cuſtom, though the King would have him preſent, that he might learn; for before Princes there are evermore very eloquent debates, but not always the ſoundeſt determinations; for they never ſpeak but by halves, and always ſooth their Maſters humor, for which reaſon I ſhould make a very ſcurvy Courtier; for I muſt ever ſpeak as I think. The King then ſaid theſe words to me, Montluc, *have you heard the Reaſons for which I cannot give Monſieur* d' Anguien *leave to fight?* to which I made anſwer, *that I had both heard and weigh'd them very well; but that if his Majeſty would pleaſe to give me leave to deliver my opinion, I would very gladly do it: not that nevertheleſs for that his Majeſty ſhould any ways alter what had already been determin'd in his Council.* His Majeſty then told me that he would permit me ſo to do, and that I might freely ſay whatſoever I would. Whereupon I began after this manner. I remember it as well as it had been but three days ago; God has given me a very great memory in theſe kind of things, for which I render him hearty thanks; for it is a great contentment to me now that I have nothing elſe to do, to recollect my former fortunes, and to call to mind the former paſſages of my life, to ſet them truly down without any manner of addition; for be they good or bad you ſhall have them as they are.

SIR,

The Sieur *de Montluc's* ſpeech to the King to obtain leave to fight a Battel.

I Think my ſelf exceedingly happy, as well that you are pleaſed I ſhall deliver my poor opinion upon a ſubject that has already been debated in your Majeſties Council, as alſo that I am to ſpeak to a Warlike King; for both before your Majeſty was call'd to this great charge, which God has conferr'd upon You, and alſo ſince, you have as much tempted the fortune of War, as any King that ever rul'd in France, *and that without ſparing your own Royal Perſon any more than the meaneſt Gentleman of your Kingdom; wherefore I need not fear freely to deliver my opinion, being to ſpeak both to a King and a Soldier.* (Here the *Dauphin*, who ſtood behind the Kings Chair, and juſt over againſt me, gave me a nod with his head, by which I gueſs'd he would have me to ſpeak boldly, and that gave me the greater aſſurance, though, in plain truth, I had ever confidence enough, and fear never ſtop'd my mouth.) *Sir*, ſaid I, *we are betwixt five and ſix thouſand* Gaſcons *upon the Liſt, for your Majeſty knows that the Companies are never fully compleat; neither can all ever be at the Battel; but I make account we ſhall be five thouſand, and five or ſix hundred* Gaſcons *compleat, that I dare make good to your Majeſty upon my Honor: Of theſe every Captain and Soldier will preſent you with a Liſt of all their names, and the places from whence we come, and will engage our heads to you, all of us to fight in the day of Battel, if your Majeſty will pleaſe to grant it, and give us leave to fight. 'Tis the only thing we have ſo long expected and deſir'd, without ſneaking thus up and down from place to place, and hiding our heads in corners. Believe me, Sir, the world has not more reſolute Soldiers than theſe are, they deſire nothing more than once to come to the deciſion of Arms. To theſe there are thirteen Enſigns of* Swiſſe: *Of which the ſix of St* Julien *I know much better than thoſe of* Baron, *which* Fourly *commands, yet I have ſeen them all muſter'd, and there may be as many of them as of ours. Theſe will make you the ſame promiſe we do, who are your natural Subjects, and deliver in the names of all to be ſent to their Cantons, to the end that if any man fail in his duty, he may be be caſhier'd, and degraded from all practice of Arms for ever. A condition to which they are all ready to ſubmit, as they aſſured me at my departure.*

Gaſcons.

Swiſſe.

parture. And being of the ſame Nation, I make no doubt but thoſe of le Baron *will do the ſame. Your Majeſty may have taken notice of them all before* Landrecy. *Here then, Sir, are nine thouſand men, or more, on which you may depend, and aſſure your ſelf that they will fight to the laſt gaſp of their lives. As for the* Italians *and* Provencals *which are under Monſieur* des Cros, *and alſo the* Fribourgers *that came to us before* Ivreé; *I ſhall not take upon me to become ſecurity for them, but I hope they will all do as well as we, eſpecially when they ſhall ſee how we lay about us* (at which I lifted up my arm (in the earneſtneſs of ſpeaking) as if I were going to ſtrike, whereat the King ſmil'd.) *You ſhould alſo, Sir, have four hundred men at arms in* Piedmont, *of which there may well be three hundred, and as many Archers, as well diſpoſed as we. You have four Captains of Light horſe, which are Meſſieurs* de Termes, d' Auſſun, Franciſco Bernardin *and* Mauré, *each of which ought to have two hundred Light horſe, and amongſt them all they will furniſh you with five or ſix hundred Horſe, all which are ambitious to manifeſt the zeal they have to your Service. I know what they are, and what they will do very well.* The King then began to be a little angry to hear that the Companies of the *Gens-d' Armes* were not all compleat: but I told him that it was impoſſible; foraſmuch as ſome of them had obtained leave of their Captains to go home to their own houſes to refreſh themſelves, and others were ſick: but that if his Majeſty would pleaſe to give leave to thoſe Gentlemen who would beg it of him, to be preſent at the Battel, they would very well ſupply that default. *Since then, Sir,* ſaid I, (continuing my diſcourſe) *that I am ſo happy as to ſpeak before a Soldier King, who would you have to kill ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand or twelve hundred Horſe, all reſolute to overcome or dye? Such men as theſe, and ſo reſolv'd, are not ſo eaſily defeated: neither are they Novices in War. We have have ſeveral times attaqu'd the Enemy upon equal terms, and for the moſt part beaten them. And I dare boldly ſay that had we all of us one arm ty'd behind us, it would not be in the power of the Enemy to kill us all in a whole days time, without loſing the greateſt part of their Army, and the choiceſt of their men. Imagine then when we have both our arms at liberty, and our weapons in our hands, how eaſie it will be to beat us. Truly, Sir, I have heard great Captains diſcourſe, and ſay that an Army of twelve or fifteen thouſand men is ſufficient to confront an Army of thirty thouſand; for 'tis not the crowd but the courage that overcomes, and in a Battel the one half of them never comes to fight. We deſire no more than we have, let us deal it out.* (The *Dauphin* all this while ſtood laughing behind the King's Chair, and ſtill made ſigns to me, for by my behaviour I ſeem'd already to be in Battel.) *No, no, Sir, theſe are not men to be beaten, and if theſe Lords who have ſpoken, had once ſeen them at their work, they would alter their opinion, and ſo would your Majeſty too. Theſe are not men to lye dozing in a Garriſon, they require an Enemy, and have a mind to ſhew their valour; they beg leave of you to fight, and if you deny them, you take away their ſpirits, and give it to your Enemies, who will be puffed with vanity to ſee themſelves fear'd, whilſt your own Army ſhall moulder away to nothing. By what I have heard, Sir, all that theſe Lords ſtumble at, who have deliver'd their opinions before you, is the apprehenſion of loſing the Battel, and that makes them always cry, if we loſe, if we loſe; but I have not heard one of them tell you, if we win it, what great advantages will thereby accrue. For Gods ſake, Sir, fear not to grant our requeſt, and let me not return with ſuch a ſhame upon me, that men ſhall ſay you durſt not truſt the hazard of a Battel in our hands, who ſo voluntarily and chearfully make a tender of our lives to do you ſervice.*

Italians, Provençals, *and* Fribourgers.

Gens d' Armes. *Archers. Light horſe.*

The King who had very attentively hearkened to me, and that was delighted at my geſtures and impatience, turn'd his eyes towards Monſieur *de* St. *Pol*, who thereupon ſaid to him, *Sir, will you alter your determination at the importunity of this Coxcomb, that cares for nothing but fighting, and has no ſence of the misfortune; nor the inconveniences that the loſs of a Battel would bring upon you? Believe me, Sir, 'tis a thing of too great importance to be referr'd to the diſcretion of a young hair-brain'd* Gaſcon. To whom I made anſwer in theſe very words. *My Lord, aſſure your ſelf I am neither a Brigadocio nor ſo arrant a Coxcomb as you take me for; neither do I ſay this out of Bravado, and if you will pleaſe to call to mind all the intelligences his Majeſty has received ſince we return'd from* Perpignan *into* Piedmont, *you will find that wherever we encountred the Enemy, whether on horſeback or on foot, we have always beaten them, excepting when Monſieur* d' Auſſun *was defeated; who alſo miſcarried through no other default than for attempting to retreat at the head of an Army, which a prudent Captain never ought to do. It is not yet three months (I am ſure you have heard it, for it is known to all the world) ſince the two brave Combats we fought both on foot and on horſeback in the plain over againſt St.* Fre, *firſt againſt the* Italians, *and ſince againſt the* Spaniards, *and both in ten days time; and Monſieur* d' Auſſun *fifteen days before he was taken, fought and defeated an entire Regiment*

The Sieur de Montluc's *reply to Monſieur* de *St.* Pol.

of Germans. *Conſider then we that are in heart, and they in fear; we that are Conquerours, and they beaten; we who deſpiſe them, whilſt they tremble at us; what difference there is betwixt us. When ſhould it be that the King ſhould give us leave to fight, if not now, that we are in this condition in* Piedmont? *It muſt not be when we have been beaten, that his Majeſty ought to do it; but now that we are in breath, and fleſh'd with conqueſt. Neither is there any thought to be taken, ſave only to take good heed that we aſſault them not in a Fortreſs as we did at the* Bicoque: *but Monſieur* d' Anguien *has too many good and experienced Captains about him to commit ſuch an error; and there will be no other queſtion, if not how to tempt them into the open field, where there ſhall be neither hedge nor ditch to hinder us from coming to grapple with them, and then, Sir, you ſhall hear news of one of the moſt furious Battels that ever was fought, and I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to expect no other news but that of a great and glorious victory, which if God give us the grace to obtain (as I hold myſelf aſſured we ſhall) you will ſo ſtop the Emperor and the King of* England *in the midſt of their Carreer, that they ſhall not know which way to turn them.* The *Dauphin* ſtill continued laughing more than before, and ſtill making ſigns, which gave me ſtill the greater aſſurance to ſpeak: All the reſt then ſpoke every one in his turn, and ſaid, that his Majeſty ought by no means to rely upon my words: only the Admiral ſaid nothing, but ſmiled; and I believe he perceiv'd the ſigns the *Dauphin* made me, they being almoſt oppoſite to one another; But Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* reply'd again, ſaying to the King; *What, Sir, it ſeems you have a mind to alter your determination, and to be led away at the perſwaſion of this frantick fool:* to which the King made anſwer, *By my Faith, Cozen, he has given me ſo great reaſons, and ſo well repreſented to me the courage of my Soldiers, that I know not what to ſay.* To which Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* reply'd, *Nay, Sir, I ſee you are already chang'd*; (now he could not ſee the ſigns the *Dauphin* made me, as the Admiral could, for he had his back towards him) whereupon the King directing his ſpeech to the Admiral, ask'd him what he thought of the buſineſs, who again ſmiling return'd his Majeſty this anſwer, *Sir, will you confeſs the truth? You have a great mind to give them leave to fight, which if they do, I dare not aſſure you either of victory or diſgrace; for God alone only knows what the iſſue will be: but I dare pawn my life and reputation, that all thoſe he has named to you will fight like men of honor; for I know their bravery very well, as having had the honour to command them. Do only one thing, Sir, (for we ſee you are already half overcome, and that you rather encline to a Battel than otherwiſe) addreſs your ſelf to Almighty God, and humbly beg of him, in this perplexity, to aſſiſt you with his Counſel, what you were beſt to do.* Which having ſaid, the King, throwing his Bonnet upon the Table, lift up his eyes towards heaven, and, joining his hands, ſaid; *My God, I beſeech thee, that thou wilt be pleaſed to direct me this day what I ought to do for the preſervation of my Kingdom, and let all be to thy honor and glory.* Which having ſaid, the Admiral ask'd him, *I beſeech you, Sir, what opinion are you now of?* When the King, after a little pauſe, turning towards me, with great vehemency cryed out, *Let them fight, let them fight.* *Why then,* ſays the Admiral, *there is no more to be ſaid, if you loſe the Battel, you alone are the cauſe, and if you overcome the ſame, and alone ſhall enjoy the ſatisfaction, having alone conſented to it.* This being ſaid, the King and all the reſt aroſe, and I was ready to leap out of my skin for joy. The King then fell to talking with the Admiral about my diſpatch, and to take order for our Pay which was a great deal in arrear. Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* in the mean time drew near unto me, and ſmiling ſaid, *thou mad Devil, thou wilt be the cauſe either of the greateſt good or the greateſt miſchief that can poſſibly befall the King* (now you muſt know that the ſaid Sieur *de St. Pol* had not ſpoken any thing for any ill will that he bore me, for he lov'd me as well as any Captain in *France*, and of old, having known me at the time when I ſerv'd under Mareſchal *de Foix*) and moreover told me, that it was very neceſſary I ſhould ſpeak to all the Captains and Soldiers, and tell them that the confidence his Majeſty repoſ'd in our worth and valour had made him condeſcend to permit us to fight, and not reaſon, conſidering the condition he was then in. To whom I reply'd, *My Lord, I moſt humbly beſeech you not to fear, or ſo much as doubt but that we ſhall win the Battel, and aſſure your ſelf, that the firſt news you will hear will be, that we have made them all into a Fricaſſé, and may eat them if we will.* The King then came to me and laid his hand upon my Shoulder, ſaying, Montluc, *recommend me to my Cozen* d' Anguien *and to all the Captains in thoſe parts, of what Nation ſoever, and tell them that the great confidence I have in their fidelity and valour has made me condeſcend that they ſhall fight, entreating them to ſerve me very well upon this occaſion, for I never think to be in ſo much need again as at this preſent, that now therefore is the time, wherein they are to manifeſt the kindneſs they have for me, and that I will ſuddainly ſend them the money they deſire.* To which I made anſwer, *Sir, I ſhall obey your commands, and this*

The Battel concluded.

Words of Mr. de St. *Pol* to the Sieur *de Montluc.*

Montluc's anſwer.

The King's ſaying to the Sieur *de Montluc.*

His anſwer.

will be a cordial to chear them, and a ſpur to the good diſpoſition they already have to fight, and I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, not to remain in doubt concerning the iſſue of our fight, for that will only diſcompoſe your ſpirit; but chear up your ſelf in expectation of the good news you will ſhortly hear of us; for my mind preſages well, and it never yet deceived me; and thereupon, kiſſing his hand, I took my leave of his Majeſty. The Admiral then bid me go and ſtay for him in the Wardrobe, and whether it was Monſieur *de Marchemont* or Monſieur *Bayart* that went down with me, I cannot tell: but going out, I found at the door Meſſieurs *de Dampierre*, *de* St. *André* and *d' Aſſier*, with three or four others, who demanded of me, if I carried leave to Monſieur *d' Anguien* to fight, to whom I made anſwer in *Gaſcon*, *hares y harem aux pics, & patacs*; go in preſently, if you have any ſtomach to the entertainment, before the Admiral depart from the King, which they accordingly did, and there was ſome diſpute about their leave: but in the end his Majeſty conſented they ſhould go: which nothing impair'd their feaſt; for after them came above a hundred Gentlemen poſt to be preſent at the Battel. Amongſt others the Sieurs *de Jarnac* and *de Chatillon*, ſince Admiral, the Son of the Admiral *d' Annebaut*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, and ſeveral others; of which not one was ſlain in the Battel, ſave only Monſieur *d' Aſſier*, whom I lov'd more than my own heart, and *Chamans* who was wounded when I fought the *Spaniards* in the plain of *Perpignan*; ſome others there were that were hurt, but none that dyed. There is not a Prince in the world, who has ſo frank a Gentry as ours has, the leaſt ſmile of their King will enflame the coldeſt conſtitution, without any thought of fear, to convert Mills and Vineyards into Horſes and Arms, and they go Volunteers to dye in that bed which we Soldiers call the bed of honor.

Praiſe of the *French* Gentry.

Being arrived ſoon after at the Camp, I acquitted my ſelf of my charge towards Monſieur *d' Anguien*, and preſented him my Letters from the King, who was infinitely overjoy'd, and embracing me in his arms, ſaid theſe very words: *I knew very well that thou wouldſt not bring us peace*, and turning to the Gentlemen about him, *Well my Maſters*, ſaid he, *the King is pleaſed to gratifie our deſire, we muſt go to't.* I then gave him an account of the difficulty I had met with in obtaining that leave, and that the King himſelf was the only cauſe of it, which ought the more to encourage us to behave our ſelves bravely in the Battel. He was moreover very glad when I told him, that the foremention'd Lords were coming after me, being certain that ſeveral others would alſo follow after them, as they did. Bidding me by all means go diſcharge my ſelf of his Majeſties commands to all the Colonels, Captains of the *Gens-d' Armes*, Light horſe and Foot; which I did, not obſerving one that did not mightily rejoyce, when I gave them to underſtand, what aſſurance I had given the King of the victory. Neither did I ſatisfie my ſelf with ſpeaking to the Officers only; but moreover went amongſt the Soldiers, aſſuring them that we ſhould all be highly recompenc'd by the King, making the matter ſomething better than it was; for a man muſt now and then lye a little for his Maſter.

Carignan blocked up.

During the time of my abſence Monſieur *d' Anguien* had block'd up *Carignan*, being he could not carry it by fine force without infinite loſs, quartering in the mean time at *Vimeus* and *Carmagnolle*; and ſoon after the arrival of theſe Gentlemen, the Marquis *de Guaſt* departed with his Camp upon Good Friday from *Aſt*, and came to lodge at the Mountain near *Carmagnolle*, and upon *Eaſter* day remov'd his Camp to *Cerizolles*. The Company of the Count *de Tande*, was this day upon the Guard, to which Captain *Vaurines* was Lieutenant, who ſent word to Monſieur *d' Anguien*, that the Camp was upon their march, and that their drums were plainly heard. Monſieur *d' Anguien* thereupon commanded me preſently to mount to horſe, and to go in all haſt to diſcover them, and to bring him certain intelligence of their motion, which I alſo did, Captain *Vaurines* giving me twenty Launciers for my Guard. I went ſo far that I diſcover'd the Cavalry, who march'd thorough the Woods belonging to the Abby of *Deſteffarde*, and heard the Drums, ſome marching before and ſome following after, which put me to a ſtand to gueſs what the meaning of this order might be. At my return I found Monſieur *d' Anguien*, Meſſieurs *de Chatillon*, *de Dampierre*, *de* St. *André*, *Deſcars*, (the Father of theſe now living) *d' Aſſier* and *de Jarnac*, in the Chamber of the ſaid Seigneur *d' Anguien*, talking with him, having cauſed their Arms to be brought and laid upon the Beds in the ſaid Chamber, where I made a report to him of what I had ſeen, whereupon all the Gentlemen cryed out to him, *Let us go, Sir, let us go to fight to day, for it is a good day, and God will aſſiſt us.* Upon which the ſaid Seigneur commanded me to go bid Meſſieurs *de Tais* and *de* St. *Julien* to draw out their Regiments into the field, at the ſame time ſending another Gentleman to the *Gens-d' Armes* and the Light horſe to do the ſame, which was perform'd in an inſtant, and we drew out of *Carmagnolle* into a plain leading

The Sieur *de Montluc* ſent to diſcover the Enemy.

toward

toward *Cerizolles*, where we were all drawn up into Battalia. Monſieur *de Mailly* Maſter of the Ordinance was there ready with his Artillery, as ſoon as any of us all, and we heard the Enemies Drums almoſt as plainly as we heard our own. In my life did I never ſee ſo chearful an Army, nor Soldiers ſo well diſpoſed to fight, as this of ours was, excepting ſome of the great ones of the Army, who were evermore perſecuting Monſieur *d' Anguien*, not to put it to the hazard of a day, repreſenting to him what a blow it would be to the King ſhould he loſe the Battel, which might perhaps occaſion the loſs of the Kingdom of *France*; and others were ſtill perſwading him that he ought to fight, the King having granted leave, and expecting he ſhould now ſo do; ſo that amongſt them they put this poor Prince, being yet very young, into ſo great a perplexity, that he ſcarce knew which way to turn him, nor what to do. You may imagine whether I was not mightily pleaſed with theſe doings, and whether I would not have ſpoke at mouth, had I had to do with my match; neither as it was could I altogether forbear. The Lords who were lately come from Court, were all for fighting, and I could very well name both the one and the other, if I ſo pleaſed; but I ſhall forbear to do it; for I have not taken my Pen in hand to blemiſh any one: but the Admiral *Chatillon* and Monſieur *de Jarnac*, who are both living, know it as well as I. Both the one and the other had reaſon for what they ſaid; and were not prompted by any fear of their own perſons; but only the apprehenſion of loſing all witheld them; and ſome perhaps (as I have often ſeen) argue againſt their own inclinations, and the plurality of voices, to the end that if any thing fall amiſs, they may afterwards ſay, *I was of a contrary opinion, I told him as much, but I was not to be believed.* Oh there is great cunning in dawbing, and in our trade eſpecially of all others.

Monſieur *d' Anguien* in ſuſpence concerning the Battel.

Diſſimulation amongſt Soldiers.

Juſt as we ſhould have march'd to go to fight, four or five drew Monſieur *d' Anguien* aſide, alighting from their horſes, where they entertained him walking up and down for above half an hour, whilſt every one gnaſh'd their teeth for rage that they did not march: in the end the reſult of all was, that all the Regiments of Foot ſhould return to their Quarters, and alſo the Artillery and the *Gens-d' Armes*, and that Monſieur *d' Anguien* with four or five hundred Horſe, and ſome of the Captains of his Council, ſhould go to the plain of *Cerizolles* to diſcover the Enemies Camp; that I ſhould bring after him four hundred Harquebuſiers, and all the reſt to retire to their Quarters: I then ſaw a world of people ready to run mad for veaxtion, and do verily believe that if God had ſo pleas'd that Monſieur *d' Anguien* had march'd according to his determination, he had won the Battel with very little difficulty; for the Drums that I had heard return into the Enemies Rear, were all the *Spaniſh* Foot, who went back to draw off two pieces of Canon, which were ſet faſt in ſuch manner that they could not be ſtirr'd either backward or forward; ſo that we had had nothing to fight with but the *Germans*, the *Italians* and the Horſe, none of which, nor even the Marquis himſelf, could have eſcap'd us. But after we had ſtood above three hours facing the Enemy, which were in a plain betwixt *Sommerive* and *Cerizolles*, who expected no other but to fight; (and the Marquis told Monſieur *de Termes* ſince (being a priſoner) as he has aſſured mee, that he was never in his life in ſo great fear of being loſt as that day, for his chiefeſt hopes was in the *Spaniſh* Harquebuſiers) Monſieur *d' Anguien* return'd back to *Carmagnolle* as diſcontented as ever Prince was, and at the deſcent of a Wood, as we were upon our return to the ſaid *Carmagnolle*, I ſaid to him as we rid along, Meſſieurs *de Dampierre* and *de* St. *André* being by, theſe words; *Sir, Sir, this morning what you aroſe what could you have deſir'd of God Almighty more than what he has this day given you; which is to find the Enemy you have ſo much deſired in the open field; where there was neither hedge nor ditch to obſtruct you? but I perceeve you are more enclined to believe thoſe who counſel you not to fight than thoſe who adviſe you to it.* At which he fell to ſwear and curſe, ſaying, that hereafter he would believe no one but himſelf, by which I well perceiv'd him to be nettled, ſo that ſtill going on to appeaſe him, I ſaid, *No Sir, no, in Gods name believe no body but your ſelf; for we all know very well that you deſire nothing more then to fight, and God will proſper you*, and ſo went on ſtreight to *Carmagnolle*, next to the blood, remembring what I had ſo largely promiſed to the King in his Council.

The Marquis *de Guaſt* in fear.

A ſaying of the Sieur *de Montluc* to Mr. *d' Anguien*.

So ſoon as the ſaid Seigneur came to *Carmagnolle*, he preſently call'd a Council of War, and I at my arrival found our whole Regiment both Officers and Soldiers up to the ears in mutiny, demanding their pay: but they held them in hand with the coming of Monſieur *Langey*, who brought ſome money along with him. I was then entreated by Monſieur *de la Molle* the elder, who commanded two Enſigns, and the next day was ſlain, to ſpeak to Monſieur *d' Anguien* in the behalf of all, and that he would bear the blame; and as we were all waiting in the Hall, by fortune Meſſieurs *de Dampierre* and *de* St.

André came in, and finding all in mutiny ſaid to us theſe words; *Have a little patience I beſeech you, till Monſieur* d' Anguien *riſe from the Council* (and I do believe they had been talking to him by the way, for I found him riding betwixt them) and ſo they entred into the Chamber, where they ſtaid not long, but came out again. Monſieur *de Dampierre* came out firſt, who, becauſe Monſieur *d' Anguien* immediately followed him, looking at me, he laid his finger upon his mouth, for a ſign that I ſhould ſay nothing, and Monſieur *d' Anguien* all in rage went ſtraight to his Chamber, and the other Colonels and Captains every one to his own quarters; but we ſtirr'd not from thence. Preſently after Meſſieurs *de Dampierre* and *de* St. *André* came out into the Hall, and ſaid to us theſe words: *Get you home to your Quarters, and prepare your ſelves, for to morrow we muſt fight*; as they came out we take notice of thoſe who were for fighting, all of them ſmiling upon us, by which alſo we gueſs'd before hand how the matter went. In the evening when I accompanied Monſieur *de Dampierre* to his lodging, he told me the whole ſtory, and what Monſieur *d' Anguien* had propounded to the Council, inſiſting upon the Error he ſaw he had committed in not fighting, by which he had loſt an advantage that he could not again recover, entreating them all to conſider of it, and to reſolve upon a Battel. Whereupon ſome fell again to diſcourſe the ſame thing they had ſaid before, of what a loſs it would be to the King, with many other reaſons to divert him from that reſolution; and others maintain'd the ſame opinion they had ever done, that he ought to put it to a Battel: But Monſieur *d' Anguien*, who ſaw himſelf fallen into the ſame diſpute that before, broke out in a violent paſſion, ſaying, *that he was reſolved to fight at what price ſoever, and that if any one ſhould any more diſpute the contrary, he ſhould never think ſo well of that man again, ſo long as he liv'd.* Whereupon one in the Company, who before had ſo highly argued againſt it, made anſwer: *O Sir, is it then a reſolution you have taken that you will fight? yes* replyed Monſieur *d' Anguien*, then ſays the other *there is no more to be ſaid*; and thereupon it was concluded, that every one ſhould repair to his command, and that an hour before day, we ſhould be all in the ſame Plain where we had been the day before, to march directly towards the Enemy, wherever he was to be found; which was accordingly perform'd, ſome remonſtrating in the mean time to the Captains and Soldiers, that it would be out of ſeaſon to ſtand upon telling them out their pay in the face of the Enemy, and that they were to ſtay till the Battel was over, which was only a device to amuze thoſe who were ſo importunate for their Pay.

Reſolution to fight.

Now being we had the day before left the Enemy in the Plain betwixt *Sommerive* and *Cerizolles*, Monſieur *d' Anguien* did not very well know whether they might be at *Sommerive* or at *Cerizolles*, notwithſtanding that the Governor of *Sommerive* had ſent him word, that the Camp intended to quarter there. Signior *Franciſco Bernardin* therefore ſent out three or four of his Light horſe towards the ſaid *Cerizolles*, who went ſo near that they diſcover'd their Camp, which was already in arms, and the Drums beginning to beat. That which had made them return to *Cerizolles*, was to ſtay for the *Spaniſh* Foot, who were gone for the two pieces of Canon, as has been ſaid before. Monſieur *de Termes* likewiſe ſent out again three or four of his people alſo, and in the mean time we march'd underneath toward *Sommerive*; but ſo ſoon as the Light horſe return'd with the ſame intelligence, we turn'd on the left hand, and come up into the Plain, where the whole Army was, and there made a halt. And there Monſieur *d' Anguien* and Monſieur *de Tais* gave me all the Harquebuſiers to lead, for which honor I returned him my moſt humble thanks, telling him *that I hoped, by Gods aſſiſtance, to acquit my ſelf ſo well of my charge, that he ſhould remain ſatisfied with my ſervice*, and ſaid as much to Monſieur *de Tais*, who was my Colonel, and who came and commanded all the Captains and Lieutenants, that I would take, to obey me equally with himſelf.

The Sieur *de Montluc* commands all the Harquebuſiers.

I then took four Lieutenants, namely *le Brüeil* (whom I have mentioned before) *le Gaſquet*, Captain *Lienard* and Captain *Favas*, who was my own Lieutenant. To *Favas* and *Lienard* I gave the right wing, and my ſelf with the two other took the left, leading towards the little houſe, that was afterwards ſo much diſputed; and it was ordered that the *Swiſſe* which were commanded by Monſieur *de Boitieres* (who a little before the rumor of the Battel had been recall'd from his own houſe) and we ſhould fight together in the Vantguard: the Battel was to be conducted by Monſieur *d' Anguien*, having under his Cornet all the young Lords that came from Court, and the Rear-guard was commanded by Monſieur *d' Ampierre*, wherein were four thouſand *Fribourgers*, and three thouſand *Italians*, led by the Sieur *de Dros* and *des Cros*, together with all the Guidons and Archers of Companies. Now there was a little Eminence, that dipt towards *Cerizolles* and *Sommerive*, which was all on a little Copſe, but not very thick: The firſt of the Ene-

The order of the Battel of *Cerizolles* fought the 11. of *April*, 1544

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my that we ſaw enter into the Plain to come towards us, were the ſeven thouſand *Italians* conducted by the Prince of *Salerna*, and in the flank of them three hundred Launciers, commanded by *Rodolpho Baglione*, who belonged to the great Duke of *Florence*. The Skirmiſh began by this little Hill, on the deſcent whereof the Enemy had made a halt juſt over againſt us, and ſo ſoon as the skirmiſh was begun, I gave one Squadron to Captain *Brueille*, being that which was neareſt to me, and the hindmoſt to Captain *Gaſquet*, about two hundred paces diſtant the one from the other, and of my own I gave forty or fifty Harquebuſiers to a Serjeant of mine called *Arnaut de* St. *Clair*, a valiant man and one that very well underſtood his buſineſs, and I my ſelf ſtood for a reſerve. Being at the foreſaid little houſe, I diſcover'd three or four Companies of *Spaniſh* Harquebuſiers, who came full drive to poſſeſs themſelves of the houſe, and in the mean time *Favas* and *Lienard* fought the *Italians* in the valley on the right hand. The skirmiſh grew hot on both ſides, the Enemy one while beating me up to the houſe, and I again other whiles driving them back to their own party; for they had another that was come up to ſecond the firſt, and it ſeem'd as if we had been playing at Baſe: but in the end I was conſtrain'd to call Captain *Brueille* up to me, for I ſaw all their Foot embody together, with a Troop of Horſe to flank them. Now had I not ſo much as one horſe with me, notwithſtanding that I had adverti ſed Monſieur *d' Anguien* that their Cavalry was alſo with the Harquebuſiers that came up to me. Let it ſuffice, that of a long time no body came, inſomuch that I was conſtrained to quit the houſe; but not without a great diſpute, which continued for a very great ſpace. I then ſent back Captain *Brueille* to his place, the skirmiſh continued for almoſt four fours without intermiſſion, and never did men acquit themſelves better. Monſieur *d' Anguien* then ſent Monſieur *d' Auſſun* unto me, commanding me to repoſſeſs my ſelf of the houſe, which was neither of advantage nor diſadvantage to me; to whom I made anſwer, *Go and tell Monſieur* d' Anguien *that he muſt then ſend me ſome Horſe, to fight theſe Horſe that flank their Harquebuſiers* (which he alſo ſaw as well as I) *for I am not to fight Horſe and Foot together in the open field.* He then ſaid to me, *It is enough for me that I have told you*, and ſo return'd to carry back my anſwer to Monſieur *d' Anguien*; who thereupon ſent Monſieur *de Moneins* to tell me, that one way or another he would that I ſhould regain it, with whom alſo came the Seigneur *Cabry*, Brother to Seigneur *Maure*, bringing with him threeſcore Horſe, all Launciers, and Monſieur *de Moneins* might have about ſome five and twenty, he being then but beginning to raiſe his Troop. To whom I return'd the ſame anſwer I had given before to Monſieur *d' Auſſun*, and that I would not be cauſe of the loſs of the Battel: but that if they would go charge thoſe Horſe that flank'd the Harquebuſiers, I would quickly regain the houſe. They then anſwer'd, that I had reaſon, and that they were ready to do it. Whereupon I preſently ſent to Captain *Brueil* to come up to me, and to Captain *Gaſquet* to advance to his place, and immediately Captain *Brueil* coming up on the right hand, and the Horſe in the middle, we march'd at a good round trot directly up to them; for we were not above three hundred paces diſtant from one another. All this while the skirmiſh never ceaſed, and as we drew within a hundred or ſix ſcore paces off them, we began to fire, upon which the Cavalry fac'd about, and their Foot alſo, and I ſaw their Launciers turn their backs, retreating to their Troops. Monſieur *de Moneins*, and Seigneur *Cabry* went immediately hereupon to Monſieur *d' Anguien*, to tell him what they had ſeen their Cavalry do, and that if he did not ſend me up Horſe to ſecond me, I could not chooſe but be routed. I ſent back Captain *Brueil* and *Gaſquet* into their places.

The beginning of the Battel.

Monſieur *de Montlucs* conteſt about the fight.

Now there was a little Mariſh near unto *Cerizolles*, and a great hollow way, which hindred the Enemy that they could not come up to us drawn up in Battalia: and the Marquis *de Guaſt* had cauſed ſix pieces of Artillery to paſs over this mariſh, and they were already advanc'd a good way on this ſide, when ſeeing their people driven back, they were afraid that the whole Army followed the purſuit, and that they ſhould loſe their Canon. Wherefore they preſently made the *Germans* to paſs over this mariſh, and thorough the ſaid hollow way, who, ſo ſoon as they came into the plain, drew up again into Battalia; for it was not poſſible for them to paſs, but in great diſorder, and in the mean time the Cavalry and *Spaniſh* Harquebuſiers came up to me as before; inſomuch that having no Horſe with me, I was neceſſitated to quit them the place, and to retire to the place from whence I came.

Now I had diſcover'd their *German* Foot and their Artillery, and as I was retiring Monſieur *de Terſnes* and Signior *Franciſco Bernardin* came, and plac'd themſelves on

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the right hand of our Battaillon, and upon the skirt of the Hill (which was very ſtraight) and over againſt the Battaillon of the *Italians*; for their Launciers were exactly oppoſite to our Pikes. Monſieur *de Boitieres* with his Company, and that of the Count *de Tande* advanc'd on the left hand of our Battail, and the *Swiſſe* were three or four ſcore paces behind us, and a little on the one ſide: In the mean time our Harquebuſiers that were conducted by *Lienard* and Captain *Favas* ſometimes beat back the Enemy as far as their main Battalia, and ſometimes the Enemy repell'd them up to ours. I ſaw then that I muſt of neceſſity diſarm our Battaillon of the Harquebuſiers that made our flank on that ſide where Monſieur *de Boitieres* ſtood, and give them to them, wherewith to make a Charge, which they did, and with great fury beat them up to their Battail; and it was high time; for their Harquebuſiers had almoſt gain'd the flank of our Horſe. I therefore ran up to them, and we began a furious skirmiſh, which was great, and obſtinately fought, for all our Squadrons were cloſed up together, and it continued a long hour or more.

A furious skirmiſh.

Now the Enemey had placed their Canon by the ſide of the little houſe, which play'd directly into our Battaillon; Monſieur *de Mailly* then advanc'd with ours, and placing himſelf cloſe by us, began to ſhoot at thoſe of the Enemy by the little houſe; for there where we maintain'd the skirmiſh he could not do it, without killing our own men: when, looking towards our own Battail, I ſaw Monſieur *de Tais*, who began to march with his Pikes, charg'd directly towards the *Italians*; whereupon I ran up to him, ſaying, *Whither do you go, Sir, whither do you go, you will loſe the Battel; for here are all the* Germans *coming to fight you, and will charge into your flank.* The Captains were the occaſion of this, who ceaſed not to cry out to him, *Sir, lead us on to fight; for it is better for us to dye hand to hand, than ſtand ſtill here to be killed with the Canon.* 'Tis that which terrifies the moſt of any thing, and oftentimes begets more fear than it does harm; but however ſo it was, that he was pleaſed to be rul'd by me, and I entreated him to make his men kneel on one knee, with their Pikes down; for I ſaw the *Swiſſe* behind laid at their full length ſquatt to to the ground, ſo as hardly to be ſeen; and from him I ran to the Harquebuſiers. The Enemies Harquebuſiers by this time were beginning to retire behind the houſe, when, as I was going up to charge ſtraight up to them, I diſcover'd the Front of the *Germans* Battaillon, and ſuddainly commanded the Captains *Brueile* and *Gaſquet* to retire by degrees towards the Artillery, for we were to make room for the Pikes to come up to the fight, and I went to our Battel, where being come, I ſaid to my men theſe words.

The Canon frights more than it hurts.

Th Sieur *de Montluc*'s Speech to his Soldiers.

Oh my fellow Soldiers let us now fight bravely, and if we win the Battel we get a greater renown, than any of our Nation ever did; It was never yet read in Hiſtory, that ever the Gauls *fought the* Germans *Pike to Pike, but that the* Germans *defeated them, and to ſet this honorable mark upon our ſelves, that we are better men than our Anceſtors, this glory ought to inſpire us with a double courage to fight ſo as to overcome, or dye, and make our Enemies know what kind of men we are. Remember, Camerades, the meſſage the King ſent to us, and what a glory it will be to preſent our ſelves before him after the victory. Now, Sir,* ſaid I to Monſieur *de Tais*, *it is time to riſe*, which he ſuddenly did, and I began to cry out aloud, *Gentlemen, it may be there are not many here who have ever been in a Battel before, and therefore let me tell you, that if we take our Pikes by the hinder end, and fight at the length of the Pike, we ſhall be defeated; for the* Germans *are more dextrous at this kind of fight than we are: but you muſt take your Pikes by the middle as the* Swiſſe *do, and run head-long to force and penetrate into the midſt of them, and you ſhall ſee how confounded they will be.* Monſieur *de Tais* then cryed out to me to go along the Battail, and make them all handle their Pikes after this manner, which I accordingly did, and now we were all ready for the Encounter.

A pardonable miſtake in a Soldier not well read in Hiſtory.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s advice to the Pikes, concerning the manner of their fight.

The *Germans* march'd at a great rate directly towards us, and I ran to put my ſelf before the Battail, where I alighted from my horſe; for I ever had a Lacquey at the head of the Battaillon ready with my Pike; and as Monſieur *de Tais* and the reſt of the Captains ſaw me on foot, they all cry'd out at once, *Get up, Captain* Montluc, *get up again, and you ſhall lead us on to the fight.* To whom I made anſwer, *that if it was my fate to dye that day, I could not dye in a more honorable place than in their Company, with my Pike in my hand.* I then call'd to Captain *la Barre*, who was Serjeant Major, that he ſhould always be ſtirring about the Battaillon, when we came to grapple, and that he and the Serjeants behind and on the ſides ſhould never ceaſe crying, put home, Soldiers, put home, to the end that they might puſh on one another.

The *Germans* came up to us at a very round rate, inſomuch that their Battail being very great, they could not poſſibly follow; ſo that we ſaw great windows in their body, and ſeveral Enſigns a good way behind, and all on a ſuddain puſh'd in among them,

them, a good many of us at leaſt, for as well on their ſide, as ours, all the firſt Ranks, either with puſh of Pikes or the Shock at the encounter, were overturn'd; neither is it poſſible amongſt Foot to ſee a greater fury; the ſecond Rank and the third were the cauſe of our victory; for the laſt ſo puſhed them on, that they fell in upon the heels of one another, and as ours preſs'd in, the Enemy was ſtill driven back: I was never in my life ſo active and light as that day, and it ſtood me upon ſo to be; for above three times I was beaten down to my knees. The *Swiſſe* were very ſly and cunning; for till they ſaw us within ten or a dozen Pikes length of one another, they never roſe; but then like ſavage Boars they ruſh'd into their flank, and Monſieur *de Boitieres* broke in at a * Canton. Monſieur *de Termes* and Signior *Franciſco* in the mean time charg'd *Rodolpho Baglione*, whom they overthrew, and put his Cavalry to rout. The *Italians*, who ſaw their Cavalry broken, and the *Lanſquenets* and *Germans* overthrown and routed, began to take the deſcent of the valley, and as faſt as they could to make directly towards the Wood. Monſieur *de Termes* had his horſe killed under him at the firſt encounter, and by ill fortune his leg was ſo far engaged under him in the fall, that it was not poſſible for him to riſe, ſo that he was there by the *Italians* taken, and carried away Priſoner, and, to ſay the truth, his legs were none of the beſt.

A furious Charge.

* Or Corner.

The Sieur *de Termes* taken priſoner.

Now you are to take notice, that the Marquis *de Guaſt* had compoſed a Battaillon of five thouſand Pikes, namely two thouſand *Spaniards* and three thouſand *Germans*, out of the number of ſix thouſand, being the ſame that Count *Landron* had brought into *Spain*, where he had remain'd ten years, or more, and who all ſpoke as good *Spaniſh* as natural *Spaniards*. He had formed this Battaillon only to claw away the *Gaſcons*; for he ſaid that he feared our Battaillon more than any of the other, and had an opinion that his *Germans* (being all choſen men) would beat our *Swiſſe*. He had placed three hundred Harquebuſiers only in the nature of a forlorn hope, at the head of this Battaillon, which he reſerved to the forenamed effect, and all the reſt maintained the skirmiſh. Now as he was by the little houſe on the ſame ſide with the *Germans*, he ſaw the *Fribourgers*, who were all arm'd in white, and took them for the *Gaſcons*, and thereupon ſaid to his men, *Hermanos, hermanos, a qui eſtant todos Gaſcones, ſarrais á ellos.* They were not gone two hundred paces from him, but that he perceived our Battail, which ſtart up, and ſaw his error when it was too late to help it, for we all wore black arms.

A miſtake of the Marquis *de Guaſt.*

This Battaillon of five thouſand Pikes march'd then at a good round rate directly upon the *Fribourgers*, and they were of neceſſity to paſs hard by Monſieur *d' Anguien*, who by ſome body or other was very ill adviſed; for as they paſs'd by he charg'd with his *Gens d' Armes* quite thorough their Battaillon in the Flank, and there were ſlain and wounded a great many brave and worthy men, and ſome of very conſiderabl equality, as Monſieur *d' Aſſier*, *le* Sieur *de la Rochechovard*, with ſeveral others, and yet more at the ſecond charge; there were ſome who paſs'd and repaſs'd quite thorough and thorough; but ſtill they clos'd up again, and in that manner came up to the *Fribourgers* Battalia, who were ſoon overthrown without ſo much as ſtanding one Puſh of Pike, and there died all their Captains and Lieutenants who were in the firſt rank and the reſt fled ſtraight to Meſſieur *des Cros*: but this Battaillon of *Spaniards* and *Germans* ſtill at a very great rate purſued their victory, and overthrew the ſaid Sieur *des Gros*, who there dyed and all his Captains with him; neither could Monſieur *d' Anguien* any way relieve him, forſmuch as all the horſes almoſt of his Cavalry, in theſe two furious, but inconſiderate charges were wounded and walk'd fair and ſoftly over the field towards the Enemy. He was then in the height of deſpair, and curſt the hour that ever he was born, ſeeing the overthrow of his Foot, and that he himſelf had ſcarce an hundred Horſe left to ſuſtein the ſhock, inſomuch that Monſieur *de Pignan* of *Montpellier* (a Gentleman of his) aſſured me, that he twice turn'd the point of his Sword into his Gorget, to have offered violence to himſelf, and himſelf told me at his return, that he was then in ſuch a condition, he ſhould have been glad any one would have run him thorough. The *Romans* might have done ſo; but I do not think it becomes a Chriſtian. Every one at that time paſſed his cenſure upon it according to his own fancy. For our parts we were as well as heart could wiſh, and as much pleaſed as the Enemy was afflicted; but let us return to the blows, for there were yet both to give and to take. The cowardiſe of the *Fribourgers* occaſioned a great loſs on that ſide of the field; in my life I never ſaw ſuch great lubbers as thoſe were, unworthy ever to bear Arms, if they have not learnt more courage ſince. They are indeed neighbours to the *Swiſſe*, but there is no more compariſon betwixt them than betwixt a *Spaniſh* Horſe and an Aſſe. It is not all to have a great

The errot of Monſieur *d' Anguien.*

Monſieur *d' Aſſier* and Mr. *de la Rochechovart* ſlain, and the Sieur *des Cros.*

Monſieur *d' Anguien* routed.

The Cowardiſe of the *Fribourgers.*

number

number of men upon the liſt; but to have thoſe that are true bred; for a hundred of them are worth a thouſand of the other. And a brave and valiant Captain with a thouſand men, that he knows he may truſt to, will paſs over the bellies of four thouſand.

The Marquis *de Guaſt* routed.

After the ſame manner that Monſieur *d' Anguien* had ſeen his people maſſacred before his eyes, without any power to relieve them, did the Marquis *le Guaſt* behold his people alſo trampled under foot by an equal fortune, ſo wantonly ſhe play'd on both hands with theſe two Generals; for as he ſaw *Rodolpho Baglione* and his *Germans*, both of them routed and overthrown, he took his horſe and retreated towards *Aſt*. Monſieur *de* St. *Julien*, who that day diſcharg'd the Office of Camp-Maſter and Colonel of the *Swiſſe*, was on horſeback (and, to ſay the truth, he was but weak of perſon and wanted ſtrength to ſupport any great burthen of arms on foot) ſaw their Battail overthrown on the one ſide and ours on the other, and before he went to Monſieur *d' Anguien* ſaw us *Swiſſe* and *Gaſcons* amongſt the five thouſand *Spaniards* and *Germans*, killing on all hands. And then it was that he turned back and overtook Monſieur *d' Anguien* near to the Wood that leads towards *Carmagnolle*, but very poorly accompanied, and cried out to him, *Sir, Sir, face about, for the Battel is won, the Marquis* de Guaſt *is routed, and all his* Italians *and* Germans *cut to pieces*. Now this Battaillon of the *Spaniards* and *Germans* had already made a halt, giving themſelves for loſt, when they ſaw neither Horſe nor Foot of their own come up to them; by which they very well knew that they had loſt the Battel, and began to take on the right hand ſtraight towards the mountain from whence they had departed the day before. I thought I had been the cunningſt ſnap in all the whole Army, having contriv'd to place a row of Harquebuſiers betwixt the firſt and ſecond rank, to kill all the Captains firſt, and had ſaid to Monſieur *de Tais* three or four days before, that before any of ours ſhould fall, I would kill all their Captains in the firſt rank: but I would not tell him the ſecret till he had given me the command of the Harquebuſiers, and then he called to him *Burre* the Serjeant Major, bidding him preſently make choice of the Harquebuſiers, and to place them after that manner. Upon my faith I had never ſeen nor heard of the like before, and thought my ſelf to be the firſt Inventor of it; but we found that they were as crafty as we, for they had alſo done the ſame thing, who never ſhot no more than ours, till they came within a Pikes length, and there was a very great ſlaughter, not a ſhot being fir'd but it wrought its effect.

So ſoon as Monſieur *d' Anguien* underſtood the Battel to be won, which before (by the defeat of thoſe on his ſide of the field, and thoſe cowardly *Fribourgers*, to encourage whom he had done all that in him lay) he had given over for loſt; he preſently put himſelf in the Rear of thoſe *Germans* and *Spaniards*; which as he was doing, ſeveral of thoſe who had taken fright, and were ſhifting for themſelves, rallyed up to him, ſome of which now appeared wonderful eager of the purſuit, who had run away but a little before, and others had broke their bridles on purpoſe to lay the fault of their own fear upon the the poor horſes, who by this means were to bear more than the weight of their Maſters. He had a little before the Battel, by good fortune, ſent to *Saviſſan* for three Companies of very good *Italian* Foot, to be preſent at the buſineſs, who being as far as *Reconis* upon their way from thence heard the thunder of the Artillery, by which being aſſured that the Battel was begun, they mounted all the Harquebuſiers they could on horſeback, and coming all the way a gallop, arrived in ſo opportune a ſeaſon, that they found Monſieur *d' Anguien* in purſuite of the Enemy, not having one Harquebuſier in company with him; where, alighting from their horſes, they put themſelves in the Rear of them, whilſt the ſaid Seigneur *d' Anguien* with his Cavalry, one while in their Flank and another in their Front, ſtill puſh'd on the victory. Hee then ſent a Trooper to us in all haſt, to bid us turn that way, for there was more work to do, which meſſenger found us at the Chappel hard by the Gate of *Cerizolles*, having juſt made an end of killing with ſo great fury and ſlaughter, that not ſo much as one man remained alive, ſave only a Colonel call'd *Aliprando de Mandruca* Brother to the Cardinal of *Trent*, who being laid amongſt the dead with ſeven or eight wounds upon him, *Canbois* light horſe belonging to Monſieur *de Termes*, as he came thorough the dead bodies, ſaw him, being yet alive, but ſtript ſtark naked, ſpoke to him, and cauſed him to be carried to *Carmagnolle*, to redeem Monſieur *de Termes* in caſe he ſhould recover and live, as he afterwards did. The *Swiſſe*, in killing and laying on with their two-handed Swords, ſtill cied out *Montdevi*, *Montdevi*, where thoſe of their Nation had received no quarter, and in ſhort, all that made head againſt us on our ſide of the field were ſlain.

Monſieur *d' Anguien* purſues the victory.

Great ſlaughter at the Battel of *Cerizolles*.

The *Swiſſe* reveng'd for the foul play at *Montdevi*.

We

We had no ſooner received the command from Monſieur *d' Anguien*, but that immediately the Battaillon of the *Swiſſe* and ours turn'd towards him: I never ſaw two Battaillons ſo ſoon reunited as theſe were; for of our ſelves we rallyed, and drew up into Battalia as we went, marching all the way ſide by ſide. In this poſture the Enemy, who went off at a great rate, firing all the way, and by that means keeping the horſe at diſtance, diſcovered us coming up to them, who ſo ſoon as they ſaw us advanc'd within five or ſix paces, and the Cavalry in their Front ready to charge in amongſt them, they threw down their Pikes, ſurrendring themſelves to the horſe: but here the Game began, ſome killing and others endeavoring to ſave, there being ſome who had fifteen or twenty men about him, ſtill getting as far as they could from the crowd, for fear of us Foot, who had a mind to have cut all their throats; neither could the Cavalry ſo well defend them, but that above half of them were ſlain; for as many as we could lay our hands on were diſpatch'd. Now you ſhall know what became of me.

Another body of the Imperialiſts defeated.

Monſieur *de Valence*, my Brother, had ſent me a *Turkiſh* horſe from *Venice*, one of the fleeteſt Courſers that ever I yet ſaw; and I had an opinion which all the world could not diſpoſſeſs me of, that we ſhould win the Battel, wherefore I gave my ſaid horſe to a ſervant I had, an old Soldier, in whom I repoſed a very great confidence; bidding him be ſure always to keep behind our Battaillon of Pikes, and telling him that if it pleaſed God I did eſcape from the skirmiſh, I would then alight, and engage with the Pikes, and that when we came to cloſe, if he ſhould ſee our Battaillon overthrown, that then he might conclude me to be ſlain, and ſhould ſave himſelf upon the horſe; and on the contrary, if he ſhould ſee us prevail over the Enemies Battaillon, that then he ſhould ſtill follow, (without offering to break in) in the Rear of our Battaillon; when ſo ſoon as I ſhould be certain of the victory, I would leave the execution, and come to take my horſe to purſue the Cavalry, and try to take ſome priſoner of Condition.

A conceit of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

I had a whimſy came into my head that I ſhould take the Marquis *de Guaſt*, or dye in the attempt, truſting to the ſwiftneſs of my horſe; for which I had already in my imagination ſwallow'd a mighty ranſom, or at leaſt ſome remarkable recompence from the King. Having then a while follow'd the victory, I ſtaid behind, thinking to find my man; and indeed I was ſo weary with fighting, running, and moreover ſo ſpent with ſtraining my voice to encourage the Soldiers, that I was able to do no more, when I was aſſaulted by two great maſtiff *Germans*, who had thought preſently to have done my buſineſs; but having rid my ſelf of one of them, the other betook him to his heels, but he went not very far; in truth I there ſaw very brave blows given. I then went to ſeek out that Son of a whore my man; but the Devil a man that I could find, for as the Enemies Artillery plaid upon our Battaillon, and very often ſhot over, the ſhot falling behind it, had remov'd my Gentleman from the place where I thought to find him; who very diſcreetly went, and put himſelf behind the *Swiſſe*; when ſeeing the diſorder of the *Fribourgers* and *Provençals*, he very learnedly concluded us to be in the ſame condition, and thereupon fled back as far as *Carmagnolle*. Thus are men oftentimes deceived in their choice; for I ſhould never have ſuſpected that this fellow would ſo ſoon have had his heart in his breeches, and have run away with ſo little ado. I then found Captain *Mons*, having no more than one ſervant only with him, who had done a great deal better than mine; for he had kept a little pad Nag ready for him, upon which he took me up behind him, for I was extremely weary, and ſo we paſs'd on, ſtill ſeeing the *Germans* knock'd down all the way as we went, till being ſent for by Monſieur *d' Anguien*, we both alighted and went on foot, till the entire defeat of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*; when preſently I ſaw my man come back, calling him a hundred Rogues and Cowards, for ſo baſely running away; who replyed *that he had not done it alone, but in company with better men and better clad than himſelf, and that he had only run away to bear them company*; by which pleaſant anſwer my anger was appeaſed, and upon my word he hit upon it in a lucky hour; for I was very near ſhowing him a trick of a *Gaſcon*.

We then rallyed together ſome twenty or five and twenty Horſe, what of thoſe of Monſieur *de Termes*, of Signior *Franciſco Bernardin* and the Sieur *de Mauré*, and rid a round gallop after the Marquis *de Guaſt*, and with us moreover a Gentleman whoſe name I have forgot, but he was one of thoſe who came poſt from Court to be at the Battel, and as we went we met by the way two light horſe leading priſoner Signior *Carlo de Gonzaga*, whom they had taken in the rear of the Enemies party, which ſtill more encourag'd us to ſpur forward. So ſoon as we came ſo near to the Enemy as to diſcover what poſture they were in, we perceived that they were rallyed and cloſed up

to the Crupper, ſtill marching on in very good order, at a good round trot, and their Launces ready in the Reſt. Which made me ſay to thoſe of our Company, theſe people are ready for us, and therefore I do not think it convenient to charge in amongſt them, leſt inſtead of taking ſome of the chief of them, it fare with us as with the *Scotch* man who took a *Tartar*. So that we return'd without attempting any thing more upon them; but I am yet of opinion, that had not that raſcally man of mine play'd me that dog-trick I had taken ſome man or other of Command amongſt them. As we were upon our return, the Gentleman I ſpoke of before accoſting me, ſaid theſe words, Jeſu! Captain *Montluc*, what danger was this Battel in once to day of being loſt? To which I (who had neither ſeen nor heard of any diſorder, and thought that the laſt we had defeated had been thoſe of *Carignan*, who were drawn out of their Garriſon to be preſent at the Battel) made anſwer, why, which way were we in any danger, ſeeing that all day we have had the victory in our hands? I perceive then, ſaid he, that you know nothing of the diſorder has happened, and thereupon told me all that had befallen in the Battel. As God ſhall help me, I do believe, that had he given me two ſtabs with a dagger, I ſhould not have bled, for my heart was ſhrunk up, and I was ſick at the news, in which fright I continued for three nights after, ſtarting up in my ſleep, and dreaming continually of a defeat.

The Enemy rallies upon their retreat.

Thus then we arriv'd at the Camp, where Monſieur *d' Anguien* was, to whom I went, and making my horſe curvet, ſaid to him ſportingly theſe words; *What think you, Sir, am I not as pretty a fellow on horſeback as I am on foot?* to which he made anſwer (though yet very melancholy) *you will always behave your ſelf very well, both in the one poſture and in the other*, and bowing his body was pleaſed to embrace me in his arms, and knighted me upon the place; an honor I ſhall be proud of ſo long as I live, both for being perform'd upon the field of Battel, and by the hand of ſo generous and ſo great a Prince. Accurſed be he that ſo baſely deprived us of him. But no more of that; I then ſaid to him, *Sir, have I ſerved you to day to your ſatisfaction?* (for Monſieur *de Tais* had already told him; that I had fought with them on foot) to which he replyed, *Yes, Captain* Montluc, *and ſo well that I will never forget how bravely you have behaved your ſelf; neither, do I aſſure you, will I conceal it from the King. Why then, Sir,* ſaid I, *it lies in your power to do me the greateſt kindneſs that ever you can do a poor Gentleman ſo long as you live:* At which words, drawing me apart, that no body might hear, he asked me what it was that I would have him do for me, to which I made anſwer, that it was to diſpatch me ſuddenly away with news of the ſucceſs of the Battel to the King; telling him withal, that it was an office more properly belonging to me than any other, conſidering what I had ſaid to his Majeſty and his Council, to obtain leave to fight; and that the laſt words I had ſaid to the King were, that he was only to expect news of the victory. To which, turning towards me, he made anſwer, that it was all the reaſon in the world, and that I ſhould be ſent before any other. And ſo all the Army returned victorious to *Carmagnolle*: but as I expected to have been ſent away poſt in the night, I was told that Monſieur *Deſcars* had gained every one to ſpeak for him, that he might go. Monſieur *de Tais* had alſo paſſed his word to me; but in the end he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome, as alſo did Monſieur *d' Anguien*, which was the greateſt misfortune that poſſibly could have befallen me: for having overcome the King's Council and their deliberation, and that his Majeſty had done me the honor to condeſcend to my opinion; here to have carried him the certain news of what I had promiſed and aſſured him ſo few days before, I leave every one to judge whether I ſhould have been welcom or no; and what wrong I had done me, eſpecially having been that day in a great and honorable command, and acquitted my ſelf of it to my Generals content. It had been a great good fortune for me, and alſo a great honor, to have carried to the King what I had before promiſed, and aſſured him of; there was however no remedy, and I was forced to ſubmit, though they had much ado to appeaſe me: but it was to no purpoſe to be angry or to complain of the injury was done me. I have ſince repented me a thouſand times that I did not ſteal away the ſame night, which if I had done, I would have broke my neck or have been the firſt that ſhould have brought the news to the King, and, I am confident, he would not only himſelf have taken it in good part, but moreover have made my peace with others. But I, from that time forward, gave over all thoughts of advancement, and never after expected to come to any thing, which made me beg leave of Monſieur *d' Anguien* to be diſmiſs'd, that I might return into my own Country. Which ſaid Seigneur promiſed me great matters (knowing me to be diſcontented) and Monſieur *de Tais* did the ſame, uſing all the perſwaſions he could to make me ſtay: but I preſs'd my departure ſo much that at laſt I obtain'd leave, upon my promiſe to return; and for

The Sieur *de Montluc* Knighted upon the place of Battail by Monſieur *d' Anguien.*

The Sieur *de Montluc* diſcontented.

fur-

further aſſurance of me, the ſaid Sieur *d' Anguien* made me accept a Commiſſion from him for the ſpeedy raiſing of one thouſand or twelve hundred Foot, to bring into *Piedmont*, to recruit the Companies, for in plain truth we had loſt a great many men.

Now I ſhall tell you what advantages accrued to the King from this victory, which I only had from Monſieur *de Termes*, to whom the Marqu's *de Guaſt* had told it, lying wounded in bed of a Harquebuze ſhot in his thigh. He told him that the Emperor and the King of *England* were agreed at one and the ſame time to enter the Kingdom of *France*, each on his own ſide, and that the Emperor had ſent him the ſeven thouſand *Germans* purpoſely to make him ſo ſtrong, that Monſieur *d' Anguien* might not dare to fight him, and afterwards to march directly to *Lombrias* there to throw a Bridge over the River, and to put into *Carignan* the proviſions that he brought along with him, and as much more as he could provide beſides, and thence to draw out the four thouſand *Spaniſh* and *German* Foot, who were to return towards *Ivré*, leaving four thouſand *Italians* in their ſtead; which being done, he was to ſend back the ſeven *German* Colonels, with their Regiments to the Emperor. That then there would ſtill remain with him in his Camp five thouſand *Germans*, and as many *Spaniards*, with which at the ſame time, that the King of *England* ſhould enter the Kingdom, he was to deſcend by the valley of *Oſtia*, thorough which he ſhould march ſtraight to *Lyons*, where he ſhould meet no body to oppoſe him but the Inhabitants of the City, nor any Fortreſs at all: where lying between the two Rivers he might command all the territories of the Duke of *Savoy*, together with *Dauphiné* and *Provence*. All this was told me by Monſieur *de Termes* after his return; an enterprize that had not been hard to execute had we not won the Battel, in which betwixt twelve and fifteen thouſand men of the Enemy were ſlain. The victory was very important, both in reſpect of the Priſoners, which were many of them very conſiderable, as alſo for the Baggage, which was exceedingly rich; and beſides many places ſurrendred out of fear, and in the end *Carignan* it ſelf, of which I ſhall not meddle with the particulars, becauſe I was not preſent at the ſurrender. Had they known how to make their advantage of this Battel, *Millan* had been in a tottering condition: but we never knew how to improve our victories to the beſt. It is alſo very true that the King had at this time enough to do to defend his Kingdom from two ſuch powerful enemies.

The great advantages that the winning of the Battail of *Cerizolles* brought to the King.

His Majeſty having intelligence of the great preparation that was made both by the one and the other, withdrew the greateſt part of his Forces out of *Piedmont*, where I arriv'd at the time when Monſieur *de Tais* had received a command to bring away all the men he could; for I never could ſtay long at home, and never hated any thing ſo much as my own houſe, ſo that although I had once put on a reſolution (for the wrong that had been done me) never to go any more into that Country, yet when it came too't I could not forbear to go. Monſieur *de Tais* had made choice of two and twenty Enſigns, the Companies whereof were now very well recruited; to which he moreover raiſed a new Company, which, at my requeſt, he was pleaſed to give to Captain *Caſtetgeloux*, who had been aſſiſting to me in the raiſing, and conducting of my men, and had formerly carryed my Enſign in the Kingdom of *Naples*. And ſo we began to ſet forwards towards *France*, dividing our Companies into five and five. Of theſe I had the firſt Diviſion, and went before to *Suzanne*, to prevent the Soldiers from getting thither before us, and to take order for the proviſions, much of which I found upon the way going thither, which made me redouble my diligence. I arrived in the night two hours before day, at *Villaume*, and at the Inn where I alighted, found Signior *Pedro de Colouna*, whom Captain *Renovard* carried priſoner to the King, according to the capitulation at *Carignan*. They were already got up and the ſaid Captain *Renovard* carried me into the Chamber of the ſaid Signior, who at my coming told me, that he underſtood it was I who had broken the Bridge at *Carignan*, and that had commanded the Harquebuſiers at the Battel. After which, falling into diſcourſe concerning the ſaid Bridge, I told him, that had his people follow'd their fortune, they had found no body to fight with, but my ſelf and ſome forty men at moſt; and that our whole Camp was in ſo great diſorder, that had he purſued them, we had all been defeated; and Captain *Renovard* alſo aſſured him, that what I ſaid was true. At which, after a little pauſe turning towards me he ſaid: *E voi dicete che ſi la noſtra Gente ſeguto haveſſi la ſua fortuna: no havena a combatere piu di voi co quarante ſoldati, & haveſſimo poſte in fuga tuta la voſtra gente. Io vi dico che ſi voi haveſti ſeguita la noſtra m' havereſti meſſo fuori di Carignano, per che la mia gente havia pigliato il ſpavento.*

coſſi forte che la citta no era baſtante di vaſſeculrli. Which in *Engliſh* is this. *You tell me that if our people had followed their fortune, they had had to deal with no more of yours than forty Soldiers only, and had put your whole Camp to flight. And I tell you, that had you purſued your fortune, you had driven me out of* Carignan, *foraſmuch as my people had taken ſo terrible a fright, that the ſtrength of the City had not been ſufficient to reaſſure them*: And thereupon told us the great diſorder his people were in, ſaying, that he had once thought the *Spaniards* had been men without fear, but that he was now ſatisfied, they had as much of that paſſion about them as other men; and that he was then in ſo great extremity that he was conſtrained to throw himſelf before the Gate, to try to ſtop them: but that in ſo doing he was like to have been born down by the torrent, and that they entred in ſuch a crowd, that they had like to have lifted the Gate off the hinges. And ſo ſoon, ſaid he, as they were all entred in this diſorder, I ſtep'd to the Gate to clap it to, and knowing all the Captains call'd them name by name to come to help me; but not a man would come, inſo much that had it not been for a ſervant of my own, that heard me call out, and came to my aſſiſtance, I could never have ſhut it. Nay the diſorder in the Town was moreover ſo great, that above four hundred threw themſelves over the Curtines, who in the morning returning back were ready to dye for ſhame, and this is the reaſon why I have told you, that if you had followed your fortune, you had taken the Town with forty men. By which account of his I knew the Proverb to be true, that ſays, * *Que ſi l'oſt ſçavoit ce que fait l'oſt, ſouvent l'on defferoit l'oſt.*

* If one Army knew what the other Army did, that Army would ſoon be defeated.

Now notwithſtanding that after the ſurrender of *Carignan* the Inhabitants of the City aſſured us of this diſorder, yet could we not by any means believe it, eſpecially at the firſt; or at leaſt that it could be ſo great; it ſeem'd ſo unlikely and ſo exceedingly ſtrange: but after it had been confeſs'd by their Governor himſelf, we were bound to believe it to be true: and that they were purſued by ſome Phantome, or poſſeſſed by ſome evil ſpirit; for we did them no harm, being as much frighted as they, and and it may be more: But the night is terrible when a man cannot ſee by whom he is aſſaulted. However this makes me conclude, that all befel me through good fortune; for it cannot be called valour, but rather the greateſt folly that any man could commit; and I do believe, that of all the good fortunes God has pleaſed to beſtow upon me, this was the moſt remarkable and the moſt ſtrange: but let us proceed to our buſineſs.

The ſtrength of *France*.

The thirſt of Revenge had prompted the Emperor (contrary to the faith he had engaged to the Pope) to league and confederate himſelf with the King of *England*, who was fallen off from his obedience to the holy Chair, out of deſpite; which two Princes (as it was ſaid) had divided the Kingdom (for ſo both the Marquis *de Guaſt* told Monſieur *de Termes*, and I have ſince heard the ſame from an *Engliſh* Gentleman at *Boulogne*) but however it was but diſputing the bears skin. *France* well united within it ſelf can never be conquer'd till after the loſs of a dozen Battels; conſidering the brave Gentry whereof it is fruitful, and the ſtrong places wherewith it abounds. And I conceive they are deceiv'd who ſay, that *Paris* being taken, *France* is loſt. It is indeed the Treaſury of the Kingdom, and an unexhauſted Magazine, where all the richeſt of the whole Nation unlade their Treaſure, and I do believe in the whole world there is not ſuch a City, for 'tis an old ſaying, that there is not a Crown in *Paris* but yields ten Sols revenue once a year; but there are ſo many other Cities, and ſtrong places in the Kingdom, as are ſufficient to deſtroy thirty Armies. So that it would be eaſie to rally together, and to recover that from them again, before they could conquer the reſt; unleſs the Conqueror would depopulate his own Kingdom, to repeople his new Conqueſt. I ſay this becauſe the deſign of the King of *England* was to run directly up to *Paris*, whilſt the Emperor ſhould enter into *Champagne*. The Forces of theſe two Princes being join'd together conſiſted of fourſcore thouſand Foot and twenty thouſand Horſe, with a prodigious train of Artillery, by which any man may judge whether our King had not enough to do, and whether it was not high time to look about him. Without all doubt theſe poor Princes have greater care and trouble upon them than the inferior ſorts of men; and I am of opinion the King did very well to call back his Forces out of *Piedmont*, though ſome are pleaſed to ſay, that the State of *Millan* might otherwiſe have been won, and that the Emperor would have been neceſſitated to have called back his Forces out of *France* to defend that *Dutchy*: but all this depended upon event. So it was that God would not ſuffer theſe Princes to agree betwixt themſelves, each of them being bent upon his own particular advantage; and I have often heard, and ſometimes ſeen, that when two Princes jointly undertake the Conqueſt of a Kingdom, they never agree;

agree; for each of them is always ſuſpicious of being over-reach'd by his companion, and evermore jealous of one another. I have not, I confeſs, much converſed with Books; but I have heard ſay, that after this manner we firſt loſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, and were cheated by the King of *Spain*. This ſuſpition and jealouſie at this time preſerved us, as it has at other times done ſeveral others, as the Hiſtorians report. For my part, I ſhould more apprehend one great ſingle Enemy than two who would divide the Cake between them, there will always be ſome exceptions taken, and two Nations do not eaſily agree, as you ſee here. The *Engliſh* King came and ſat down before *Boulogne*, which was baſely ſurrendred to him by the Sieur *de Vervin*, who loſt his life for his labour; an example that ought to be ſet before all ſuch as undertake the defence of ſtrong holds. This by no means pleaſed the *Spaniard*, who reap'd no advantage by it, and ſaw very well that his confederate would only intend his own buſineſs.

Boulogne ſurrendred to the *Engliſh*.

Our Colonel, Monſieur *de Tais*, brought three and twenty Enſigns to the King, being all the ſame which had been at the Battel, ſaving one new Company; but I fell ſick at *Troyes*, and came not up to the Army, till they were advanc'd near to *Boulogne*, where the ſaid Sieur *de Tais* delivered me the Patent his Majeſty had ſent me for the Office of Camp-Maſter; but there was nothing done worthy remembrance, till the Camiſado of *Boulogne*. As we arrived near to *la Marquiſe*, the *Dauphin* who commanded the Army had intelligence that it was three or four days ſince the Town had been taken (though he knew it before) and that the King of *England* was embarked and gone for *England*. It is to be preſumed that this Prince had made ſuch haſt away only to avoid fighting, foraſmuch as he had left all things in ſo great diſorder; for in the firſt place we found all his Artillery before the Town in a Meadow, that lies upon the deſcent towards the Tower of *Ordre*; ſecondly there was found above thirty Casks full of Corſlets which he had cauſed to be brought out of *Germany*, therewith to arm his Soldiers, which he had left for the defence of the Town; thirdly he had left all the ammunition of victual, as Corn, Wine, and other things to eat in the lower Town, inſomuch that if Monſieur *de Teligni* be yet living (as I am told he is) the Father of this who is a Huguenot, and who treated the peace during theſe troubles, and was taken upon the Camiſado in the lower Town, (where not one man but himſelf eſcap'd alive) he will bear witneſs that there was not in the higher Town proviſion to ſerve four days, for himſelf told it me.

The Sieur *de Montluc* made Camp-Maſter.

The King of *England* retires.

The occaſion of the Camiſado was this. A Son in law of the Mareſchal *de Bies* (not this fine Monſieur *de Vervin*, but another whoſe name I have forgot) came to Monſieur *de Tais*, and told him that a Spy of his, who came from *Boulogne*, had aſſured him, that as yet nothing had been remov'd to the higher Town; but that all ſtill remained below, and that if they would ſpeedily attempt to take the lower Town (which might eaſily be done) they would in eight days time have the upper come out to them with ropes about their necks; and that if Monſieur *de Tais* ſo pleaſed, he would in the morning lead him, where he might himſelf diſcover all: the Spy moreover affirming, that as yet not one breach in the wall was repaired; but that all lay open as if it were a village.

The Camiſado at *Buller*.

Upon this information Monſieur *de Tais* was impatient to go to take a view of all, and took me along with him, together with this Son in law of the Mareſchal. We might be about a hundred Horſe drawn out of the ſeveral Troops, and juſt at the break of day we arrived before the Town, leaving the Tower of *Ordre* ſome two or three hundred paces on the right hand, and ſaw five or ſix Pavillions upon the deſcent in the great high way leading to the Gate of the City. We were no more than five or ſix Horſe only, Monſieur *de Tais* having left the reſt behind a little Hill. This Son in law of the Mareſchal, and I therefore went down to the firſt Pavillion, and paſſed cloſe by it into the Camp on the left hand, till we came to the ſecond, from whence we diſcovered all their Artillery, at no further diſtance than fourſcore paces only; neither did we ſee any more than three or four *Engliſh* Soldiers that were walking up and down by the Canon, and in the foreſaid ſecond Pavillion we heard them jabber *Engliſh*. The Mareſchals Son in law then made me return back to Monſieur *de Tais*, who immediately upon my telling him what we had ſeen, went down with me to the place from whence I came, and there with the foreſaid Gentleman ſtood ſtill. In the mean time it grew to be fair broad day; ſo that the Centinels very well perceived us to be none of their own people, and thereupon preſently gave the alarm: but for all that we ſaw not a man offer to ſally out of the Tower (I have indeed ſince been told that *Dondellat*,

Monſieur *de Tais* and the Sieur *de Montluc* diſcover the Town.

whom

whom Monſieur *de* St. *Pol* had bred up of a Page, had the Guard at the Tower) and ſo we return'd.

Monſieur *de Tais* then with the ſaid Gentleman preſently went to find out the *Dauphin*, and Monſieur *d' Orleans*, where it was concluded, that the next morning at break of day a Camiſado ſhould be given; and that Monſieur *de Tais*, with our Companies, ſhould give the firſt onſet by three Breaches that were in the wall, on that ſide where we had been to diſcover; which were Breaches that had only been made for pleaſure. The Rheingrave then entreated the *Dauphin* that he and his *Germans* might go on with us to the Aſſault: but Monſieur *de Tais* had already promiſed Count *Pedemarie*, that he would ſpeak to the *Dauphin* to give him leave to go on with us, which was a very great misfortune: for had the *Germans* gone on with us to the Breach, the Enemy had never fir'd one ſhot, which would have invited a great many more to come in to our relief much ſooner than they did.

A Camiſado concluded on.

We ſet out in the night with ſhirts over our Arms, and met the Rheingrave with his *Germans* ready and reſolved to paſs over a Bridge of Brick there was near unto *la Marquiſe*, which reſolution he was not to be perſwaded from; but would paſs over after us, what promiſe ſoever he had made to the Count. Of which Monſieur *de Tais* ſent preſent word to the *Dauphin*, and whilſt they were in diſpute about it, came the Admiral *Annebaut*, who ſo far prevailed with the Rheingrave, that at laſt he was perſwaded to retire behind, giving us leave to paſs, and the *Italians* after us; but for his own part he would not ſtir from the Battail of the *Gens d' Armes*, that was drawn up near to *la Marquiſe* and Monſieur *Dampierre* alſo, who was Colonel of the *Griſons*, came up as far as the Tower of *Ordre*, where he drew up his men into Battalia. Now Monſieur *de Tais* had given me one part of his men with them to fall on by the high way on his right hand, being the ſame he had diſcover'd the day before. I then charg'd up ſtraight to the Artillery, and thoſe who remain'd with Monſieur *de Tais* and the *Italians* fell on by the three breaches, which they bravely carried; and being there was neither Gate nor breach on that ſide where the Artillery was, I was fain to go all along by the wall on that ſide towards the River, where I at laſt found a breach of ſome ten or twelve paces wide, which I entred without any manner of oppoſition, and went on ſtraight to the Church: where I ſaw no Captain of ours, ſave one only, who was running along by the River directly to the forementioned breaches, and him I call'd to, but he heard me not.

Monſieur *de Tais* wounded.

Now you muſt know that Monſieur *de Tais* was wounded, and enforc'd to retire; what became of Count *Pedemarie* I know not: but I was afterwards told that all the Captains, both *Gaſcons* and *Germans*, were gone out of the Town, and had made no ſtay there, by reaſon of an Alarm, that the *Engliſh* had recovered the breaches by the outſide of the Town, as it was true: but there were of them not above two hundred men, that were ſallied out on the outſide from the higher Town: and I was moreover told that it was *Dondellet*, who fled from the Tower of *Ordre* ſtraight to the Town. All our Enſigns were left in the Town, but I never perceived any thing of all this: for had I ſeen the diſorder, I do believe, I ſhould have done as the reſt did; I will not pretend to be braver than I am. Before the Church I found two *Italian* Captains only with their Companies and Colours, where ſo ſoon as I arrived, I fell to aſſaulting three or four houſes, and forced them, wherein were a great number of *Engliſh*, and moſt of them without arms; ſome of which were clad in white and red, others in black and yellow, and a great many Soldiers alſo without thoſe colours; but I ſoon underſtood that all thoſe in Liveries were Pioneers; becauſe they had no Arms, as the other had, who defended themſelves, and ſo, that above two hundred of them were ſlain in the houſes. I then march'd ſtraight to the Church, where I found the ſaid *Italian* Captains (the one call'd *Cæſar Porto*, and the other *Hieronimo Megrin*, and with theſe *Italians* Meſſieurs *D' Andelot* and *de Novailles*, who was Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Nemours*) asking them where all our Captains were; who returned me anſwer, that they knew not what was become of them. I then began to perceive there was ſome diſorder in the caſe, not ſeeing one man of all our Companies; excepting thoſe who were entred with me, and about fifty or threeſcore others, who had ſtaid behind to plunder, and were rallyed to me at the aſſault of the houſes: whilſt I was conſidering with my ſelf what the matter ſhould be, all on a ſuddain there came a great number of *Engliſh* full drive directly upon us, as we ſtood before the Church, and in the ſtreet adjoining, crying out, *Who goes there?* to which I made anſwer in *Engliſh*, *A friend, a friend*, (for of all the Languages that are ſcattered mongſt us, I have learn'd ſome words, and the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* paſſably well, which has ſometimes been very uſeful to me) but the *Engliſh* proceeding

ceeding to further Interrogatories, they ſoon put me to to the end of my *Latine*; by which perceiving what we were, they preſently fell on, crying out, *Kill, kill, kill*; I then call'd out to the *Italian* Captains, ſaying, * *Ajutate mi, & ſtate appreſo me, perche io me ne vò aſſaltir li, no biſogno laſſiar mi inveſtire.* Which having ſaid, I ran full drive upon them, who immediately fac'd about, and purſued them, laying on in their rear, to the end of the Street, where they turned off on the right hand along by the wall of the upper Town; from whence they diſcharged at us ſome ſmall pieces, and a whole Cloud of of Arrows. I then retir'd back to the *Italians*, where I was no ſooner come and ſettled in my former order, but that they return'd to charge me again: but I had taken a little heart, having found them ſo eaſily to run away, and therefore gave them leave to come up cloſe to us, where I then charg'd them, and we thought they ran away with greater facility than before; I therefore retir'd once more before the Church: but then there fell ſuch a furious ſtorm of Rain, that it ſeem'd as if God Almighty had been diſpoſed to drown us all; during which ſhower there came up ten or twelve Enſigns of ours from one of the breaches, at which they had entred, not having above ſix Soldiers with them; and I might have about as many Enſigns with me. One of the Enſigns then told me that the Breaches were all taken, and that the Captains were fled away: Which having heard, I deſir'd the two *Italian* Captains that they ſhould a while make good that Canton, where the Church ſtood (for there was a wall before the door of it) and I would go diſpute the Breach by which I had entred, which ſo ſoon as I ſhould recover, I would ſend them word, that they might draw off and come to me, and if peradventure the Enemy in the mean time, ſhould come up to them, that then they ſhould remember what they had ſeen me do, and boldly charge them.

* Which I conceive is to be *Engliſhed* thus (for Mr. *Montluc*, by his leave, was no very good *Italian*) Aſſiſt me and ſtand ready by me, for whilſt I go to aſſault them, there is no reaſon that you ſhould permit them to encloſe me behind.

The *Engliſh* put to flight.

I then went to the breach, where I ſaw already ten or twelve *Engliſh* got thither, two of which ſtood upon their defence; but of the reſt, ſome leap'd over the Breach, and others ſlipt on the right hand along the inſide of the wall, and ſo ſoon as we were got out, we ſaw moreover fifteen or twenty that came running towards us, along on the outſide the wall, and ſeeing us turn'd on the right hand towards the other breaches, by which our people before had entred. I then entreated a Gentleman of *Burgundy* (whoſe name I have forgot) who was mounted upon a horſe he had taken, that he would go to *Cæſar Porto* and *Hieronimo Megrin* to call them away, which he was very willing to do, provided I would promiſe to ſtay for him, which I aſſured him upon my life I would do, and that dead or alive he ſhould find me at this Breach. The Rain ſtill continued more and more violent, when the ſaid Gentleman returning, told me that he could not poſſibly get to them; and that they were either retreated into the Church, or all dead. when behold on a ſuddain three or four hundred *Engliſh* came at a good round trot directly upon us all along by the wall, juſt as we were upon the point to enter again to go relieve the *Italians*: but ſeeing them come full drive upon us, we were conſtrained to alter that reſolution.

Meſſieurs *d' Andelot*, *de Novailles*, this *Burgundian* Gentleman and three or four others had never ſtirred from my ſide, from the time they had firſt met me before the Church (and it was well for them, for if they had they had gone to pot with the reſt) and as the *Engliſh* came on in this fury, there aroſe a hubub amongſt us, ſome crying out to me to fly towards the River, and others towards the Mountain: but upon the inſtant I reſolv'd to remonſtrate to them, *What have you to do to go to the Mountain? in our way thither we muſt of neceſſity paſs cloſe by the higher Town; for to go directly to the River, do you not ſee that it is riſing, and got ſo high already that we ſhall be all drown'd? let no one therefore think any more of that; but let us make our ſelves ready, for we muſt fight theſe people.* Whereupon Monſieur *d' Andelot* cryed out aloud, *I, I, Captain* Montluc, *I pray you let us fight them; for that is the beſt.* He was a man of very great courage, and 'tis great pity he afterwards turn'd Huguenot; for I do believe he was one of the braveſt Gentlemen in the Kingdom. We therefore march'd directly up to them, when ſo ſoon as we came within four or five Pikes length of them, they let fly a great ſhower of Arrows upon us, and we ran up to them to puſh a Pike; for there were but two Harquebuze ſhot fired, and immediately they faced about, and fled the ſame way they came. We follow'd after, and very cloſe, and when they came to the Canton of the Town towards their own people, who kept almoſt all our Enſigns encloſed, they ſeeing them come, and we purſuing in the rear of them, quitted the Breaches to relieve their own men, and rallying all together came running directly upon us, who were all at the foot of the Mountain of the Tower

The *French* in fear.

The courage of Mr. *d' Andelot.*

of

of *Ordre*. I then cryed to Monſieur *d' Andelot*, and to all the Enſigns and Soldiers, *Get away as faſt as you can and climb the Mountain*; for I, for my own part, with four or five Pikes, would ſtay to ſee the event of all, retiring towards a Rivolet which was by the Artillery. So ſoon as the *Engliſh* had quitted the breach, to come to us, our Enſigns leap'd out of the Town towards the valley, by which they had come, and being got to the foot of the Mountain, where Monſieur *d' Andelot* and the Enſigns were marching up, the Enemy ſaw that our Enſigns were again paſs'd over the Breaches, and that the ſaid *Andelot* with the other Enſigns were got half way up the Hill; they then thought to turn after the others, as they did, but could never overtake above eight or ten Soldiers at the moſt, whom they cut all to pieces. Five or ſix *Engliſh* then came up to me, and I paſs'd the Rivolet, where the Water was more than knee deep above the Banks. They beſtow'd ſome Arrows upon me, and ſhot them into the Targuet, and another thorough a ſleeve of Mail I wore upon my right arm; which for my part of the Booty I carried home to my Quarters, and having received them, went to mount the Hill on the backſide of the Tower of *Ordre*. Monſieur *le Dauphin*, having with him Monſieur *d' Orleans* and the Admiral, made his Lanſquenets to march to relieve us within the Town; but before they could come near the diſorder was already hapned, and they found Meſſieurs *d' Andelot* and *de Novailles* with the Enſigns, who were got up to the top of the Mountain.

The Sieur *de Montluc* came the laſt man out of *Bullen*.

In the interim of this confuſion the Vidame of *Chartres*, and my Brother Monſieur *de Lieux*, advanc'd as far as the bottom of the Hill, to ſee if they could learn any news of me; but they were ſent back with a vengeance, and told the *Dauphin* that they did certainly believe I was ſlain within the Town: foraſmuch as they had ſeen all the Captains, me only excepted; and whilſt they were in this diſcourſe Monſieur *d' Andelot* arrived, of whom the *Dauphin* demanded if he knew what was become of me, to whom he made anſwer, that I had been the preſervation of him and all thoſe that were with him: but that (it ſeem'd) I had not known how to ſave my ſelf, which I might have done, if I had ſo pleaſed, as well as the reſt. The ſaid Sieur *d' Andelot* concluded me for dead, believing that I had ſuffered my ſelf to be ſnap'd about their Artillery, or by a Ship that lay upon the Rivolet I paſſed over; but I was no ſuch fool: for I call God to witneſs, and let him puniſh me according to my perjury, if of all that day I ever loſt my underſtanding, and it was a great bleſſing that God was pleaſed to preſerve it to me entire; for had I loſt my judgment, we had received a very great diſgrace, which we could neither have concealed nor excuſed, and I had been in great danger never to have been a Mareſchal of *France*. We had loſt all our Enſigns, and thoſe that carried them withall, which nevertheleſs God gave me the grace to ſave. When a man is once poſſeſſed with fear, and that he loſes his judgment, as all men in a fright do, he knows not what he does, and it is the principal thing you are to beg at the hands of Almighty God, to preſerve your underſtanding entire; for what danger ſoever there may be, there is ſtill one way or other to get off, and perhaps to your honor: But when fear has once poſſeſſed your judgment, God ye good even! you think you are flying towards the poop, when you are running towards the prow, and for one Enemy you think you have ten before your eyes, as drunkards do, who ſee a thouſand candles at once. Oh 'tis a wonderful advantage to a man of our Trade, when his danger does not deprive him of his ſence, he may then take his opportunity, and avoid both ſhame and ruine.

In the evening I went to the *Dauphin* for the Word, becauſe Monſieur *de Tais* himſelf was wounded and could not go; when, ſo ſoon as I came into his preſence, Monſieur *d' Orleans*, who always delighted to jeſt with me (as the *Dauphin* alſo himſelf ſometimes would do) began to ſing the Camiſado of *Bullen*, and the aſſault of *Cony*, for the old Soldiers of *Piedmont*, jeering and pointing at me with his finger: at which I began to be angry, and fell to curſing thoſe who had been the cauſe; at which the *Dauphin* laugh'd, and at laſt ſaid to me; Montluc, Montluc, *in plain truth, you Captains can by no means excuſe it, that you have not carried your ſelves very ill. Which way, Sir, (ſaid I) can you conceive me to be any way in fault? if I knew my ſelf to be guilty I would at this inſtant go, and cauſe my ſelf to be killed in the Town: but in truth we were a company of Coxcombs, to venture our lives in your ſervice.* Whereupon he ſaid *No, No, I do not mean you, for you were the laſt Captain that came out of the Town, and above an hour after all the reſt.* He gave me very well to underſtand, when he came to be King, that I had not fail'd of my duty, by the value he was ever pleaſed to put upon me; for when he went his expedition into *Piedmont*, he ſent an expreſs Courrier to fetch me from my own houſe, to which I had retired my ſelf by reaſon

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of a certain pique, that Madam *d'Eſtampes* had conceived againſt me, about the quarrel betwixt Meſſieurs *de Chaſtaigneraie*, and *de Jarnac*. A man has evermore one good office or another done him at Court, and the miſchief on't is, the women evermore rule the roſt: but I ſhall not take upon me to be a Reformer, Madam *d'Eſtampes* ſent better men than my ſelf packing from Court, who have made no boaſts of it: but I wonder at our brave Hiſtorians that they dare not tell the truth.

This was the ſucceſs of the Camiſado of *Boulogne*, whereas had the Camp follow'd after us, they might all have quarter'd in the Town, and in four or five dayes (as I have already ſaid) the higher Town had been our own. Let any one ask Monſieur *de Teligni*, if he be the man who was taken priſoner there, and ſee whether or no I tell a lye. I do not know who was the cauſe that the Dolphin did not march, but I ſhall alwayes affirm that he ought to have done it, and know alſo very well that it did not ſtick at him; but it were to enter into diſputes to ſay any more of that buſineſs. Had they come, the Engliſh would not have known which way to turn them. I diſcover'd them to be men of very little heart, and believe them to be better at Sea than by Land.

Overſight in the Camiſado at *Bullen*.

The Dolphin ſeeing the Winter draw on (having left *Monſieur le Mareſchal de Bies* at *Monſtreuille*, to bridle and keep *Boulogne* in aw) return'd back to the King, who alſo had concluded a Peace with the Emperor: all this great preparation, and thoſe invincible forces, to our great good fortune, vaniſhing through the ill intelligence betwixt theſe two Princes, I mean the *Spaniard* and the *Engliſh*. Evil befal him that will ever love the one, or the other. Three months after I quitted my command of Camp-maſter, to go to defend a little eſtate that had been left me by an Uncle of mine. I had much ado to obtain leave of the King to go; but in the end the Admiral wrought ſo effectually in my behalf, that it was granted upon condition that I would promiſe him to take upon me the ſame employment in caſe the ſaid Admiral ſhould have the command of the Army. He fail'd not of that command, nor thereupon to ſummon me upon my promiſe I had made him, but obtain'd a Commiſſion from the King (which he ſent me) to be Camp-maſter to fifty or threeſcore Enſigns that his Majeſty would ſet on foot for the Engliſh voyage. I brought the men accordingly to *Havre de Grace*, where I delivered them into the hands of *Monſieur de Tais*. We then put to ſea, Our Navy conſiſted of above two hundred and fifty ſail, and the moſt beautiful Ships that ever eyes beheld, with their Gallies. The ardent deſire the King had to revenge himſelf on the King of *England* made him enter into a very vaſt expence, which in the end ſerv'd to very little purpoſe, although we firſt landed, and afterwards fought the Engliſh upon the ſea, where many Ships were ſunk on both ſides: When at our ſetting out I ſaw the great Carrick (which was certainly the goodlieſt Veſſel in the world) burnt down to the water, I had no great opinion of our Enterprize. But being that I for my particular perform'd nothing in that expedition worthy remembrance, and that moreover a perfect account of that Naval Engagement has been given by others, I ſhall let it alone to give a Narrative of the conqueſt of the Territory of *Oye*: and indeed our buſineſs lies more properly by land than by water; where I do not know that our Nation has ever obtain'd any great victories.

Peace concluded betwixt the Emperor and the King of *France*.

A Naval Engagement betwixt the French and the Engliſh *Anno* 1545.

The French no very good ſeamen.

So ſoon as we were return'd from the Coaſt of *England*, and diſembark'd at *Havre de Grace*, the Admiral went to attend the King, and *Monſieur de Tais* went along with him, carrying all the Companies to the Fort of *Outreau* before *Boulogne*, where Captain *Vike-franche* had been left with the old Companies in the quality of Camp-maſter, he having been put into the Command that I had formerly quitted. The Mareſchal *de Bies* his Majeſties Lieutenant in that Country, had ſomething to do, as *Monſieur de St. Germain*, whom the King had given him for an aſſiſtant, can very well witneſs; for all the Pioniers had forſook him, and were ſtoln away, as is uſual with thoſe raſcally people, if they be not narrowly look'd unto: and yet had he all the Courtine leading towards the Bridge of Brick to make. Of which affair though there be no fighting in the caſe, I think fit to give an account in this place, that it may ſerve for an example to others in command, upon the like occaſion.

The Mareſchal *de Bies* before *Bullen*.

The Mareſchal being frequently ſolicited by the King to put this fort into a poſture of defence to block up *Boulogne*, told me that there was a neceſſity the Soldiers ſhould work, ſince the Pioneers were wanting; of which I accordingly carried word to the Captains, and they from me to the Soldiers, who all at once flatly deny'd to do it, ſaying *They were Soldiers, and not Pioneers*. With this anſwer the Mareſchal was highly offended, and in great anxiety what to do, foraſmuch as the Courtine remained open, and that the King of *England* had ſent freſh ſupplies of men into *Bullen*. Wherefore the Mareſchal having ſent throughout all the Country for Pioneers, and none being to be got, I contriv'd a way to make the Soldiers work, which was by giving them five

The Captains refuſe to work at the Fortification.

pence a day, the ordinary pay given to the Pioneers. The Mareſchal very readily conſented to the motion, but notwithſtanding I could not find one who would once put his hand to the work. Seeing therefore their refuſal, to invite them by my example, I took my own Company, that of *Monſieur de Lieux* my Brother, with thoſe of Captain *Leleron* my Brother-in-law, and Captain *Lablt* my Couſin German; for thoſe I knew durſt not refuſe me. We wanted no tools, for the Mareſchal had made proviſion of very great ſtore, and moreover the Pioneers who were run away, had left all theirs in a great Tent, which the Mareſchal had cauſed to be ſet up to that purpoſe. So ſoon as I came to the Courtin I began my ſelf firſt to break ground, and after me all the Captains. I had cauſed a Barrel of wine to be brought to the place, and with it my dinner, which I had order'd to be much greater than ordinary, and the Captains alſo had brought theirs along with them, together with a Sack full of pence which I ſhow'd to the Soldiers; and after having wrought a ſtart every Captain din'd with his own Company, and to every Soldier we gave half a loaf, ſome wine and a little fleſh; of which alſo we were more liberal to ſome than to others, pretending they had taken more pains than their fellows, on purpoſe to encourage them; and ſo ſoon as we had din'd we again fell to our work, ſinging and plying our buſineſs until late in the evening, inſomuch that one would have thought we had never follow'd any other Trade. So ſoon as we gave over, three Treaſurers of the Army paid to every man five ſols, and at our return to our Tents, the other Soldiers by way of diriſion call'd ours Pioneers and Delvers. The next morning Captain *Forcez* came to tell me, that all his men alſo would come to the work, and thoſe of his Brother likewiſe (who is alſo yet living) all which I receiv'd, and we did as the day before; the third day they would all come, ſo that in eight dayes time we had finiſht the whole Courtin; and all the Engeneers told *Monſieur de St. Germain* (who himſelf had never ſtirr'd from the work) that my Soldiers had done more in eight dayes, than four times ſo many Pioneers would have done in five weeks. And obſerve that Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns ſtuck all the while as cloſe to the work, as the meaneſt Soldier did, and ſerv'd as inciters to the reſt.

I thought fit to commit this Exemple to writing, to let the Captains ſee, that it is not the Soldiers fault, if they do not perform whatſoever you would have them do: but then you muſt get the knack to make them do it chearfully, and with a good will, and not by force; put your hands firſt to the work your ſelves, and your Soldiers will for ſhame follow your exemple, and do more than you would have them do. But if you come to ill words and blows, it muſt be when out of ſpite they refuſe to do a thing to which they are no ways obliged; and to that we are indeed ſometimes by neceſſity conſtrain'd. O Camrades, how often have I, ſeeing the Soldier weary, and ready to faint, alighted from my horſe to walk with them on foot, to encourage them to make a long march! how often have I drunk water with them, that they might chearfully ſuffer by my exemple.

Believe me, Gentlemen, that all depends upon your ſelves, and that your Soldiers will conform themſelves to your humour, as it is ordinarily ſeen. There is a mean in all things, ſometimes a little roughneſs is very requiſite, but then it muſt not be againſt a whole Company, but ſome particular perſon, who would grumble, and hinder the reſt that are well diſpoſed. I have ere now made ſome ſurly ſtubborn raſcalls feel my anger of which I now repent me.

Sometime after the Mareſchal *de Biez* would attempt to ſeize upon, and lay waſte the Territory of *Oye*, having in vain tryed to tempt the *Engliſh* to a Battail. All our new Companies therefore march't, for the old ſtirr'd not out of the Fort, but were kept there to guard it, and the Mareſcal took ſix or ſeven pieces of great Artillery along with him; ſo that we ſet out ſecretly in the beginning of the night, and went to ſome little Villages that had formerly been burnt. This Enterpriſe was taken in hand contrary to the opinion of all the Captains in the Army, out of the hope the ſaid Mareſchal had to bring it to a Battail, which had drawn ſeveral Princes and Lords to come from the Court: Where after there was no more hopes of drawing the *Engliſh* into the field, the Mareſchal deliberated to take ſome Forts from them in the County of *Oye*. Now ſo ſoon as they drew very near to one of theſe Forts, the Mareſchal, Meſſieurs *de Briſac*, and *de Tais*, drew themſelves apart (I think Monſieur *de Eſtre* was with them, being then newly come out of priſon) Monſieur *de Bordillon*, and three or four others (whoſe names I have forgot) and got up to a little eminence under the ſhadow of a Tree, from thence peeping and conſidering which of the ſaid Baſtions, that were oppoſite to us, they ſhould aſſault; and in the mean time I caus'd all our Enſigns to make a halt for the laſt, which were yet a league behind. Now you muſt know I had never been there till this time; neither

Oye is a County of *Picardy* wherein are the Cities of *Calice*, *Oye*, and ſome others of leſs note, extending it ſelf as far as *Dunkirk* in the Low Countries, and was poſſeſt by the *Engliſh* 210 years.

low'd a great quarrel upon it, which proceeded ſo far as almoſt to bring two men to fight in Liſts. It was indeed a moſt infamous cowardiſe, and of great prejudice to his Majeſties ſervice; for had thoſe been defeated, there had no body been left in *Calice* but old men and women, and I have ſince heard the Mareſchal *de Biez* ſay, that had thoſe Enſigns been cut off, with his Artillery he had taken the Town in two days. But ſeeing thoſe people to be retreated ſafe into the City, they concluded to retire, which two days after we did; as alſo the ſeaſon of the year began to ſettle into very great rain.

Let me tell you Captains you ought not diſdain to learn ſomething of me, who am the oldeſt Captain in *France*, and who have been in as many Battails, or more, as any Captain of *Europe*, as you will judge at the end of my Book. Know therefore that the reaſons which induc't me to attempt this aſſault, were theſe. Firſt, becauſe I had felt the pulſe of the *Engliſh* at my firſt arrival, and found them a very eaſie Enemy. Secondly, becauſe they had abandon'd their Fortifications, which we gain'd, having the Baſtion that ſerv'd them for a Flanker. Thirdly, becauſe from the little eminence where I had made a halt before I went down into the Meadow, I had ſeen coming along the Plain on the inſide toward *Calice* a great number of people coming from thence, and obſerv'd all the Courtine to be full of men, by which I ſaw it was high time to fall on; and for a fourth reaſon, becauſe that in the Ditch next to the Courtine there was very little water, and from the ſaid Ditch to the ſaid Courtine it was but two good ſteps, where the Soldiers might ſtand well enough, and with a little help of their Pikes or Halberts, and the aſſiſtance of one another (the Courtine being no more than two fadoms high) we ſhould carry the place. When (Captains) therefore your eye ſhall have diſcharg'd its office in diſcovering the number of your Enemy, and the ſtrength of the place where he is, and that you have taſted, and found him apt to fly, charge him whilſt he is in the fear you have poſſeſt him withal, for if you give him time to recover his ſenſes, and to forget his fright, you will be more often in danger of being beaten, than likely to beat. Wherefore you ought evermore to purſue him in his fear, without giving him leiſure to re-aſſume his courage, and carry always about you the Motto of *Alexander* the Great, which is: *Deferr not that till to morrow thou canſt do to day; for many things fall out betwixt the lip and the cup*, eſpecially in war, and then it will be too late to ſay, *I ſhould never have thought it.* You ſhall execute many things in your hear, which, if you give your ſelves leiſure to conſider of, you will think of it thrice before you once attempt it. Puſh home then, venture, and do not give your Enemies leiſure to conſult together, for one will encourage another.

Being return'd to the Fort of *Outreau*; there was hardly a day paſt that the *Engliſh* did not come to tickle us upon the deſcent towards the Sea, and would commonly brave our people up to our very Canon, which was within ten or twelve paces of the Fort: and we were all abus'd by what we had heard our Predeceſſors ſay, that one Engliſh man would always beat two French men, and that the *Engliſh* would never run away, nor never yield. I had retain'd ſomething of the Camiſado of *Bullen*, and of the buſineſs of *Oye*; and therefore ſaid one day to Monſieur *de Tais*, that I would diſcover to him the myſtery of the *Engliſh*, and wherefore they were reputed ſo hardy: which was, that they all carried arms of little reach, and therefore were neceſſitated to come up cloſe to us to looſe their arrows, which otherwiſe would do no execution; whereas we who were accuſtomed to fire our Harquebuzes at a great diſtance, ſeeing the Enemy uſe another manner of fight, thought theſe near approaches of theirs very ſtrange, imputing their running on at this confident rate to abſolute bravery: but I will lay them an Ambuſcado, and then you ſhall ſee if I am in the right or no, and whether a Gaſcon be not as good as an Engliſh-man. In antient time their Fathers and ours were neighbours. A diſcourſe concerning the valour of the *Engliſh*.

I then choſe out ſixſcore men, Harquebuzeers and Pikes, with ſome Halberts amongſt them, and lodg'd them in a hollow which the water had made, lying below on the right hand of the Fort, and ſent Captain *Chaux* at the time when it was low water, ſtraight to ſome little houſes which were upon the Banks of the River almoſt over againſt the Town to skirmiſh with them, with inſtructions that ſo ſoon as he ſhould ſee them paſs the River, he ſhould begin to retire, and give them leave to make a charge. Which he accordingly did: but it fortun'd ſo, that he was wounded in one of his arms with a Hurquebuz ſhot, and the Soldiers took him and carried him back to the Fort, ſo that the skirmiſh remained without a head. The *Engliſh* were ſoon aware of it, and gave them a very brisk charge, driving them on fighting up to the very Canon. Seeing then our men ſo ill handled, I ſtart up out of my Ambuſcado ſooner then I ſhould have done, running on full drive directly up to them, commanding the Soldiers not to ſhoot, till they came within the diſtance of their arrows. They were two or three hundred men, Encounter betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *French*.

having ſome *Italian* Harquebuzeers amongſt them, which made me heartily repent that I had made my Ambuſcado no ſtronger: but it was now paſt remedy, and ſo ſoon as they ſaw me coming towards them, they left the purſuit of the others, and came to charge upon me. We marcht ſtraight up to them, and ſo ſoon as they were come up within arrow ſhot, our Harquebuzeers gave their volley all at once, and then clapt their hands to their ſwords, as I had commanded, and we ran on to come to blows; but ſo ſoon as we came within two or three pikes length, they turn'd their backs with as great facility as any Nation that ever I ſaw, and we purſued them as far as the River, cloſe by the Town, and there were four or five of our Soldiers who followed them to the other ſide. I then made a halt at the ruins of the little houſes, where I rally'd my people together again, ſome of whom were left by the way behind, who were not able to run ſo faſt as the reſt. Monſieur *de Tais* had ſeen all, and was ſally'd out of the Fort to relieve the Artillery, to whom ſo ſoon as I came up to him, I ſaid, *Look you, did I not tell you how it would be? We muſt either conclude that the* Engliſh *of former times were more valiant than thoſe of this preſent age, or that we are better men than our forefathers. I know not which of the two it is. In good earneſt,* ſaid Monſieur *de Tais, theſe people retreat in very great haſt; I ſhall never again have ſo good an opinion of the* Engliſh, *as I have had heretofore. No Sir,* ſaid I, *you muſt know that the* Engliſh *who antiently uſ'd to beat the* French, *were half* Gaſcons, *for they married into* Gaſcony, *and ſo bred good Soldiers: but now that race is worn out, and they are no more the ſame men they were.*

A pleaſant diſcourſe of the Sieur *de Montluc* concerning the *Engliſh*.

From that time forwards our people had no more the ſame opinion, nor the ſame fear of the *Engliſh*, that before. Therefore (Captains) as much as you can, keep your Soldiers from apprehending an Enemy; for if they once conceive an extraordinary opinion of their valour, they ever go on to fight in fear of being defeated. You are neither to deſpiſe your Enemy, neither ſhould your Soldiers think them to be more valiant than themſelves. Ever after this charge I obſerv'd our men alwayes to go on more chearfully to attaque the *Engliſh*, and came ſtill up cloſer to them; and let any one remember when the Mareſchal *de Biez* fought them betwixt the Fort of *Andelot*, and the Town, whether our people needed to be intreated to fall on. The ſaid Sieur *de Biez* there perform'd the part of a very valiant Gentleman, for when his Cavalry were all run off the Field, he came alone to put himſelf in the head of our Battallion, and alighted, taking a Pike in his hand to go on to the fight, from whence he came off with very great honor. I my ſelf was not there, and therefore ſhall ſay nothing of it; for two or three months after our return out of the County of *Oye*, I had askt leave of *Monſieur do Tais* to go to Court: but the Hiſtorians in the mean time are very unjuſt to conceal ſuch brave actions, and that was a very remarkable one in this old Cavalier. Being at Court I prevail'd ſo far with the Admiral, that he procur'd me a diſmiſſion from the King, for as much as I had reaſſum'd the office of Camp-Maſter upon no other terms, but only to command in the firſt Expedition that the Admiral ſhould go upon; and having remain'd a month at Court, attending the King in the quality of one of his Gentlemen Waiters (who was now grown old, and melancholic, and did not careſs men, as he had wont to do, only once he talkt with me about the Battail of *Seriſoles*, being at *Fountain-Bleau*) I took my leave of his Majeſty, and never ſaw him after. I then return'd into *Gaſcony*, from whence I never ſtirr'd till King *Henry* by the death of his Father was become King, having all that while been oppreſt with troubles and ſickneſs. And that is the reaſon why I can give you no account of the ſurrender of *Bullen*, which the King of *England* by the obſtinacy of *Francis* the firſt, was conſtrain'd to quit for ſome conſideration in mony. A little after he died, and our King ſtay'd but a very little behind him. We muſt all die; but this Surrender of *Bullen* hapened in the reign of King *Henry*, my good Maſter, who ſucceeded his Father.

The remarkable valour of the Mareſchal *de Biez*.

Bullen delivered up to the *French* the 25. day of *April*, 1551.

The death of *Francis* the firſt.

Our new King having peace with the Emperor, and after the redelivery of *Bullen*, being alſo friends with the King of *England*, it ſeem'd that our arms were likely long to ruſt by the walls; and indeed, if theſe two Princes ſit ſtill, *France* may be at reſt. After having continued ſome time at home, the King was pleaſ'd to call me away, and to give me the command of Camp-maſter, and the government of *Montcallier* under the Prince of *Malphé* his Lieutenant-General in *Piedmont*, *Monſieur de Bonnevet* being our Colonel: he remembers me very well, and if thoſe who have govern'd ſince had lov'd me as well as he, I had had as much riches and honour as any Gentleman that has come out of *Gaſcony* theſe many years. I there remain'd eighteen moneths, without doing any thing all the while worthy to be remembred; for I will write nothing, but that wherein I had ſome command. Having obtain'd leave to retire my ſelf to my own houſe, I return'd into *Gaſcony*, where I heard a little while after, that by reaſon of the age and infirmneſs

The Sieur *de Montluc* Governor of *Montcallier*.

of

of the Prince of *Malphé*, the King was about to ſend thither *Monſieur de Briſſac* in the quality of his Lieutenant General there, which was the occaſion that Captain *Tilladet* (who had alſo been diſmiſt) and my ſelf went together to Court, where at our coming, we found that the ſaid Seigneur had taken his leave of the King in order to his Journey. We then preſented our ſelves before his Majeſty, who very graciouſly received us; and to the Conſtable, who was return'd to Court, and in greater favour than ever in the time of King *Francis*, which many did hardly believe he would have been: but the Ladies had now loſt their credit, and others were entred in. Immediately upon our comming his ſaid Majeſty, who was all this time in a little Town betwixt *Melun* and *Paris*, called *Ville-neufve Saint George*, commanded us to go to *Paris*, and repair to *Monſieur Briſſac*. The next day after our arrival, the ſaid *Sieur de Briſſac* departed, being very glad that we were come to him, and ſo we went as far as *Suze*, where we found the Prince of *Malphé*, who had put himſelf upon his way, to come to end his life in *France*, as alſo within an hour after our arrival he died. Which, though I ſerv'd ſome time under his command, is all I ſhall ſay of him, having very little opportunity to know more of him, than what I have taken upon truſt; and it is a great misfortune to a Captain, ſo often to change his General; for before you can come to be throughly acquainted with him, you are old; and new friendſhips, and new acquaintance are troubleſome. *Monſieur de Briſſac* preſently hereupon diſpatcht away *Monſieur de Forquevaux* to the King with an account of all, whom his Majeſty ſent ſpeedily back again with the Patent of Mareſchal of *France*, which he was pleaſed to conferr upon him.

Monſieur *de Briſſac* Lieutenant General in *Piedmont*.

The death of the Prince of *Malphé*.

Monſieur *de Briſſac* made Mareſchal of *France*.

We lay idle five or ſix moneths without any war; but it is hard for two ſo great Princes, and ſo near neighbours, to continue long without coming to arms, and indeed ſoon after an occaſion preſented it ſelf: the King having taken upon him the protection of Duke *Octavio*, whom the Pope, and the Emperor his Father in Law, would deprive of his Dukedome. In order whereunto *Don Ferrand de Gonzaga* had laid ſiege to *Parma*, wherein was *Monſieur de Termes*, and to *Miranda* where *Monſieur de Sanſac* commanded, who there acquir'd very great reputation, for having worthily acquitted and approved himſelf a ſingular good Captain, as in truth he was; which he has alſo manifeſted in all places where-ever he has been. He was one of the beſt Horſe-men that ever was in *France*: but being I can give no account of theſe affairs, but by report only; nor of what paſſed at theſe two Sieges, I ſhall let them alone.

The war betwixt *France* and *Spain* renewed.

The King having intelligence that the Emperors forces were wholly taken up in *Parmeſan*, ſent to the Mareſchal *de Briſſac*, that he ſhould break the Peace, and upon the rupture to attempt to ſurprize ſome Town or other upon the Frontier, which he did. For he took *Quiers*, and *St. Damian*: but the attempt upon *Cairas* did not ſucceed, as did the other two. *Monſieur de Baſſé* went to execute that of *St. Damian*, which he ſurpriz'd betwixt break of day and Sun riſe, and the Mareſchal himſelf executed that of *Quiers* after the manner I am going to relate, and I think *Monſieur le Preſident de Biragues*, who was there preſent, will in this Book find that I have not much miſſed it in the relation.

This war begun in the year 1550.

Monſieur d' Auſun was choſen to goe execute the deſign upon *Cairas*, who took with him the Baron *de Cypi*, and two or three other *French* Companies, together with *Monſieur de Gental*, and ſome Italians. The Scalado was given with great fury; but they were as well receiv'd. There died one of the Brothers of *Monſieur de Charry*, who was gone as far as *Savillan*, and being in their way as they marcht in the night, went along with them, and mounted a ladder the firſt man, from which he was beaten down. He was ill enough followed, as it was ſaid. In the mean time *Monſieur de Baſſé* took ſome Companies with him, with which by break of day he arrived within half a mile of *St. Damian*; they were once upon the point to return, ſeeing they ſhould be diſcover'd before they could come to the place, but in the end marcht on to try their fortune. The cuſtom of *St. Damian* was, that the Soldiers conſtantly opened the Gates every morning at break of day, to let all the people out to work, and afterwards placed ſome Centinels upon the wall; ſo that the Sieur *de Baſſé* entered with his ladders into the Graff, and had rear'd them to the wall before he was diſcover'd. The Captains mounted firſt, and before they were eſpy'd by any, the one half of our people were got into the Town, where there was only one foot Company, which retired into the Caſtle, where there was not proviſion for one day, and in the morning yielded up themſelves. By which, Captains, you may ſee of how great importance it is to be careful never to leave a wall naked of Centinels, or at leaſt to have them upon ſome Tower or Gate, eſpecially about break of day, for that is the time of greateſt danger. People are weary of watching their walls, but your Enemy is not weary of watching his opportunity. All theſe three enterprizes of *Cairas*, *St. Damian* and *Quiers* ſhould have been

The Enterprize of *Cairas*.

St. Damian taken.

been executed in one night; and indeed whoever will break a Peace, or a Truce, let him do all the execution he can, and make all the noiſe at one clap; for if he go piece by piece, he is certain to loſe either a leg or a wing.

The Enterpriſe of *Quiers.*

Three dayes before the Mareſchal had been in conſultation about the manner how to execute this enterpize upon *Quiers*, at which Council were aſſiſting Meſſieurs *de Bonivet*, Preſident *Birague*, *Franciſco Bernardin*, *de Baſſé*, and *d'Auſſun*; and I cannot certainly ſay whether Sieur *Ludovico de Birága* was preſent or no; but I am almoſt confident he was, foraſmuch as the Mareſchal reſolved upon nothing without his advice, he being a man of a moſt approved judgment. It was there concluded that we ſhould give a *Scalado* on the upper ſide by the Vinyards upon the way from *Agnaſſe* to *Quiers*. I had no fancy to this Scalado, neither did I think it likely to take effect, which made me entreat the Mareſchal, that ſeeing he was himſelf reſolv'd to go in perſon upon this deſign, and that it was the firſt place he had undertaken ſince his Lieutenancy, it might be ordered ſo, as to ſucceed, and redound to his honour: for if in his firſt tryal he ſhould fail of ſucceſs, men commonly judging of things by the event, would look upon it as an ill omen, and be apt to ſuſpect his fortune, which is a very great prejudice to a man in ſupreme command.

The opinion of Monſieur *de Montluc.*

That therefore he ſhould with great ſecrecy cauſe four or five pieces of Canon to march all night, that they might arrive at the ſame time that the Scalado ſhould be given at the Port *Jaune*, and ſo by one way or the other he would not fail to carry the place; for ſince he was reſolved to attempt it, he was to try all ways conducing to the end propoſed. Now the Artillery was already mounted on carriages, and fit for preſent ſervice, before the Caſtle of *Turin*; for ſo ſoon as the Mareſchal underſtood that his Majeſty had taken upon him the protection of the Duke of *Parma*, and that the war was already broke out in thoſe parts, he made no queſtion but the tempeſt would ſoon fall upon him, and therefore had wiſely made his preparations before hand, that he might not be to ſeek in time of need, being indeed one of the moſt prudent and circumſpect Commanders that I ever knew.

His opinion diſputed.

This advice of mine ſuffered a great diſpute; for it was objected that in one night the Artillery could not be drawn to *Quiers*, and that all the three enterprizes would be diſcovered by the rattle of the Carriages, and the voices of the drivers of the Artillery: but in the end it was concluded that at Veſpers the Gates of *Turin* ſhould be ſhut, and that Oxen ſhould be taken about *Rivolle* and *Veillamie*, and ſhould be all brought in the Evening into the City, and great Guards kept at the Gates, to the end that no one living ſhould ſtir out. It was moreover concluded, that I at the ſame hour ſhould draw ſome Canon, and the great Culverine out of the Caſtle of *Montcallier*, and ſhould take the Oxen belonging to the Gentlemen and Citizens of *Montcallier*, which graz'd on the further ſide of the Bridge towards the Lodges. They made account that by one of the clock at night the Artillery would be at *Montcallier*, by the way beyond the Bridge, and *Monſieur de Caillac* and I were to ſtay together to convoy the Artillery with my Company, and the Mareſchal, Meſſieurs *de Bonnivet*, and *Franciſco Bernardin* would go the other way with all the reſt of the Foot. The ſaid Mareſchal alſo left me Monſieur *de Piquigni* with his Company, and another, who were to go before us with the Pioneers, and ten Gabions that we took with us from the Caſtle of *Montcallier*, in which order we arriv'd both the one and the other at the time appointed before *Quiers*. But the Camiſado vaniſht into ſmoak; for as much as all the ladders prov'd too ſhort, and the Graffe was much deeper than had been reported to the Mareſchal: which was the reaſon that we all turn'd to the Port *Jaune*, where we found that they had already filled the Gabions, and were ready to lodge the Canon for Battery. The Mareſchal's good fortune began here to diſcover it ſelf; for had the ladders been of a ſufficient length, and that we had gone on to the Aſſault, all the Citizens as well as the Soldiers were reſolute to defend their walls to the laſt man; ſo that in my opinion we ſhould have been very well ſwing'd, and beaten off: for as much as they would neither ſuffer themſelves to be ſurpriz'd by night, nor taken by force: and we could not carry our deſign ſo cloſe, but that they had had notice of it the day before; ſo that it had been no hard matter for them to give us a repulſe, which perhaps might have diſcourag'd them to do, as they afterward did. *Don Ferrand* at his departure from thence had there left an *Italian* Governor with three Companies, and had drawn out all the Spaniſh foot, to take them along with him to *Parma*.

The Scalado fails.

The good fortune of the Mareſchal *de Briſſac.*

Quiers batter'd.

Our Battery having for ſome ſpace play'd againſt the Town, wrought its effect, and made a breach on the left hand of the Port *Jaune*: but there fell thereupon ſo violent a ſtorm of rain as almoſt ſpoild all our work; yet notwithſtanding by eleven of the clock the breach was eight or ten paces wide. Hereupon the Inhabitants of the Town, who deſired nothing more than a fair opportunity of putting themſelves into the Kings obedience,

by

neither have I ever been there ſince, but to the beſt of my memory I ſhall deſcribe the ſcituation of the place.

I was to deſcend about thirty or forty paces, to enter into a great Meadow, where on my right hand there was one Baſtion, and on my left hand, at the diſtance of a good Harquebuz ſhot, another, and ſo conſequently all along the Courtine leading towards *Calice* (which Courtine was only of earth, and about two fathoms high) there was alſo two great Ditches with water middle deep, and betwixt the two Ditches there was a Terrace of earth. Whilſt they were in conſultation under this Tree on my left hand, I took Captain *Favas*, and *la Moyenne*, having both been my Lieutenants, and about 300 Harquebuzeers, to whom I gave the leading of the firſt Diviſion, and I ſtood behind in the Rear of them. There preſently ſallyed out of the Fort an hundred or ſixſcore *Engliſh*, who came into the Meadow, having planted five or ſix Musketeers upon their Terreſs, betwixt two Ditches, and ply'd us ſmartly with their ſhot, having left betwixt the ſaid Baſtions and Ditches a little path, by which one man only could march a breaſt, to enter in, and ſally out of their Fort, confident, it ſeems, that under favour of their Muskets, thoſe of ours on the outſide would not dare to charge them. Our men began then to Harquebuz it at a good ſmart rate, and they to let fly their arrows: but me-thought they had ſtill an eye towards their retreat; wherefore being mounted on a little pad Nag, I came up to the Captains, and ſaid theſe words to them. Camrades, theſe people are mainly enclin'd to retreat, and I ſee it is out of a confidence they have in their Muskets, charge then briskly through and through, and I will ſecond you. I needed not to bid them twice, for before I could return to the head of my men, I ſaw them together by the ears, and in a moment the *Engliſh* put to flight: wherefore I ſtopt my men from falling on, to make firm in caſe any more ſhould ſally out. This little path was ſomething narrow, and adjoyning to the Baſtion, under which the one part of them ſtood firm, the reſt caſt themſelves into the Ditches in ſo great haſt, that they had not leiſure to carry off all their Muskets, for our Soldiers leapt into the water as ſoon as they, and brought away four of them; and there were four or five of the ſaid Soldiers that paſs'd over the ſaid Terrace, and the other Ditch, to the very foot of the Courtine, who brought me word that the greateſt depth of water was in the firſt Ditch; for the other next the Courtine was not above knee deep. I then preſently ſpoke to the Captains, *Favas* and *la Moyenne*, that they ſhould draw up my Diviſion and theirs together, and finding Captain *Auriogui*, and almoſt all the other Captains entreated them them to make two Diviſions of theirs; for that ſo ſoon as I had ſpoken with Monſieur *de Tais*, I would go on to an Aſſault. They then told me, that they wanted near half of their Soldiers, who were not yet come up, to which I made anſwer, that it was no matter, ſeeing that with thoſe we had we could do our buſineſs, who thereupon without further reply began to divide themſelves into two Bodies, and I ran to ſpeak with Monſieur *de Tais*, whom I found with the Mareſchal and the reſt, and ſaid to him; *Let us go, Sir, let us go to the Aſſault, for we ſhall carry the Courtine; I have taſted them, and find, that they have more mind to run than fight.* The Mareſchal then ſaid to me, *What is it you ſay Captain* Montluc, *would to God we were certain preſently to carry it with all the Artillery we have.* Whereupon I anſwered him aloud; *Sir, we ſhall have ſtrangled them all before your Artillery can come up to us*, and taking Monſieur *de Tais* by the arm, ſaid to him; *Let us go, Sir, you have believ'd me at other times, and have not repented; neither ſhall you repent you of this. I have diſcover'd by theſe approaches, that theſe people are little worth. Let us go then*, anſwered he, and as we were entring into the Meadow, we already found our two Diviſions of Pikes and Harquebuzeers ſeparated apart. *Look you, Sir*, then ſaid I, *take your choice on which hand you will fight*, whether on that of this Enſign over againſt the Baſtion below, or on that of the Engſin oppoſite to thoſe I have fought with: who thereupon ſaid to me, *Fight you that Body you have already attaqu't; and I will go fight the other*, and ſo we parted.

Deſcription of the Engliſh Fort.

attempt upon the Engliſh Forts.

The Sieurs *de Tais* and *Montluc*, go on to the Aſſault.

So ſoon as the Mareſchal *de Biez* ſaw us begin to march, he (as Monſieur *de Bordillon* told me afterwards) ſaid theſe words; *now we ſhall ſee if* Tais *with his Gaſcons be ſo brave as he pretends.* I then call'd all the Sergeants of my Diviſion, ſaying to them aloud at the head of our Battail; *You Sergeants have ever been accuſtomed, when we go to fight, to be in the Flanks behind, but I will have you now fight in the firſt Rank. Do you ſee that Enſign there? if you do not win it, as many as I ſhall meet ſlinking off in my way as I go, I ſhall make bold to cut his hamſtrings; you know I am pretty dextrous that way*: then turning towards the Captains, I ſaid, *and you, Camrades, if I am not there as ſoon as they, do you cut mine.* I then ran to Captain *Favas* and *la Moyenne* (who might be at the diſtance of ſome thirty paces) and ſaid to them, *March, and throw your ſelves headlong into the Ditch,*

Ditch, and in an inſtant return'd to my men, when having * kiſt the ground, I ran ſtraight up to the Ditches, making the Sergeants ſtill to march before, and paſſing over the firſt and the ſecond, came up to the foot of the Courtin. I then ſaid to the Sergeants, *Help one another, help one another with your Halberts to get up*, which they ſpeedily did, and others puſht them on behind, throwing them headlong into the Fort: I had alſo a Halbert in my hand. In the mean time arriv'd all the Captains and Pikes, who found me making a great ſhew of endeavouring to get up with my Halbert, holding with my left hand by the wood; when ſome of them, not knowing who I was, took me by the breech, and puſht me quite over on the other ſide, making me by that means more valiant than I intended to be; for what I did was only to encourage the reſt to get over: but that fellow, whoever he was, made me forget my policy, and take a leap that I had no intent to have taken; and indeed in my whole life I did never ſee people ſo ſoon get over a Courtine. After I had taken this leap, Captain *Pavas* and *la Moyenne*, who were in the Ditch of the Baſtion, put themſelves into the little path, and paſt on the other ſide into the Baſtion, where all they found within it they put to the ſword. Monſieur *de Tais*, who went on to his encounter, ſeeing us ſcrambling up the Courtine, threw himſelf into the Ditches of the other Fort, when the *Engliſh* ſeeing their people put to flight, and we entring into it, quitted the Fort, and ran away as faſt as they could towards *Calice*. The Mareſchal this while ſeeing us run on ſo bravely upon the Enemy, cried out (as I was told after) Oh heavens! they are already got in; whereupon the Seigneurs *de Briſſac* and *de Bourdillon* came full ſpeed upon the ſpur, and the ſaid Seigneur *de Briſſac* General of the Horſe, put his horſe into the little path, where one man could not very eaſily paſs, ſtretching out his legs at full length upon the horſe neck, at whoſe mercy he paſt over, Monſieur *de Bordillon* after him, and after them follow'd ſome fourty or fifty horſe, all leading their horſes in their hands. Monſieur *de Briſſac* then preſently came up to me, whom he found drawing up all the men into Battalion, believing that we ſhould be fought with, and that thoſe of *Calice* would certainly iſſue out to relieve their men. I had got an Enſign we had won upon my ſhoulder, which in his preſence I reſtor'd to the Sergeant who had taken it, bidding him go and carry it to Monſieur *de Tais*, which he did, and the ſaid Sieur *de Tais* ſo ſoon as he had receiv'd it, ſent it by the ſame Sergeant to the Mareſchal, who was very buſie with his Pioneers, breaking down the Courtine (which was only of earth) to make way for the *Gens-d'Armes* to paſs over; and now we were all within, Artillery and all; where ſo ſoon as we were all arrived, Meſſieurs *de Briſſac* and *de Bordillon*, with the forty or fifty horſe that had entred with them, took the right hand toward the Sluces which ſeparate the County of *Artois* from the County of *Oye*, where they met with forty or fifty of the *Engliſh*, bearing Lances, who preſently began to retire full gallop towards *Calice*. Monſieur *de Briſſac* was jealous, that theſe had only run away to draw him into ſome Ambuſcado, and therefore made a halt, ſending out *Caſtegeac* to diſcover a little valley that was on his left hand; which ſaid *Caſtegeac* preſently brought him word that he had ſeen above 400 horſe, but it was no ſuch thing, thoſe he ſaw being no other than Countrymen and women of the neighbouring Villages, who were flying towards *Calice*, which was a great misfortune; for otherwiſe Monſieur *de Briſſac* had purſued them, and they were all the Cavalry that the Enemy had in *Calice*, which had been no inconſiderable defeat. A General of all things ought always to ſend out an old Soldier, or ſome one whoſe intelligence he may abſolutely rely upon, to diſcover; for men of little experience ſoon take the alarm, and fancy Buſhes to be Battaillons. I will not ſay that *Caſtegeac* was no Soldier, but upon my word he here committed a very great error.

Our Cavalry being got over the Breach, the Mareſchal had cauſed to be made, Monſieur *de Tais* would himſelf lead the Harquebuzeers, ordering me to remain with the Battail of Pikes. There were ten or twelve Enſigns which retir'd towards *Calice*, and had been coming to have diſputed our entry, which, could they have come up in time, had found us enough to do, with our Artillery and all, as the Mareſchal had told me when I went to call Monſieur *de Tais* to go on to the Aſſault: and although I know very well at whom it ſtuck, that we did not fight them ten or twelve Enſigns, I will however forbear committing it to writing, foraſmuch as in delivering the truth, I ſhould be oblig'd to ſpeak ill of ſome particular perſons, and thoſe none of the leaſt, which I will by no means do: But if Monſieur *de St. Cire* (who was Lieutenant to fifty men at arms belonging to Monſieur *Boiſſy*, who died Grand Eſcuyer) were alive, he could tell where the fault lay, for he was there grievouſly wounded, had his horſe kill'd under him, and above forty horſes more of the ſame Troop kill'd and wounded. There follow'd

* A Ceremony formerly uſed when Soldiers went on to an Aſſault, or to any deſperate Enterpriſe.

An Aſſault given to the Engliſh Fort.

The Engliſh put to flight

The miſtake of *Caſtegeac*.

Fault of the French.

by reaſon of the ill uſage they had received from the *Spaniard*, began to ask the Governor if he thought himſelf ſufficient with his Soldiers to withſtand the Aſſault; to whom he made anſwer, that he was, provided the Townſ-men alſo would take arms to aſſiſt him. Whereupon they plainly told him, that they would not do it, and moreover that they had not been ſo well entreated by the *Spaniards*, that they ſhould take arms againſt the *French*. By which anſwer the Governor, who was an underſtanding man, perceiv'd himſelf to be lodg'd *betwixt my Lord and my Lady*, and doubted that thoſe of the Town were more likely to aſſault him behind than otherwiſe, which made him ſay to them, Have a little patience friends, and I will make ſuch a Capitulation with the Mareſchal, as ſhall preſerve you from any injury, and be honourable for our ſelves; and thereupon cauſed a Trumpet to ſound a parly, ſending out a man to deſire the Mareſchal, that he would ſend him Signior *Franciſco Bernardin*, and the Signieur *de Monbaſin*, and in the mean time cauſe his Battery to ceaſe. The Mareſchal immediately then ſent to us to give over ſhooting, which we accordingly did; and it was thereupon agreed, that the Governor ſhould ſend out two or three in Hoſtage, and that then the two forenamed ſhould enter in to Capitulate, and I think Preſident *Birague* went in with them, by reaſon he would not the Town ſhould be ſackt, his Wife being a Daughter of *Quiers*, and the moſt part of the Gentry in the Town being by that means ally'd to him: but that I may not lie, I am not certain whether he went a third or no. Neither would the Mareſchal himſelf by any means, that any violence ſhould be offer'd to them, being this would be an exemple to the other places that were in the Enemies poſſeſſion, to draw them on, that when they ſhould happen to be in the like condition, out of conſideration of the Civility he ſhould ſhew to thoſe of *Quiers*, they might be the more enclin'd to take part with the *French*.

Diviſion in *Quiers*.

The Capitulation of *Quiers*.

The greateſt difficulty that hapned betwixt our Deputies and the Governor, and Inhabitants, was, that the ſaid Governor, it being already almoſt night, ſaid he could not poſſibly retreat to *Aſt*, and conſequently ſhould be in danger of being defeated by the way; wherefore he deſired that the Surrender might be deferred till the next day: The Mareſchal who ſtood upon thorns, fearing leſt this night they might be reliev'd from *Aſt*, demanded then to have *la Roquette* deliver'd up to him, to put into it threeſcore men, and that they ſhould chooſe out of our Captains any one whom they would, to enter in with them; in the mean time making our Companies ſtill advance nearer to the Breach, which the Governor having notice of, he himſelf came upon the wall of the *Roquette*, where he call'd to me, entreating me to make the Soldiers retire, and telling me that they had concluded with the Mareſchal. The concluſion of which agreement was, that they were to march away with Bag and Baggage, their Colours furl'd up, without beat of Drum the next morning; and for further aſſurance it was agreed, that *la Roquette* ſhould be put into our hands. The Town then ſent to the Mareſchal to entreat, that I, with the threeſcore men might be put into it; for I had in *Piedmont* acquir'd the reputation of a man of good diſcipline, to prevent all ſorts of diſorder in the Soldier: and I order'd it ſo well here, that not any one of the Citizens loſt the worth of a ſtraw. The avarice of a little plunder does oftentimes turn the hearts of ſuch as otherwiſe are enclin'd to favour ones party. This buſineſs was very well conſider'd by the Mareſchal; for that very night 400 Harquebuzeers ſet out from *Aſt* to try if they could get into the Town; but they met intelligence by the way, that we were poſſeſt of *la Roquette*, which made them return. There was one error committed in this buſineſs; for it was propounded in the Council, that without doubt the Enemy would come to us at the report of this Siege, and that therefore at the ſame time the *Roquette* ſhould be deliver'd up to us, we ſhould ſend out a good ſtrong party to go the *patrouille* on the high way towards *Aſt*, which had it been done as it ought to have been, we had certainly cut off this Relief.

La Roquette ſurrendred.

The next morning Monſieur *de Bonivet* who was encampt upon the road of *Andezun*, with fifteen or twenty Gentlemen in company with him came to *Quiers*, juſt at the time when the *Italians* were marching out of the Town, who being entred in, ſtayd at the Gate to ſee them march away; when ſo ſoon as they were gone, Monſieur *de Bonivet* being under the ſecond Gate to enter into the City, and the Mareſchal having commanded me not to ſuffer any perſon whatſoever to enter till he himſelf was firſt come in, I heard my Lieutenant very loud and angry at the *Breach*, where I had placed him to watch, that none ſhould paſs in that way; at which Monſieur *de Bonivet* ſaid to me, *there is ſome diſorder*, whereupon I preſently ran to the place, and found that they were Thieves of the very Town of *Quiers* it ſelf, who would have entred in to pillage the City: at which going haſtily down the Breach to fall upon them, the ruines of the wall made my feet ſlip from under me, ſo that I fell upon my left ſide amongſt the ſtones, with

ſo great violence, that I put my hip out of joynt. I do think that all the tortures in the world are not comparable to this, by reaſon of a little nerve we have in that joynt, where the bones are all enchac't into one another, which was extended, in ſo much that I have never walkt upright ſince; but have ever had pain more or leſs, notwithſtanding all the Baths and other remedies I could uſe to remove it. Monſieur *de Bonivet* cauſed me to be carried by the Soldiers into a Lodging, and I before had brought in the Quartermaſters, who were ordering the Quarters. About an hour after I was hurt the Mareſchal entred the City, and did me the honour to alight at my lodging to ſee me, expreſſing as much ſorrow for my miſchance as if I had been his own Brother; and indeed he heartily lov'd, and had a very great eſteem for me. During our abode there he came three times to keep his Council at my Beds head, as Preſident *Birague*, who is yet living can witneſs. He took great delight to hear men diſcourſe in his preſence, but in few words; and if any one ſaid any thing, he would preſently demand his reaſon. At the ſaid *Quiers*, and at *Montcallier* I kept my bed two moneths and a half of this unlucky fall.

Monſieur *Montluc* hurt with a fall.

Don Ferrand leaving the war of *Parma*, came to *Aſt* to draw his Forces together, thereof to form the Body of an Army, having left in *Parmeſan* Signior *Carles* and the Marquis *de Vins*. The King having notice thereof, commanded the Admiral that he ſhould in all haſt ſend away ſix of his Companies to the Mareſchal *de Briſſac*, which were conducted by Captain *Ynard*, who at that time was Sergeant Major onely. Monſieur *d'Aumale*, who was General of the horſe, came alſo, as did Monſieur *de Nemours* a few days after; and preſently after him Meſſieurs *d'Anguien*, and the Prince of *Conde*, Brothers, then Monſieur *de Montmorency*, who is now Mareſchal of *France*, and eldeſt Son of the Conſtable Monſieur *le Compte de Charmy*, and his Brother Monſieur *de la Rochefoucault*, having a great number of Gentlemen of very good quality in their Train, inſomuch that three Companies of foot being quarter'd in *Quiers*, the Mareſchal was conſtrain'd to diſlodge them to accommodate the Princes, and the Lords of their Train. Certainly there is not a braver Nobility in the world than the *French*, nor more ready to put foot in the ſtirrup for the ſervice of their Prince; but then you muſt take them in the heat. Certain days after their arrival the Mareſchal laid a deſign to go and take the Caſtle of *Lans*, which Garriſon very much infeſted the Road betwixt *Suze* and *Turin*, by reaſon of a valley that extends it ſelf from *Lans* to the high way, ſo that the Soldiers of the ſaid *Lans* were almoſt continually there, having a little Caſtle in the mid way, that ſerv'd them for a retreat. The Mareſcal then ſent for me to *Montcallier*, whither ſix weeks after my fall I had cauſed my ſelf to be conveyed in a litter: upon whoſe ſummons I made my ſelf to be ſet upon a little Mule, and with extreme pain arrived at *Quiers*, every day ſtriving by little and little to walk. Behold theſe were the ſucceſſes of the taking of *Quiers* and *St. Damian*, and I will now give an account of the taking of *Lans*.

The arrival of the *French* Nobility in *Piedmont*.

The Praiſe of the *French* Nobility.

The Mareſchal then, and all the Camp (wherein were all the above-named Princes and Lords) march't directly to *Lans*, and becauſe there are ſome of them yet living, who love me, and others that have an unkindneſs for me, I will come as near to truth as my memory will give me leave, to the end that thoſe who hate me, may have no occaſion to reprehend me, ſpeaking the truth; and that the reſt who love me, may take delight in reading what I have done, and call me to their remembrance, for the Hiſtorians I ſee mince the matter.

The Enterpriſe of *Lans*.

The Mareſchal with all the Camp went before, leaving me with five Enſigns of foot, and the Maſters of the Ordnance, Meſſieurs *de Caillac* and *du Noguy*, who were alſo at the taking of *Quiers*, to conduct the Artillery. The day after he departed from *Quiers* he arriv'd at *Lans* about noon, and we with the Artillery came up in the beginning of the night. The Bourg of *Lans* is large, and encloſed with ſcurvey walls; the Mareſchal took up his quarters in another Bourg, about a mile diſtant from the ſaid *Lans*, and round about him the *Gens d'Armes*, and all the Cavalry. All the Princes and Lords would be quarter'd in the Bourg of *Lans*, with ſome *French* and *Italian* Companies of foot, and particularly Monſieur *de Bonivet*, with his Colonel Company. At their arrival they went to the foot of the Mountain, on the right hand as you come out of the Bourg. The Sergeant Major had already got to the top of the ſaid Mountain behind the Caſtle round about which were very great precipices, and eſpecially behind it, where the Mareſchal was of neceſſity to go to take a view of the Place. There is nothing but precipice, ſaving in the front of the Caſtle, which looks towards the Town, and there were two great Bulwarks, and the Gate of the Caſtle between them. To plant the Artillery there, was only to loſe ſo much time, and to place it on that ſide by which we came, we ſhould be enforc't to point the Muſſel of the Canon upward, ſo that it could batter but one half of the wall,

Deſcription of *Lans*.

wall, and beſides we were to climb above a thouſand paces, with the greateſt difficulty imaginable; before we could come to the foot of the ſaid wall. On the right hand it was the ſame, and behind the worſt of all: for falling thence, a man ſhould tumble headlong a quarter of a mile down into the River. By reaſon of which great difficulty of bringing up Canon behind the ſaid Caſtle, where there was a little even plot of ſome twenty or five and twenty paces broad, the Enemy had made no other fortification on that ſide, ſaving that they had cut a paltry Ditch of about half a pikes depth in the Rock, with two Ravelins on either ſide, that flanckt the Ditch; and it had not been above three moneths before, that two of the Emperors Engineers had been there, and had declar'd, that it was not poſſible for all mankind to bring up Artillery, either by this ſide, or any of the others, if they did not plant it on the Town ſide, before the Gate of the Caſtle, which alſo would be ſo much labour loſt. The opinion of the Engineers.

The Mareſchal at his firſt arrival with all the Princes and Lords, and the Engineers he had with him, went to take a view of the backſide of the Caſtle, up an aſcent of above 300 paces, and as uneaſie ones as ever they went in their lives, where after they had diſcover'd, and remain'd above two hours upon the place, they all concluded it impoſſible to be taken. At night I came with the Artillery, when it was preſently told me, that the next day we were to return back again; at which I was very much daſht; but was ſo intolerably tormented with my hip, that I preſently threw my ſelf upon a Matrice, and ſaw not the Mareſchal that night; for he was gone back to his Quarters, very much diſpleaſed with ſome who before had repreſented the Enterpriſe ſo eaſie to him, and would undertake to bring it about, and yet when it came to the puſh concluded it impoſſible. In the morning he came again, and again went to view the place; but the more they lookt, the worſe they like't, and ſtill diſcovered greater difficulties than before. Juſt as I had din'd Meſſieurs *de Piquigny*, *de Touchepeid*, and *de Vinu*, came to ſeek me out, and told me, that the reſolution was concluded to return, and that I would not be unwilling to it, if I had ſeen the place, putting ſo many whimſies into my head, that they got me upon my little Mule, and carried me behind the ridge of the Mountain, where Harquebuz ſhots were very good cheap, unleſs a man took on the right hand towards the River, and there it was hard to paſs, and more hard to diſcover any thing; and both the Mareſchal and all the Princes had gone up, and come down at the mercy of the Enemies ſhot. Whom God defends is well defended. I have ſeen the time when a thouſand Harquebuz ſhot have been diſcharg'd within an hundred paces of me, and done me no harm: but we all four made ſuch ſhift, that at laſt we got up to the top, and they led me the ſame way by which the Mareſchal and all his Company had aſcended and deſcended before. The Sieur *de Montluc* goes to take a view of *Laus*.

I will here ſet down for an exemple to thoſe that ſhall follow after us, how I found the thing feaſible, and which way Canon was to be got up to this level; not however without very great difficulty: but how hard ſoever it appear'd to be, we concluded to bring up the Artillery to the top of the Mountain, and there to plant it in Battery. In the firſt place to look up from the foot of the Mountain to the height of it, was a perpendicular the Angels themſelves would have enough to do to climb; but I began to take notice, that making one advance of about an hundred paces, to a little place which might be ſome ten paces in circumference, that there we might have conveniency to reſt the Piece, for the little place was almoſt even. I then conceived that we might make another Stage, croſſing over on the left hand towards the Caſtle, to another little even ſpot, that was ſufficient to repoſe the Canon, and afterwards that we were to make another Stage, croſſing again to the right hand to another level ſpot; and from thence indeed we had the aſcent ſomething ſteep to the backſide of the Caſtle; but we ſhould before have got paſt all the Rocks and Precipices.

By all theſe three reſting-places we deſcended the Mountain in great danger of our necks, where I ſhewed them, that each of them was to undertake to advance the Canon from one repoſing place to another, all which they took eſpecial notice of, and afterwards remounted me upon my Mule; for before they had led me all the way under the Arms like a Bride, and ſo we went directly to the Mareſchal's Quarters, where I found them all ſet in Council, to take order for our return. So ſoon as I came into the room, the Mareſchal ſaid to me, *How now Monſieur* de Montluc, *where have you been? I have ſent for you twice to come to the Council, that you might hear the determination we have made to return. You muſt carry back the Artillery by the ſame way you came.* To which I made anſwer, *What Sir, will you return without taking this place, that is a reſolution unworthy Monſieur* de Briſſac? *I have been to view the place, and by the ſame way that you have view'd it your ſelf, and do aſſure you that we will bring up the Artillery to the top of the Mountain.* He then told me, that it muſt be God alone that muſt work

ſuch a miracle, for that it was not in the power of man to do it; to which I made anſwer, *that I was not God, and yet that I would undertake to bring them up.* He then ſaid to me, *yes in eight or ten days time perhaps with the help of Engines, and in the mean time* Don Ferrand, *who is at* Verſeil, *ſhall gather together all the Forces he can make, both in the field, and out of the Garriſons, and come to give us Battail, who has* 3000 *Germains, and I have neither Germans nor Swiſs to match him. Sir,* then (ſaid I) *I will pawn to you my life and my honour, in two mornings to plant you four Pieces of Canon ready mounted on the back ſide of the Caſtle*; notwithſtanding which he was ſtill harping upon the 3000 *Germains*; at which growing at laſt a little angry, I ſaid, *Do you make ſo great account of* Don Ferrand's *Germans? The Admiral has here ſix Companies commanded by Captain* Ynard, *Monſieur* de Bonnivet *ſhall give him four more of his, with which Enſigns he ſhall undertake to fight the* Germans, *and Monſieur* de Bonnivet *with the remainder of his ſhall fight the* Spaniards. *Our* Italians *will engage to fight theirs, and for Cavalry you have (reckoning the Train of the Princes) a third part more than* Don Ferrand. *If Captain* Ynard *had rather fight with the* Spaniards *than the* Germans, *Monſieur* de Bonnivet *and I will fight them, and let him take his choice.* To which Captain *Ynard* made anſwer, that he was ready to fight either the one or the other, as the Mareſchal ſhould pleaſe to appoint; Monſieur *de Bonnivet* alſo ſaid, it was all one to him, whereupon I ſaid, *and muſt we then make ſuch a piece of matter of the* Germans? *I dare lay a good wager of thoſe three thouſand, fifteen hundred have nere a tatter to their arſes, whereas our Soldiers have moſt of them breeches of Velvet and Satin, and think themſelves all Gentlemen. Seeing then themſelves ſo well clad as they are, ſhall they be afraid to fight with the* Germans? *let them but come to us once, and we ſhall handle them as we did at* Ceriſolles.

The S'eur *de Montluc's* conteſt in the Council.

Monſieur *de Montmorancy* then ſtood up, and ſaid, *Sir Monſieur* de Montluc *is an old Captain, methinks you ought to give credit to what he ſays*; to which the Mareſchal made anſwer, *You do not know him ſo well as I, for he will never think any thing impoſſible, and one time or another will make us loſe all*; whereupon I made anſwer again, *that where I ſaw a difficulty I fear'd my ſkin as much as another; but that in this I could diſcover no inconvenience at all.* Monſieur *de Nemours* then ſpoke, and ſaid, *Sir, let him have his own way for once, and ſee what he will do*; Meſſieurs the Prince of *Condé*, and Monſieur *d'Anguien* ſaid as much, and Monſieur *d'Aumalle* the ſame. Monſieur *de Gurnort* who is now Mareſchal of *France*, and Monſieur *de la Rochefoucaut*, the Count *de Charney*, the Sieurs *de la Fayette*, and *de Terride*, were all of the ſame opinion: which the Mareſchal ſeeing, ſaid, *Well Gentlemen, I perceive you have all a deſire that we ſhould play the fools; let us do ſo then, for I intend to let you ſee, that I am as great a one as any of you all.* And thus I got the victory againſt the whole Council.

A diſpute in the Council, concerning his advice.

Things being thus concluded I ſaid to Monſieur *de Nemours, Sir, it will be neceſſary that you Princes and Lords put your helping hands to this buſineſs, and lead the Soldiers the way, to the end that if you would ſhrink away, and avoid the great toyl and labour they are to undergo for the execution of the thing in queſtion, we may reproach them, that the Princes and Lords put to their hands before them.* In the mean time I told him, that it would do well if he ſo pleaſ'd, that he with his own Company ſhould take a Canon he himſelf had brought thither with him, and conduct it to the foot of the Mountain, who anſwer'd me, that he would very willingly do it. Now the Artillery was of neceſſity to be drawn thorough the Town, and they were moreover conſtrain'd to break three or four Corners of houſes, to draw them out, and alſo to level a little deſcent at the going out of the Town, from whence they fell into a plain way to the very foot of the Mountain upon which the Caſtle ſtood, about a thouſand paces diſtant from the City. I ſaid as much to Monſieur *d'Anguien*, and the Prince of *Condé*, who very readily conſented to take upon them the charge of other two, to whom alſo Monſieur *de Montmorancy* very frankly offer'd himſelf. As to the fourth piece of Canon, I cannot remember who it was, that undertook the care of that, for it was not Monſieur *d'Aumale*, being he was to go back to his Quarters to the horſe with the Mareſchal: but however it was they reſted not of all night, till by Torch-light they had brought the Artillery to the foot of the Mountain. But before they went out of the Council, I ſaid to Monſieur *d'Aumale*; *Sir, will you go along, and I will ſhew you which way we will get up the Artillery behind the Caſtle*, and *Sir* (ſpeaking to the Mareſchal) *I know you will not yet retire to your Quarters.* Monſieur *d'Aumale* then went willingly along with me, having only Monſieur *de la Rochefaucault*, the Signeur *Piquigny*, and my ſelf in company with him; who, though I was damnably plagu'd with my hip, nevertheleſs forc't my ſelf that they might ſee with their own eyes which way it was to be done. So ſoon then as we had aſcended the Mountain, and taken a view of the place, we returned back to the Mareſchal, who ſtayd expecting the ſaid Monſieur

The order about the Battery.

The Princes aſſiſt.

The Sieur *de Montluc* goes again to view the Caſtle of *Lans.*

ſieur *d'Aumale*, who at his coming told him that my reaſon was very good, and that no body had taken notice of what I had perceiv'd; nor obſerv'd thoſe reſting places in the Rock. All the Princes and Lords were yet in the Hall where the Mareſchal had din'd: where Monſieur *de Baſſé* at that time was, I do not certainly remember, for the Mareſchal ſent for him to come with his Company, and two French Companies more, with command to Captain *Tilladet*, and *Savallan*, to advance night and day, and come to joyn with him, which they accordingly did.

The next morning I went to ſee which way we were to get up this Mountain, without being gall'd by the ſhot from the Caſtle; and here I firſt diſcover'd five little loop-holes made for Harquebuzes only, to which we lay open and expoſ'd all the way we were to go: To countercheck theſe I intreated Captain *Ynard* to bring me three hundred Harquebuzeers of the beſt marksmen he had in all his Companies; which, ſo ſoon as they came we divided to be ſet ten to each loop-hole, who ſhot as they do at a mark one after another, and all open; and when the laſt of the ten had made his ſhot, the firſt always began again. There was in the Town a houſe higher than the reſt, from the roof of which one might play into the Caſtle, and all along the Curtain: but the Enemy, to ſhelter themſelves from this inconvenience, had nail'd ſeveral plancks one above another, in ſuch ſort that thoſe who were upon the top of the houſe could ſee nothing within the wall. Now theſe plancks were very thin, and before the beginning of the War I had put it into the Mareſchal's head to cauſe four hundred Harquebuzes to be forg'd at *Pignerol*, of a bore to carry point blank three or four hundred paces, of which he might diſtribute twenty to each Company, with order to the Treaſurers to allow twelve * Francks pay to ſuch as ſhould carry thoſe arms. Theſe Harquebuzes were already made, and diſtributed, wherefore I intreated Captain *Richelieu* (the ſame who was ſince Campmaſter) to place twenty of thoſe Haquebuzeers upon the ſaid houſe, to ſhoot through the Planks along the Curtine, whoſe ſhot broke thorough with as much eaſe as if they had been paper; inſomuch, that what with the Harquebuzeers, that from the top of the houſe playd along the Courtain, and what with the other who fir'd by tens againſt the loop-holes, the Enemy were in ſuch a condition, that not a man durſt venture to paſs to and fro on the inſide of the Curtain.

* A Frank, a Livre, and a Cardecue are twenty pence Engliſh.

We then deliver'd to every one of the three who had view'd the way up the Rock, twenty Pioneers and three Maſons, with great hammers and picks of iron, wherewith to break ſome Rocks that were in the way. And thus about eight a clock in the morning we began to work upon the way, which by two in the afternoon was brought to perfection, and at one of the clock in the night they began to mount the firſt Piece, with four-ſcore Soldiers of my company I had there with me (the reſt being left behind at *Montcallier*) which they alſo mounted. This Piece gave them more trouble than all the other three; for they were after ſo well acquainted with the way, that the reſt came up with much greater eaſe. Monſieur *de Piquigny* all the way carried a little Lanthorn to light the wheels of the Carriages, by the aim of which the Enemy began to ſhoot, but no ſhot ever toucht us. Meſſieurs *de Caillac* and *de Duno* were in the mean time buſie behind the Caſtle above, placing the Gabions, and filling them with earth; and as the Pieces were hall'd up to the top of the Mountain, they ſtill came to receive, and plant them in battery: but not a man ever put a hand to the drawing up of the foreſaid Canon but my Soldiers only; for although Monſieur *de Bonnivet* had brought one Company, and Captain *Ynard* another to aſſiſt them; yet would they not accept of their ſervice, but told them that they needed no help, and that ſince they had had the honour to hale up the firſt Piece, they would likewiſe have the advantage to bring up all the reſt: Which I was very glad of, becauſe they were already very perfect in all the turns, and by three of the clock in the morning all the pieces were planted ready to batter. The Mareſchal and *Monſieur d'Aumale* were by this time come from their Quarters, where I believe they had not ſlept much that night. The Mareſchal out of the fear he had that it was not poſſible to hale the pieces up, and Monſieur *d'Aumale* on the other ſide was in no leſs pain, foraſmuch as after he had viewed the place, he had aſſur'd him that I would infallibly mount them. The Princes and Lords, who had been at work the night before, took their reſt, till the Mareſchal ſent to rowſe them, which was not until Captain *Martin* (a Baſque, who had a Company in his own Regiment) came and aſſur'd him that he had ſeen the laſt piece brought up to the top of the Mountain: Which Captain *Martin* I do verily believe made that night fifty journeys to and fro, for the Mareſchal had ſent him almoſt every moment to ſee in what forwardneſs we were.

The Artillery mounted,

and planted in Battery.

The Mareſchal and all the Princes and Lords being come, they found that all the four Canon were ready mounted to begin the batter. I had cauſed half a Sack of a very excellent

cellent ſort of apples, four great leather Bottles of wine, and ſome bread to be brought to the place wherewith to refreſh my Soldiers: But firſt the Mareſchal, and after him all the Princes and Lords rob'd me of all my apples, and whilſt they ſtaid expecting the break of day, out of an ugly pot drunk two bottles of my wine. I leave thoſe who ſhall read this Hiſtory to judge, whether or no I did not ſwagger the Mareſchal, ſeeing he had ſo highly oppoſ'd me, about the bringing up of the Artillery. I think in my whole life I was never in ſo good a humour, as well in reſpect to the contentment I diſcover'd in the Mareſchal, as alſo in all the other Princes and Lords, who were preſent, and had all had their ſhare of the toyl. In the morning by break of day we made three or four volleys againſt the Wall, which pierc'd it, and thorough the Stables entred into the Baſe-Court, and from thence into the Lodgings of the Caſtle. The Mareſchal had alſo cauſed three pieces of Canon to be planted below, on that ſide by which we came, which batter'd upwards, only to terrifie the Enemy, for hurt they could do none: But ſo ſoon as our Artillery had given their three or four volleys, they began to ſound a parley, and preſently ſurrendred. The Mareſchal left Captain *Brueil*, brother-in-law to Monſieur *Salcede*, with his Company in Garriſon there, he being one of the Captains belonging to the Admiral; which being done, he march'd with all his Horſe and Foot towards the plain of *Calnge*, to ſee if *Don Ferrand* might not be upon his way to relieve the Caſtle: but he had there intelligence, that he was yet at *Verſeil*; whereupon the ſaid Mareſchal return'd to *Quiers*, and I return'd to *Montcallier*, where I fifteen dayes kept my bed of my hip, and do verily believe, that had I not ſo beſtirr'd my limbs in this action it had never been cur'd.

Laus ſurrendered.

This (fellow Captains) ought to teach you never to truſt one or two to diſcover a place, and without relying on your own judgment, to call thoſe to your aſſiſtance, whom you conceive to be men, not of the greateſt experience only, but moreover of the greateſt courage; for what one cannot ſee, another may perhaps diſcern. Neither muſt you refuſe to take pains, where you diſcover a little difficulty in the thing, in order to the execution of a brave exploit, and learn to be wiſe at your enemies expence. When you have taken up a reſolution to defend a place, take notice to ſmooth and cut off all the reſting places that ſhall happen to be in any of the avenues, for wherever Canon ſhall find ſuch places to repoſe in, as will allow the men time to pant, and take breath, they will in the end infallibly mount them. Neither without this convenience could I poſſibly have brought what I had undertaken to paſs. The taking of this place depriv'd the Enemy of a mighty advantage, and was very convenient for us in order to the proſecution of this War.

Some time after the Princes (ſeeing no likelihood of *Don Ferrand de Gonzaga*'s being drawn to a Battail, nor hearing of any preparation he made for the aſſaulting of any Town) return'd back to Court. And ſoon after their departure, the Mareſchal by the advice of Preſident *Birague*, Signior *Ludovico*, and *Franciſco Bernardin* deliberated to go take certain places about *Yvree*, to keep thoſe in *Yvree* the better in aw. He was a General every way worthy his Command, always in action, never idle; and I do think that ſleeping his fancy was evermore at work, and that he was ever dreaming of undertaking, and executing ſome notable enterprize.

The Character or Monſieur *de Briſſac* Mareſchal of *France*.

To the forementioned end we march'd with all the Army directly to *St. Martin*, wherein was a Company of *Italians*, and where the Caſtle was batter'd, and taken, together with the Caſtle of *Pons*, *Caſteltelle*, *Balpergue*, and ſome others about *Yvree*, and we began to fortifie the ſaid Caſtle of *St. Martin*. Now Meſſieurs *de Baſſé* and *de Gordes* had taken *Sebe*, wherefore ſo ſoon as the Fort of *St. Martin* was brought into a pretty good condition, the Mareſchal went to *Quiers*, that he might be nearer to Monſieur *de Baſſé*, to aſſiſt him in time of need; for he had already received intelligence, that *Don Arbro de Cendé* gathered together the Army in *Alexandria* (and I think *Don Ferrand* was at that time ſick) which made the Mareſchal doubt that he might have ſome deſign upon *Sebe*, and therefore left Monſieur *de Bonnivet*, Signior *Franciſco*, and me, making Signior *Ludovico* to retire to *Chevas*, and *Bourlengue*, to have an eye to thoſe places, of which alſo he was Governour.

Eight dayes were not paſt before the Mareſchal ſent orders to Monſieur *de Bonnivet*, and to me, that we ſhould march in all diligence day and night directly to *Montdevi*, with five or ſix French Companies we had at *St. Martin*, leaving Signior *Franciſco* to purſue the Fortification, which accordingly he did, marching night and day, as it was neceſſary we ſhould, for the Mareſchal was engag'd in *Sebe*, for the relief of Monſieur *de Baſſé*: but when *Don Arbro* heard of our coming, that we had drawn another Company out of *Savillan* by the way, and that he ſaw us arriv'd at the corner of the Town, he preſently drew off, and having recover'd a Bridg of brick, began to paſs over his Baggage; whether

whether Signior *Ludovico de Biraga* was with us, or no, I am not able to ſay, becauſe we had ſome Italian in our Company.

The Mareſchal ſeeing himſelf diſengag'd, ſallyed out of the Town with all the Forces he had brought with him, and went to attaque the Enemy at the Bridge, where it appeared *Don Arbro* had an intention to have encamped, for we there found many Huts, ready ſet up. The skirmiſh was great, and ſmart on both ſides; nevertheleſs I am of opinion, that had we charg'd him home horſe and foot and all, we had put him very hardly to't, and perhaps given him a ſhrewd blow; for after he had paſt the Bridge, he was to climb a ſteep mountain, where the way was ſo narrow, that they could only go one by one. But he made us know that he was a very able Soldier; for he firſt paſt over all his horſe, fearing that ours would charge and overturn them upon his foot, then he paſt over his *Germans*, and himſelf remain'd behind with a thouſand or twelve hundred Harquebuzeers, with which he ſtill made good the Bridge, by the favour of three houſes that ſtood at the end of it, which we could never gain from him, he having opened them ſo, that they flanck't and defended one another.

Don Arbro de Cende a brave Spaniſh Captain.

On the top of the Mountain there was a Plain that extended it ſelf to a little Town they held, being about the length of 1000 paces, or thereabouts, where he firſt cauſ'd his people to make a halt, and afterwards retyr'd. But at his departing from the houſes, we had thought to have fallen in amongſt them, which we alſo attempted: and there were in that place ſome men ſlain, both on the one ſide, and the other, and we continually followed in their Rear up the forementioned narrow path, ſtill plying them with our Harquebuz ſhot; for we ſaw not the preparation he had made for us on the top of the mountain. Meſſieurs *de Bonivet*, and *de la Moth Gondrin*, and I were all on horſe-back, and amongſt the Harquebuzeers to encourage them, when ſo ſoon as we came to the top, he gave us a charge with a 1000 or 1200 Harquebuzeers, which ſent us back with a rattle directly to the Bridge, and full drive upon the Mareſchal; Monſieur *de la Moth's* horſe was kill'd under him, and mine ſo hurt that he died five or ſix days after; and God was aſſiſting to us, in having put it into our minds, to draw our men into two diviſions, on the right and left hand of the way, though the aſcent was very difficult and ſteep, for by that means we loſt but very few of our men, whereas had we been all clutter'd together in the narrow path, we had received a very great defeat, and had our ſelves remained upon the place. Take notice of this (young Captains) when you ſhall happen to be in the like Ground, upon the like occaſion; for the old and circumſpect have been often ſnapt in ſuch places as theſe, and know well enough how to avoid them. The Mareſchal then withdrew with all his Army about *Sebe*, and the next day carried away the Canon, that Meſſieurs *de Baſſé* and *de Gordes* had brought along with them when they took it, leaving there three Companies, two French and one Italian, and ſo retired by *Montdevi* towards *Turin* and *Quiers*. How *Sebe* was after loſt I do not remember, but loſt it was, for we return'd a year after to recover it, when it was much better defended, and longer diſputed than before, as hereafter you ſhall hear.

Sometime after *Don Ferrand* ſet an Army on foot, by much exceeding all the forces the Mareſchal could make, he having neither Swiſs nor German Foot: wherefore (being advertized by the Signeurs *Ludovico de Birague*, and *Franciſco Bernardin*, that this Army was deſign'd for the retaking of *St. Martin*, and the other Caſtles we had taken before; and alſo to take *Caſſal*, ſome ſeven leagues diſtant from *Turin*, and to fortifie it, to the end that *Turin* might receive no relief from the mountains and valleys of *Lans*, and eſpecially from *Caſſal*, from whence we had moſt of the fruit and wood that was brought to *Turin*) So ſoon as *Don Ferrand's* Army was ready to march directly to *St. Martin*, the Mareſchal call'd a Council of his Officers to deliberate what he ſhould do concerning *Caſſal*, ſeeing it was neither fortified nor tenable: who amongſt them concluded to quit it, and to diſmantle it, though the diſmantling could ſignifie nothing; foraſmuch as *Don Ferrand* would ſoon have repair'd it again. I was the ſame night advertized at *Montcallier* of this determination, which was the reaſon that I went early the next morning to the Mareſchal to *Turin*, where I made bold to ask him if it were true, that he had taken a reſolution to abandon *Caſſal*, who told me, that yes, becauſe he could find no one, who would hazard his life and reputation in putting himſelf into it, and that therefore they had concluded in the Council, to put only one Company of Italian Foot into it, which was to ſurrender the Town ſo ſoon as they ſhould ſee *Don Ferrand* approach with an intention to attaque it. I then told him that that would ſignifie very little, for the Captain himſelf would however tell the Soldiers as much, to make them willing to ſtay; but that he muſt Garriſon it in good earneſt, and not after this manner. *And who* (ſaid he) *would you have ſo ſenſeleſs as to undertake the defence of it?* to which I made anſwer that

Monſieur *Briſſac* calls a Council at the approach of the Spaniſh Army.

I would be the man. He then told me that he had rather loſe the beſt part of his eſtate, than to ſuffer me to engage my ſelf in it, conſidering that the place could not in a years time be fortified to reſiſt Canon. To which I made anſwer, *Sir, the King doeſ entertain, and pay us for three things only: one to win him a Battail, to the end that he may overrun a great ſpace of ground, and ſubdue ſeveral ſtrong holds to his obedience; another to defend a Town; for no Town can be loſt, but a great deal of ground goes along with it; and the third to take a Town; for the taking of a Town brings a great number of people into ſubjection; all the reſt are only skirmiſhes, and rencounters, that ſignifie nothing to any body but our ſelves, to make us known unto, and eſteemed of our Superiors, and to acquire honor to our own particular perſons; for the King has by this no advantage at all, nor by any other effect of war, ſaving by the three forementioned ſervices; wherefore before this place ſhall be ſo quitted I will loſe my life in its defence.* The Mareſchal hereupon diſputed it very ſtrongly with me, to divert me from this intention; but ſeeing me reſolv'd, at laſt gave me leave to do as I would. He was a man that would be govern'd by reaſon, without relying too much upon his own judgment, as did Monſieur *de Lautrec*, who was ever obſerved to be guilty of that fault, as I think I have ſaid elſewhere.

The Sieur *de Montluc* undertakes the defence of *Caſſal*.

Deſcription of *Caſſal*.

Caſſal is a little City encloſed with a rough wall of Flints without any one Axler ſtone amongſt them; a Graffe that environs it, into which the water comes and goes, ſo that the Graffe can neither be made deeper, nor the water retain'd in any place, to be much above knee deep. There was no manner of Trench either within or without, neither were the four Flankers fill'd at all, ſo that the Enemy having once batter'd me a Courtain by the Canton, they might afterwards batter me in the flank. I demanded of the Mareſchal 500 Pioneers of the Mountain, which he ſent preſently to raiſe, ſo that within four dayes they were all at *Caſſal*: I demanded likewiſe a great number of Inſtruments, and iron Tools, wherewith to furniſh my Soldiers alſo for the work, which he alſo ſuddenly ſent me, together with great ſtore of grain, bacon, lead, powder, and match; I demanded moreover the Baron *de Chipy la Gard* (Nephew to the Baron *de la Gard*) *le Mas*, *Martin*, and my own Company. All theſe five Companies were exceeding good, and their Captains alſo; who having underſtood that I had made choice of them of my own accord, took it for a great reputation, and a high honour to them. I demanded of him alſo *le Gritti* a Venetian, who had a Company of Italian foot: all which were granted to me,

In the morning then I went to put my ſelf into it, and at night all the Companies arrived. Monſieur *de Gye*, eldeſt Son of Monſieur *de Maugiron* was there in Garriſon with the men at arms belonging to his Father, to whom the Mareſchal ſent order to march away, and to carry his Company to *Montcallier*: but he writ an anſwer back, that he had not continued ſo long in Garriſon at *Caſſal*, to abandon it at a time when a Siege was going to be laid before it, eſpecially when ſo old a Captain as I had undertaken the defence thereof, and that therefore he was reſolv'd there to live and die with me. The Mareſchal would not take this anſwer for currant pay; for the next day betimes in the morning he came himſelf to *Caſſal*, having Monſieur *d'Auſſun*, Monſieur *de la Mothe-Gondrin*, and the Vicount *de Gourdon* in company with him. I had there already aſſign'd all the Quarters for the Foot, without diſlodging the *Gens d'Arms*, foraſmuch as I ſaw Monſieur *de Gye*, and all his Company obſtinately reſolute to ſtay. And although the Mareſchal himſelf was come in perſon, yet could he never prevail with Monſieur *de Gye* to depart the Town, who plainly told him, that he, if he ſo pleaſed, might command his Company away from him, but for what concern'd himſelf, he was reſolv'd not to ſtir a foot; which was the reaſon that the Mareſchal returned very much diſſatisfied with himſelf, that he had granted me leave to take upon me the defence of that place, which was conceived to be ſo deſperate an undertaking, that Monſieur *de la Mothe-Gondrin*, and the Vicount *de Gordon* wept at parting with me, and all of them gave me over, as alſo did Preſident *Birague* himſelf, who is yet living, for loſt either in my life or my honour, and ſo after dinner they departed. At their going away I entreated the Mareſchal and all my Companions, that they ſhould no more come to ſee me, for I would not be hindred ſo much as a quarter of an hour from intending my fortification. I moreover deſired the Mareſchal to ſend me Colonel *Charomond*, who was at *Ribaulle*, to aſſiſt me in the ſaid fortification, with two Engineers which the ſaid Mareſchal had, one of which was ſlain at the taking of *Ulpian*, and the other is the Chevalier *Reloge*, who is now in *France*.

Monſieur *de Briſſac* viſits *Caſſal*.

The diligence of the Sieur *de Montluc* in the fortifying of *Caſſal*.

We began then to fill the four Cantons, each Captain of four having taken one, and afterwards divided the other two Companies to the four Courtains, and alſo the 500 Pioneers, for all the Inhabitants of the Town above ten years of age carried earth for the four

four Captains. But (that I may deprive no one of his due honour) I ſhall tell you that Monſieur *de Gye* had an Enſigne of *Dauphiné* called *Montfort*, and the *Guidon* Monſieur *de l'Eſtanc*, who being arrived at *Montcallier* in the Evening, began to conſider and lament their Captain's condition, inſomuch that all the Company mutiny'd, reſolving to go and dye with him, and never to ſtir from his ſide. Whereupon *l'Eſtanc* entreated the ſaid Captain *Montfort* to ſtay, for it might fall out that the Mareſchal would let them all go, when he ſhould ſee that one part were already gone; and to the end the Mareſchal might not be overmuch offended, that he ſhould keep with him all thoſe who were willing to ſtay; which being agreed betwixt them, the ſaid *Eſtanc* fearing leſt the Mareſchal ſhould have any inkling of his deſign, ſtole away at midnight, and was followed by the whole Company; for not a man ſave only two *Gens d'Armes* and three Archers would ſtay behind with the ſaid *Montfort*. They left their great horſes and arms, excepting their Cuiraſſes and pots, mounted themſelves each upon a little Curtal only, and leaving their Launces at their Quarters, took every one a Pike and a Footman, and ſo at ſun-riſe came to *Caſſal*, ſix miles diſtant from *Montcallier*. Monſieur *de Gye* and the Baron *de Chipy* had undertaken to Terraſs up the Gate, from whence they ſaw theſe people coming, and ſtood ſtill a good while to diſcover what they were, and then both ran out together to meet them. I ſaw by this that *Monſieur de Gye* was well belov'd by his Company, and he did very well deſerve ſo to be; for I dare boldly ſay he was one of the worthieſt and the braveſt Captains in *France*. Monſieur *de Montfort* went in the morning to the Mareſchal, and told him that he had loſt the *Guidon* and all the Company, who were ſtollen away by night to their Captain, and therefore begg'd his leave that he might follow after with two men at arms, and three Archers only that were left behind, which he would by no means permit him to do, but expreſly forbad him, and made him return back to *Montcallier*.

Commendation of Monſieur *de Gye*.

Now our order in the Town was thus, that every morning generally all, as well Captains, Soldiers, and Pioneers, as men and women of the Town, came every one before day upon pain of death to their work, which to compel them to I erected a Gallows, that they might ſee what they were to truſt to; and indeed I had, and have ever had ſo, a little ſcurvey Character of being liberal of the rope, ſo that there was not a man great nor ſmall who did not fear my Gaſcon humour and complexion. It being then winter, and in the ſhorteſt of days, they were to work from break of day till eleven of the clock, and then every one went to his dinner, and at twelve return'd again to his work, which he afterwards never left till it grew to be dark. As for their dinner, every one din'd of himſelf: but the ſupper was alwayes at my Quarters; or at thoſe of Monſieur *de Gye*, or at one or another of the Captains, every one in his turn. To which place conſtantly there repair'd all the Engineers and Commanders of the work, where if any one had not advanc't his work ſo much as another, I aſſign'd him either Soldiers or Pioneers, that by the next night his work might be as forward as his neighbours. Now my buſineſs was to run up and down every where on horſeback, one while to the Fortifications, then to thoſe who were ſawing the plancks at the Mill, of which I made a great many half a foot thick, and other poſts and beams of timber, that were very neceſſary for us. The water of this Mill did us great good ſervice, for by means of that the Saw never reſted; and the moſt part of the night I went by torch-light quite through the Town; one while I went out to the place where they digg'd the Turf, another while where they made the Gabions, then returned into the Town, and went the round within: afterwards I went out again to view all the places, and never reſted in a place, excepting at dinner, no more than the meaneſt Soldier in the Town, encouraging in the mean time all people to work, and careſſing all both ſmall and great.

The excellent order in the City of *Caſſal*.

I there learned what it is to take a buſineſs in hand where all people generally concur to the bringing a thing to paſs, as alſo what a maſs of people, ambitious to acquire honour in the place they have undertaken to defend, may do; and moreover that there is great praiſe to be obtain'd in ſo well ordering of things, and diſpoſing of time, that not ſo much as a quarter of an hour ſhall be ſpent in vain; and indeed a Commander ſhall never do any thing worthy ſpeaking of, if they be not all of one mind, and have not equally a deſire to come off from the Enterprize in hand, with great honour and reputation, as it was in this place. This (Captains) is a thing that principally depends upon you, if you have once got the knack to vvin the Soldier by a word, you ſhall do more than with a thouſand Baſtinadoes; it is true, that if there be ſome mutinous ſtubborn ſpirit amongſt them, vvhich gentle ways cannot reclaim, you are to make others wiſe at his expence. But I will return to Monſieur *de Gye*, who never ſtirr'd from the Gate with his *Gens d'Armes*, till it was fully and ſufficiently terraſſed both within and without; who there all of

them wrought as hard as the meaneſt common Soldier in the Town.

Oh (Captains) what a beautiful exemple you have here, if you pleaſe to obſerve it, when an occaſion ſhall preſent it ſelf, to undertake the defence of a place! I will moreover ſay that I had taken ſuch order, that there was not a morſel of bread eaten, nor a glaſs of wine drunk, but by weight and meaſure; and if you will take exemple by *Caſſal*, you ſhall not only be able to undertake the keeping of a Town, let it be as ill fortified as it will; but even a Meadow encloſ'd with no more than a contemptible ditch only, provided there be unanimity amongſt you, as there was here: for we had all one will, one deſire, and one courage, and the labour was a common delight to us all.

Now my good fortune was ſuch, that *Don Ferrand* gave to *Cæſar de Naples* the one half of his Army, almoſt all his Infantry, with a part of his horſe, to lead them to *Riverol* ſeven little miles from *Caſſal*, *Ulpian* being between; and the ſaid *Cæſar de Naples* ſtaid two and twenty days about the taking of *St. Martin*, and the other Caſtles. During this time I had by my great diligence put the Town into a good poſture of defence, and had cauſed great Trenches and Rampiers to be made behind all our Cantons, well terraſſed all the Gates, and gabion'd all the upper Gabions with a double row of Baskets, well reſolv'd to cauſe our ſelves to be ſoundly battered, and get a brave ſhare of honour. At laſt *Cæſar* having taken *St. Martin*, and the other Caſtles, arriv'd at *Riverol* with his Camp, where immediatly *Don Ferrand* called a Council to determine, whether he ought to attaque us, or to let us alone, conſidering the time I had had wherein to fortifie my ſelf, and that I had finiſht all the fortification I intended to make for my defence; where alſo he forgot not to put them in mind, that we were ſix Companies within, all reſolute to fight it out to the laſt; and that he doubted he ſhould loſe more valiant Captains, Spaniards, and Italians in the aſſault than the Town was worth, giving them an account withal of all that I had done within. The Spaniſh and Italian Captains, who were preſent at this Council, ſeeing the danger would fall upon them, cauſed it by their Camp-maſter to be remonſtrated, that the Emperor had there the beſt Officers he had in all *Italy*, and of whom he made greater account than of all the reſt, and that therefore they entreated *Don Ferrand* to reſerve them for a Battail, or ſome Enterprize of conſiderable moment, and not to expoſe them for the gaining of ſo trivial a place as that of *Caſſal*. There followed therupon a great diſpute, and three days the Council were in debate about this very buſineſs. *Cæſar de Naples*, and the Governor of *Ulpian* obſtinately maintain'd, that they ought to aſſault us; but the Spaniſh Soldiers who underſtood what *Cæſar de Naples* had ſaid, plainly told their Captains, that they might then go on to the aſſault with the Italians, if they ſo pleaſed, for as for them they would have nothing to do in the buſineſs, being reſolv'd to ſtand to what by their Camp-maſter had been propoſed. All theſe diſputes came to the Mareſchal's knowledge, after *Don Ferrand* was riſen from before *Riverol*, by Letters that he writ to the Preſident of *Millan*, which by ſome of Signior *Ludovico de Biragu*'s people were intercepted, and whilſt they were diſputing about a Town that was none of their own, the Mareſchal ſurpriz'd *Alba* from them by Meſſieurs *de la Mothe-Gondrin*, *Franciſco Bernardin*, and *de Panau*, the Lieutenant to his own Company, and ſome others whom I do not remember. The Mareſchal by break of day had notice of the ſurprize (for our people entred at eleven of the clock in the night) who preſently diſpatcht a footman of his to me with a Letter which contain'd theſe words. *Monſieur* de Montluc, *I have juſt now receiv'd intelligence that our deſign upon* Alba *has taken effect, and our people are within it, which is the reaſon that I am juſt now mounting to horſe to go thither in all diligence.* The Footman came to me about ten of the clock, and being the Governor of *Ulpian* detein'd a Trumpet of Monſieur *de Maugiron*, I ſent thither a Drum of Captain *Gritti*, to whom having ſhewed the Mareſchals Letter, I gave him charge to tell the Governor of *Ulpian*, that *Don Ferrand* could not better revenge himſelf for the loſs of *Alba*, than to come and attaque us at *Caſſal*. So ſoon as the Drum came to the Gates of *Ulpian* he found that the Governor was gone by break of day to the Council to *Riverol*, and therefore told the Soldiers at the Gate of the taking of *Alba*, at which they were ſo incenſ'd, that they would thereupon have kill'd him, and in order thereunto began to pinion and bind him; but the Governor in the interim arrived, to whom I ſent word, that he ſhould reſtore me my Trumpet, conſidering that we had always made fair war, and that he ſhould take heed of beginning to ſhew foul play; for our people alſo had given good quarter at *Alba*. The ſaid Governor then took the Drum from the Soldiers, and carried him to his lodging, where he told him, that if what he had ſaid concerning *Alba* did not prove to be true, he would hang him; to which the Drum reply'd, that provided he would give him but a Teſton, if it was true, he would be content to be hang'd if it prov'd otherwiſe. Whereupon the Governor return'd to horſe,

A conſultation of the *Spaniards* concerning *Caſſal*.

Alba ſurpriſed from the *Spaniard*.

A Bravado of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

horſe, and went again to *Riverol*, where they continued all night in Council, to conſider whether this news could be true, or no: but the next day arriv'd the Captain of the Caſtle of *Montcalvo*, who brought them certain intelligence from the Governor of *Aſt*, that *Alba* was certainly taken; which was the reaſon that the next morning *Don Ferrand* departed in all haſt, and went to paſs the River at the Bridg of *Aſture*, to go directly to the ſaid *Alba* to try if he could not recover it before the Mareſchal could have leiſure to better fortifie the place.

So ſoon as I ſaw my ſelf delivered from all apprehenſion of a Siege, I immediately ſent away my Pioneers to the ſaid *Alba*, who at that time ſtood the Mareſchal in very great ſtead. I did not there ſtay for a Command, and it is often neceſſary to do before we are bidden, provided there be no hazard in the caſe. Monſieur *de Bonnivet*, and *Santo Pedro Corzo*, with ſeven Enſignes put themſelves into it. Now of *Don Ferrand*'s arrival at the Bridge at *Aſture*, and of his paſſing over the River there, Monſieur *de Salvazon* who was Governor of *Berüe* gave me ſpeedy notice. I therefore ſodainly ſent away the Baron of *Chipy*, *la Garde*, and *le Mas*, who were the next morning by break of day at *Alba*, of whoſe coming the Mareſchal was exceeding glad, as alſo was Monſieur de *Bonnivet*, foraſmuch as they came from a place where they had undergone extraordinary labour in fortifying, hoping that theſe would ſhew others the way, as they alſo did. Monſieur *de Maugiron* would remain at *Caſſal*, becauſe it was a very commodious quarter for horſe; I there left Captain *Martin* with him, and ſent *le Gritti* to his Garriſon, and Colonel *Charamond*, and I went to wait upon the Mareſchal at *Turin*, who was then but newly return'd from *Alba*, and my Company went back to *Montcallier*. If I was welcome or no to the Mareſchal, or whether careſſ'd by Preſident *Birague*, and the whole Court of Parliament after ſuch a ſervice, I leave every one to judge.

The Sieur de Montluc ſends ſuccours to Alba.

When (Captains) therefore from any undertaking great profit and commodity may accrue, as there did from this (conſidering that *Turin*, had *Caſſal* been poſſeſt by the Enemy, would have ſuffer'd a mighty inconvenience) do not ſtick boldly to hazard your perſons for the defence of any place whatſoever. And when you ſhall be there, remember after what manner, and with what diligence I carried on my work; for by that means you ſhall make your Enemy afraid to attaque you. He is more afraid to aſſault, than you are to defend. He meditates and conſiders who are within, and that he has to do with men that know how to fortifie themſelves, which is no little advantage to a Soldier. It is true that *Cæſar de Naples* committed a great error in ſquandring away ſo much time about thoſe paltry Forts, and in the mean time giving us ſo much leiſure to fortifie; for had he come directly to us at firſt, he would have put us to our Trumps: but I think he was afraid. My good fortune alſo would have it, that *Don Ferrand* ſhould divide his Forces, who had he come to attaque us at the beginning, would have been the death of a great many good men; but we ſhould have ſold our skins very dear.

Now as *Don Ferrand* was at *Aſt*, in his way towards *Alba*, he there met intelligence that Monſieur *de Bonnivet* was very ſtrong within it, and that lately three Companies were entred into the Town of thoſe that I had at *Caſſal*, together with a great number of Pioneers, which made him enter into a very great debate, whether or no he ſhould go to *Alba*, as he did before at *Riverol* whether or no he ſhould go to *Caſſal*. After five or ſix days then he departed from *Aſt* with all his Cavalry to go take a view of *Alba*, where, after he had ſpent a whole day in diſcovering the place, he went to ſit down before *St. Damian*, having been told, that the Mareſchal had taken thence almoſt all the amunition of powder, bullet, and match, to put into *Alba*, and had given order to ſome one to lay in as much more; but oftentimes the ſloth and negligence of men intruſted with the care of affairs occaſion very ſignal diſadvantages; I never ſaw man that was ſlow about his buſineſs, idle or negligent in war, that ever perform'd any great matters; neither indeed is there any thing in the world, wherein diligence is ſo much required. A day, an hour, nay a minute is enough to make the braveſt enterprizes vaniſh into air.

Delays and negligence ruinous to Martial affairs.

Now the Mareſchal conceived that *Don Fernand* was more likely to put himſelf into *Carmagnolle* to fortifie the Town, and to take the Caſtle, than to make any attempt upon any other place, believing *St. Damian* to be repleniſht with powder, and therefore came himſelf thither to take order for the ſecurity of that Fort, where Monſieur *de Baſſé* who was Governor of the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, would undertake the defence of the place. The Mareſchal then went to *Carignan*, leaving me with the ſaid Sieur *de Baſſé* to aſſiſt him in putting proviſion and ammunition into the Caſtle, which he did at the requeſt of Monſieur *de Baſſé* himſelf, and the very ſame day that the Mareſchal departed from us, he had intelligence by a letter from Meſſieurs *de Briquemaut*, and *de Cavigny*, that the Enemy was ſet down before *St. Damian*, and that they therefore entreated him to relieve

The Siege of St. Damian.

relieve them with powder, bullet, and match for the Harquebuzeers, they having not received that which he had promiſed, and taken order for; at which the Mareſchal was the moſt highly concern'd imaginable, and immediately ſent thither ſix loads of powder, and four of bullet, with a proportionable quantity of match, ſending order to the Governor of *la Ciſterne* (a Fort two little miles diſtant from *St. Damian*) who had three Companies of Italians in Garriſon with him, that he ſhould by all means venture that night to put thoſe ammunitions into the Town. Monſieur *de Baſſé*, and I had already heard that the Camp was ſet down before *St. Damian* by the ſame Meſſenger that carried the news to the Mareſchal, he being of neceſſity to paſs by *Carmagnolle*, as alſo did this ammunition, three or four hours after, which was in the cloſe of the Evening. Monſieur *de Baſſé* and I exhorted him who had the conduct of the Ammunition to remonſtrate to the Captains, that the powder muſt of neceſſity be put into the Town that very night; for otherwiſe it could not be poſſibly convey'd into it; and that he who undertook the conduct of it, was likewiſe to enter in himſelf: but we found the fellow ſo cold in the buſineſs, that we very well perceiv'd he would do no good: It is very eaſie to diſcover by a mans countenance if he be afraid or no, and whether he have the heart to execute what he hath undertaken; and we ſaw ſo much by this fellow, that we were rather afraid he ſhould diſhearten the Captains when he came to *la Ciſterne*, than any wayes encourage them to the Enterprize enjoyn'd; which made me reſolve to go my ſelf, to try by this relief to ſave the place, and Monſieur *de Baſſé* would that Monſieur *de Claſe* his eldeſt Son, with ten men at arms, he being Lieutenant of his own Company, ſhould go along with me.

A mans courage is to be known by his countenance.

At one of the clock at night then we departed, and by eleven the next day came to *la Ciſterne*, where I found the Governor and his Captains in a great perplexity, forming a great many difficulties about the conduct of this Ammunition, and which way it was poſſible to be convey'd into the Town; and in truth they had ſome reaſon ſo to do; For *St. Damian* is a little place, and *Don Ferrand* had in his Camp 6000 Germans, 6000 Italians, and 4000 Spaniards, 1200 Light-horſe, and 400 men at arms, and all theſe were encampt cloſe by the Town, about which the Court of Guards in a manner toucht one another, ſo that to carry it into the Town upon the horſes that had brought it to *la Ciſterne* had been impoſſible, for it was a ſnow knee deep, and all the wayes were full of Soldiers Huts. But I preſently cauſed a great many Sacks to be brought me, and made them to be cut each Sack into three parts, which by certain women, who were ready for the purpoſe, were handſomely ſowed together again, and into theſe bags I put the powder. I then got together thirty Country fellows, upon whom I cauſed the powder and bullet to be tyed, with the match at their Girdles, and gave to each of them a good ſtaffe in his hand to ſupport him. Monſieur *de Briquemaut*, the Governor of *St. Damian*, had ſent ſix Swiſs of his Guard out of the Town, who could not get in again, and ſo hapned to be at *la Ciſterne*, who alſo took their ſhare of the Ammunition.

Monſieur *Montluc* undertakes to relieve *St. Damian*.

Being then ready to ſet out, there arrived the Seigneurs *de Pied-de-fou*, and *de Bourry* (who I am told is ſince turn'd Hugonot) *de St. Romain* (Nephew to Monſieur *de Fayette*) and three or four Gentlemen more, who were going to put themſelves into the Town, and alighting put themſelves on foot, and ſent back their horſes. The Mareſchal had writ to two of the Captains, who were at *la Ciſterne*, that they ſhould attempt to put the powder into *St. Damian*; which ſaid Captains were old Soldiers, which made me that I had no great hopes of their doing any thing to purpoſe; for whoever would execute a hazardous enterprize, and where there is like to be good ſtore of blows, muſt of all things take heed of employing an old Captain and an old Soldier, for as much as they too well underſtand the peril, and too much apprehend the danger of death, ſo that you ſhall ſeldom have any good account of their undertaking, as I have found by experience both in this, and upon other occaſions: whereas a young fellow is not ſo apprehenſive of his danger (it is true that there ought to be conduct in the caſe) and will eaſily undertake any execution where diligence is required; he is prompt and active, and his youthful heat enflames his heart, which in old men is often cold and bloodleſs.

An old Soldier fears death.

About two hours after midnight they departed, and ſo ſoon as they were gone out of the Town, I went up to a Platform hard by the Gate, from whence I could diſcover the Enemies whole Camp, excepting a little on the other ſide of the Town; and in the mean time ſent out the Governors Lieutenant to give an allarm on the left hand by the Springs, which ſignified very little, the Enemy making very ſmall account of it. So ſoon as our people were arriv'd at a little eminence near to the City, from whence they might diſcover all the fires, and even the men by the light of them, one of the Italian Captains ſaid to Monſieur *de Pied-de-fou*, and the reſt. *Vedete il Campo, Ecco la Cavalerie, ecco la Gendarmerie*

The relief cannot get into *St. Damian*.

darmerie, ecco li Tudeſci, ecco li Eſpaniolli, ecco li Italiani (pointing to them with his finger) *non ſi intrareble una Gatta, biſogna tournar en dietro. Behold the Camp, ſee yonder the Cavalry, ſee the Gens d'Armes, ſee the Germans, ſee the Spaniards, ſee the Italians, a Cat cannot poſſibly get in*; and therefore 'tis convenient to turn back again. All this while I remain'd upon the Platform, with my pain in my hip, which plagu'd me to death, of which I was not yet cur'd, nor of two years after.

Behold then at break of day all our people return'd, where they gave me an account of what they had ſeen, which gave me trouble, but no ſatisfaction; wherefore I preſently diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger poſt to the Mareſchal (who knew nothing of my being at *la Ciſterne*, but believ'd me to be at *Carmagnolle* with Monſieur *de Baſſé*) to whom I gave an account of all that had paſt, and withall ſent him word, that he was not to hope that theſe Captains would ever put the powder into *St. Damian*; for that I had already prov'd the contrary, entreating him therefore to ſend away poſt to *Montcallier* to Captain *Charry* who carried my Enſign, that he ſhould forthwith come away with fifty of the beſt Soldiers I had, to wit, thirty Harquebuzeers, and twenty Pikes, and that he ſhould not fail to be at *la Ciſterne* by midnight. The Mareſchal wondred to hear that I was there, and preſently diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger poſt to Captain *Charry*, to whom I had alſo writ a word or two in haſte to the ſame effect.

This valiant young man, full of ſpirit, and good inclination to the ſervice, needed not to be intreated twice, but immediately came away with his fifty men, and about an hour after midnight came to *la Ciſterne*, where I had in a Cellar prepar'd three or four good Charcole fires, and a long Table full of meat, having lockt up the Country fellows on the one ſide, whom whilſt the Soldiers drank and made good cheer, I cauſed to be loaden, together with the Swiſs, and would no more ſpeak to the Italian Captains to go with Captain *Charry*, ſave only that I entreated one of them to lend me his Enſign called *Pedro Antonio*, a vain young Coxcomb, whom I had known at *Montcallier*, and had there twice laid him by the heels for miſdemeanors he had committed in the Town. I took him then aſide, and ſaid to him, *Pedro Antonio, I will do thee more honor than thy Captain; thou haſt ſeen what a fault thy Countrymen laſt night committed, in not ſtriving to enter into the Town, from whence you all return'd with a company of pitiful excuſes. For my part I am a man that take no excuſe in payment; where the loſs of a Town, and the men of honour within it, are in concern. I know thou haſt courage enough, but thou art not wiſe; and if thou wilt now give a teſtimony of thy diſcretion, as thou haſt at other times done of thy valour, I do engage to thee my word to make the Mareſchal give thee a Company, and thou haſt now an occaſion offers it ſelf, wherein to let him ſee, that as thou art bold to execute, thou art alſo prudent to command. I will therefore that thou take fifty men of thy Captains Company, to whom I will preſently ſpeak to deliver them to thee, and at thy going out of the Town I will place all the Peaſants and the Swiſs that carry the Ammunition in the midſt of the fifty Soldiers, and will moreover that thou take three Sergeants, which I will alſo cauſe to be delivered to thee, to place one in either Flanck, and one behind, to the end that they may encourage the Soldiers to follow thee, and have an eye that the Peaſants do not ſteal away: but when Captain* Charry *ſhall attaque a Court of Guard, paſs thou on without ſtaying to fight, unleſs any one oppoſe thy way, and make ſtill forwards, whether thou meet any oppoſition or no, until thou comeſt to the very gates of the City.* He hereupon return'd me anſwer in Italian. *Credete Signior, Chio la faro a pena di Morir, & voi connoſcerete che Pietro Antonio ſara divinuto Saggio*; Whereupon taking him in my arms, I ſaid to him. *Io ti prometto ancora, che io mi recordero di te, & che ti ſera recognoſciuto il ſervitio; no mi mancar di gratia, io ti giuro per la noſtra Madonna ſe tu non ſai chello che un huomo de bene debbe fare, io ti farro un tratto de Monluco. Tu ſa come io ho manegiato non ſuono quindeci die uno delle nuoſtri facendo d'il poltrone, Io non dimando ſino un puoco di prudenza con preſtezza.* And indeed he kept his promiſe with me, and carried himſelf very diſcreetly in the action. The Captains gave him whatever he deſired, being glad themſelves to be rid of the employment; I alſo entreated *Pied-de-fou*, and the reſt before named, that ſince they were reſolv'd to put themſelves into the Town, they were to do it ſo as to be aſſiſting to the conſervation of the place, and not to loſe themſelves together with all thoſe who were within it; foraſmuch as the preſervation of the ſaid Town conſiſted only in ſupplying it with ammunition, and that therefore it would be neceſſary that they ſhould divide themſelves, ſome into the Flancks, and others into the rear, to the end that whilſt Captain *Charry* ſhould be fighting, they might encourage *Pedro Antonio*'s men to go on; which they accordingly did.

Captain *Charry* undertakes the relief of *St. Damian.*

A diſcourſe of the Sieur *de Montluc* to *Pedro Antonio.*

All of them therefore having received their inſtructions from me what every one was to do, as well Italians and Peaſants, as my own Soldiers; they all in the order preſcrib'd, marcht

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marcht out of the Town; when going out at the Gate, I told Captain *Charry* in the hearing of all my Soldiers, that I would never ſee him more, if they did not enter, or die upon the place, as many as were of my Company; to which he made anſwer, that he only deſir'd me to go to my reſt, and that I ſhould preſently hear news of him. In truth he was a Soldier without fear. In his Company there was a Corporal of mine called *le Turk*, a Picard by birth, who ſaid to me, *What do you make a queſtion of our entring into the Town? Par la mort bieu, we ſhould have ſpent our time and our blood very well, having above an hundred times fought with you, and ever remain'd victorious, if we ſhould now ſtand ſuſpected to you*; at which I leapt about his neck, and ſaid to him theſe words. *My Turk, I do aſſure thee upon my faith, I think ſo worthily of you all, that I am confident if any men upon earth can enter, you will do it*; and ſo they departed, and I went to place my ſelf again upon the Platform, where I had ſtood the night before, and the Captain of the Watch kept me company.

Relief put into *St. Damian.*

About two hours after I heard a great alarm on that ſide by which our people were to enter, and ſeveral volleys of Harquebuzſhot: but they continued but a very little while, which put me into ſome fear that our men might be repulſed, or at leaſt that that the Peaſants were run away: who ſo ſoon as they were come to the eminence where the Italian Captains had told them, that a Cat could not get in, they made a halt. There the Guides ſhewed them the Courts of Guard, from which, by reaſon of the exceſſive cold and the ſnow, the Centinels were not twenty paces diſtant. Captain *Charry* then called Meſſieurs *de Pied de-fou*, *Bourg*, *St. Romain*, and *Pedro Antonio*, to whom he deliver'd two Guides, reſerving one for himſelf, and ſaid to them, this is the laſt Coure of Guard of foot, for the reſt are all horſe, which can do no great matters by reaſon of the ſnow; ſo ſoon therefore as you ſhall ſee me attaque this Court of Guard, run on as faſt as you can, and ſtop not for any thing you ſhall meet in your way, but make directly to the Gate of the City; who thereupon all of one accord ſet themſelves in a poſture to charge through. Captain *Charry* then drew near to the Court of Guard, which he put to rout, and overturn'd upon another Court of Guard, and both of them betook themſelves to flight; which being done he paſt on forward ſtraight to the Gate of the Town, where he found *Pedro Antonio* already arrived, and where they immediately delivered their Ammunition, without making any longer ſtay than whilſt Meſſieurs *de Chavigny* and *Briquemaut* embrac't Captain *Charry*, entreating him to tell me, that ſince I was at *la Ciſterne*, they thought themſelves certain to be reliev'd with all things they ſhould ſtand in need of, and that it would be very neceſſary to ſend them in ſome more Ammunition: but whilſt the Enemy buſied themſelves about taking the Soldiers of the Guards that were run away (of which a Captain was the next day hang'd) Captain *Charry* and *Pedro Antonio*, with their Peaſants, taking them in this diſorder, charg'd them thorough and thorough, and came clear away. I there loſt not ſo much as one Soldier, either French or Italian, neither was there any one hurt, not ſo much as Peaſant, but all arrived ſafe at *la Ciſterne*, it being fair broad day, where they found me ſtill upon the Platform. I hereupon immediately ſent away a diſpatch to the Mareſchal to entreat him to ſend me ſome more powder, for bullet and match they had enough already, which he alſo ſpeedily did from *Quiers*: to which place he was remov'd, that he might be nearer to me.

The Character of Captain *Charry.*

Behold the age a Captain ought to be of, to whom you ſhould entruſt the execution of a hazardous and ſudden enterprize, and I can affirm with truth, that theſe hundred years there has not died a braver, nor a more prudent Captain for his years than Captain *Charry* was, and am aſſur'd, that Monſieur *de Briquemaut* will ſay the ſame, though he be of the Religion of thoſe by whom he was ſince aſſaſſinated at *Paris*. The manner of his death I have nothing to do to meddle withall; for the King, the Queen, and all the Princes of the Court, knew it well enough, and beſides it was ſo foul an act, that I will not blot my Paper with the relation, and I am ſure very unworthy a Frenchman. When I loſt him, together with Captain *Montluc* my Son, who was ſlain at the Iſland of *Madera*, belonging to the King of *Portugal*, it ſeemed to me that my two arms were lopt off from my body, the one being my right, and the other my left. He had ever bred up Captain *Montluc* from the age of twelve or thirteen years, and wherever he went had this young boy evermore hung at his Girdle: Neither could I have put him to a better Tutor, to teach him the trade of War: and in truth he had retein'd a great deal of his precept, inſomuch that I may without ſhame ſay (although he was my Son) that had he liv'd he would have made a great Soldier, daring, and diſcreet; but God was pleaſed to diſpoſe otherwiſe of him. I ſhall therefore leave this diſcourſe (which extracts tears from mine eyes) to purſue my former ſubject.

The Character of Captain *Montluc.*

Monſieur

Monſieur *de Briquemaut* ſent me word by Captain *Charry*, that they had no Engineers within, nor any one that underſtood where a Gabion was fitly to be placed, with which he deſired me to acquaint the Mareſchal, entreating me moreover to ſend back to him Captain *Charry*, and my fifty Soldiers, whom he eſteemed as much as the beſt Company he had in the Town, in return of which kindneſs he would be my ſervant for ever; which I did. Monſieur *de Gohas* that now is, was at that time one of my Company, and one of the fifty, though he was then but 17 years of age, it being in the beginning of his arms. The Mareſchal therefore ſent away poſt to *Alba* for the Engineers that were there, of which the Chevelier *Reloge* was one. So ſoon as Captain *Charry* returned back from *St. Damian*, the Pikes took the Powder, and hung it at their own Girdles, as the others had done before, and would have no convoy at all, but took their way a little on the right hand on that ſide where the horſe lay, where they charg'd through, and without the loſs of one man got ſafe into the Town; for Captain *Charry* was a man that underſtood his buſineſs very well. So ſoon as he was got in, he entreated Meſſieurs *de Briquemaut*, and *de Chavigny*, to entruſt him with the defence of the Ditch, which they immediately did, and he there covered himſelf with loggs of timber, planks, and Gabions after the beſt manner he could, and ſo ſoon as ever the Guides returned back to me, I ſent away to the Mareſchal to give him an account of all, beſeeching him to ſend me Captain *Caupenne* my Lieutenant, with another fifty of my Soldiers, which he did, whom two days after his arrival I made venture to carry ſome more powder to the beſieged. He went on that ſide where the *Gens d'Arms* lay, where the Enemy had now placed a Court of Guard of foot, who were aware of him at diſtance enough, and did all they could to ſtop his way: which notwithſtanding he made ſhift to lay down the powder upon the edge of the ditch of the Gate, and by him the forenam'd Seigneurs ſent me their ſervice, withall deſiring me to aſſure the Mareſchall, that the place was no more in danger of being loſt, foraſmuch as they now had every thing they needed or deſired. The Baron *de Chipy* who was with Monſieur *de Bonivet* at *Alba*, would afterwards try to put ſome powder into the Town, by that ſide towards the ſaid *Alba*, and accordingly charg'd after the ſame manner that mine had done: but he loſt his powder, and Peaſants, and almoſt all his Soldiers, at leaſt to fourteen or fifteen only who charg'd thorough with him, and got into the Town. *There is luck in all things.*

Captain *Caupenne* carries powder into *St. Damian.*

The Baron *de Chipy* enters into *S. Damian.*

Now the Camp lay ſixteen or ſeventeen dayes before the Town, and the Battery continued for ſeven dayes, in which time *Caſar de Naples* had wrought two Mines which were carried on under the Ditch towards the Breach, and were already brought up almoſt to the wall. A Pioneer running away from the Enemy was taken by our Italians, who told me all, and whom ſo ſoon as it grew to be dark I deliver'd to Captain *Mauries*, (who was at that time my Serjeant, and in this laſt war Serjeant Major to Monſieur *de Montferrand* at *Bourdeaux*) who bound him, and would take no more but one Soldier only to guide him, with which he carried the buſineſs ſo well, that he met but two Centinels by the way, who alſo ſodainly retyr'd to their Court of Guard, inſomuch that he paſt without any difficulty at all, and carried the Pioneer into the Town, where he remained all night, and ſo ſoon as it was fair light day, Meſſieurs *de Cavigny*, and *de Briquemaut*, carried him upon the wall of the Battery, from whence he might diſcover the place where the Mine lay. They then preſently deſcended into the Ditch, and began to dig and ſcrape, ſo that they preſently found the holes, and as we after underſtood, miſt but very little of trapping *Caſar de Naples* there, who was come thither to view the Mine. Now the two laſt dayes they made a very great Battery, and *Don Ferrand* had cauſed a great number of Bavins to be made, which by the Spaniards, Italians, and Germans were thrown into the Ditch, having cut the Counterſcarp in two or three places; but as many as they threw in, Captain *Charry*, who lay in the Ditch, conveyed into the Town through a hole they had made under the breach, ſo that thinking the ſaid Ditch to be fill'd, they ſent to diſcover in open day, being all drawn up in Battalia, ready to go on to the Aſſault: but they found all was gone, and not a Fagot left in the Ditch, which made them ply the Battery for two days with wonderful fury, and moreover part of the night by the light of the Moon; when after all, ſeeing the good countenance of our people within, and that neither their Mines, nor their Bavins had done them any good, they reſolv'd at laſt not to attempt an aſſault, but to raiſe the Siege and depart. The laſt night that they gave over the Battery I made Captain *Maurles* again venture into the Town, who heard the riſing of the Camp, and the drawing off the Artillery, for Meſſieurs *de Cavigny*, and *de Briquemaut* would not let him depart, till he were firſt aſſur'd of the truth, that he might bring me certain news; and ſo he paſt and repaſt at his eaſe, without encountring any one perſon, foraſmuch as all the Camp was already in Battalia, and gone

The Mines at *St. Damian* diſcover'd.

The Siege of *St. Damian* raiſed.

gone from their Huts. So ſoon as he return'd to me, which was about two hours before day, I immediately diſpatcht him away upon very good horſes to the Mareſchal, whom he found yet in bed, becauſe he had not ſlept one wink of all night, having been all day with Preſident *Birague*, and Signior *Franciſco Bernardin* upon the ſhoar of *Quieras*, where from two of the clock in the afternoon, having obſerv'd the Artillery to ceaſe, and having ſtaid till one of the clock at night, without hearing any thing at all, they all concluded the place to be taken, or ſurrendred; but in the morning, a little after ſun-riſe, and juſt as his man had open'd his Chamber door, when Captain *Mauries* ſtept in, and told him the news, I leave you to judge how he was overjoy'd. And ſent me word to come ſpeedily away to him.

The Sieur *de Montluc* goes to *St. Damian*, and narrowly eſcapes.

Now you muſt know I here plaid the part of a young Captain; for ſo ſoon as Captain *Mauries* had told me that the Enemy's Camp was riſing, I went in all haſt to *St. Damian*, where ſo ſoon as Captain *Charry*, who was upon the wall ſaw me coming, he ſallied out with my other Soldiers, which I had afterwards cauſe to be ſorry for. The Enemy had clapt themſelves down flat upon their bellies behind a little hill, and had left fifteen or twenty fair to be ſeen; a ſight by which I was ſo tempted, that I muſt needs forſooth go and charge them, and did ſo; but ſo ſoon as I came within four paces of the reſt, they all ſtart up and charg'd me on all ſides, and followed banging up my Rear to the very walls of the Town, which reliev'd me (in good time for me) with good ſmart volleys of Harquebuz ſhot from the wall, and there Captain *Charry* was wounded, and taken, and had it not been for my Lieutenant whom I had left at the Gabions, they had cut me, with all the fifty Soldiers of Captain *Charry*, to pieces. I loſt ſeven or eight men, of which three were ſlain, and Monſieur *de Gohas* was once round encloſed, but afterwards eſcap't. The joy I was in to ſee the Siege raiſed, and the great mind I had to get ſome priſe of the Enemy, were the occaſions of this ridiculous ſally of mine. This being done, after I had ſeen Meſſieurs *de Chavigny*, and *de Briquemaut*, I returned back to *la Ciſterne*, and the ſame night went to *Quiers*, where I was as much welcom'd by the Mareſchal, and all thoſe who were with him, as any man in the world could be. Which ſaid Mareſchal preſently diſpatcht away Monſieur *de Biron* to the King, to carry his Majeſty news of the iſſue of this Siege, entreating of him the place of a Bedchamber man for me; and moreover at my great inſtance and importunity (and being I was eternally tormented with my hip) was pleaſed to diſcharge me of my Office of Camp-maſter, though it was a requeſt very unpleaſing to him: but to gratifie me in whatever I would ask of him, he was willing to content me in that particular. And the ſaid Seigneur *de Biron* being at Court, the King would not transfer to any one the ſaid Office of Camp-maſter, till firſt he ſhould be better enformed whom he ought to give it to: and therefore ordered that the Mareſchal ſhould name one, Monſieur *de Bonivet* another, and I a third: I therefore nominated Monſieur *de Chipy*, which was the reaſon that the ſaid Sieur *de Biron* continued very long at Court, becauſe of the diſpatches to and again, that he was enforc't to make, during which I ſtill continued Camp-maſter, till the return of the ſaid Seigneur *de Biron* (who at that time carried the Mareſchal's Guidon) who brought me my diſcharge, his Majeſty having transferred that command to the Baron *de Chipy*, whom I had nam'd, and alſo brought me the place of Gentleman of his Majeſties Bedchamber, for he would not depart till he had firſt ſeen me inroll'd in the room of one of the old ones that was vacant, and moreover brought me a Patent for the Government of *Alba*, which I never dream't of, and leſs imagin'd, that the King ſhould prefer me to three or four others, in whoſe behalf the Mareſchal had written to him. Behold the ſervices I perform'd for the King, and the Mareſchal his Lieutenant, all within fifteen or twenty dayes of one another.

Captain *Charry* taken priſoner.

The Sieur *de Montluc* quits his office of Camp-maſter.

Happy (fellows in arms) is he who ſerves his King under a General who will not conceal the merits of ſuch as perform any remarkable exploit, which Monſieur *de Briſſac* would never do: for never did any man under his command do any handſome thing, or any the leaſt action which he thought worthy his Majeſties knowledge, but he did forthwith give him notice of it: he was a Gentleman that would not cloath himſelf with the ſpoils of another man's honor, nor conceal the bravery of any from the greateſt to the leaſt. When therefore it ſhall pleaſe God that you are employ'd under ſuch a General, fear not to hazard your lives, and employ all your vigilance and diligence to do them the beſt ſervice you can, if you have an intention to advance your ſelves by your arms and virtue, if not, get you home, and never meddle with the practice of Arms. 'Tis an extreme grief and diſappointment to a man, when he ſhall have expoſed his life for the atchievment of honor, to have his name then conceal'd from his Prince, from whom we are to expect the reward of our fidelity and valour. There is no theſe

comparable

comparable to that of robbing another man of his honor, and yet Generals for the moſt part make no conſcience of it.

During the time that Monſieur *de Biron* remained at Court, I ſtill continuing Camp-maſter, as has been ſaid before, and in the beginning of *June* when corn began to ripen, *Don Ferrand* would not ſuffer the great Army he had to lye idle, but at the perſwaſion of Monſieur *de Trinitat*, Brother to the Count *de Benne*, would go lay ſiege to *Benne*, the ſaid Monſieur *de Trinitat* adviſing him to cut off the water which turned certain Mills within the Town, ſaying that they had not within corn nor meal to ſerve them for a moneth, and moreover aſſuring him, that he would get him a pay for the Army, by cutting the corn that was now almoſt ready for the Sickle, which he would preſently cauſe to be thraſht up by 300 Peaſants he would take along with him for that purpoſe, knowing very well that thoſe of *Langues*, and *de Berniſſe la Paille* would be ready to buy it, and that ſo in a moneths time the Town would be ſurrendred without one Canon ſhot. The Siege of *Benne*.

Monſieur *de Savoy*, who was then very young, that being his firſt ſally into Arms, was at this time with the Army, and they came to ſet down their Camp within a mile of *Benne*, upon the Banks of a River that was there, of which they ſo turned the current, that not ſo much as one drop came into the Town. Now, by ill fortune, the Mareſchal had ordered a Governor (whoſe name I ſhall forbear) to cauſe twelve hundred ſacks of corn and meal, half of the one, and half of the other, to be brought into this place from his own Government, as the cuſtom had been. I will not publiſh the occaſion why the ſaid Governor did not accordingly ſend in the ſaid proviſions, being it would too nearly reflect upon his honor, and it is not my purpoſe to ſpeak ill of any: But *Preſident Birague* knows the reaſons very well, he being preſent at the Council, when the Mareſchal was pleaſed to ſend for me, and where there was a very great clutter, and high diſpute about that affair. The Enemies Camp had already been eight days ſet down before *Benne*, and made no ſhew of any intention to aſſault it, hoping they ſhould ſoon have it for want of victuals, although the Town was of it ſelf ſufficiently fortified, and that the Count and the Counteſs were very affectionate to the Kings ſervice. There was in all but three Companies of foot within it, to wit, that of the Count, that of the younger *la Molle*, and of *Louys* Duke, which was that of *Montdevi*, making in all two Companies of Italians, and one of French. The ſaid Captain *la Molle* was ſick, and by order of his Phyſitians for change of ayr, had cauſed himſelf to be carried to *Montdevi*; ſo that the Count had no man of Command with him, but the ſaid *Louys Duke*, and which was worſe, had never before been beſieg'd, which put him into a very great perplexity, having no body with him who underſtood at all the defence of a Town. An affair wherein the moſt hardy are apt to be aſtoniſht when they hear a furious rattle about their ears, and ſee a mighty preparation againſt them, if they have not been at ſuch work before: and on the other ſide he ſaw himſelf totally without proviſions; inſomuch that he reſolved to ſend the Mareſchal word of all, and of the fear he was in, the place would be loſt; as he had juſt reaſon, it being that where his chiefeſt intereſt lay, the Town being his own. He therefore preſently diſpatched away the Lieutenant to the Company of *Montdevi*, who arriv'd juſt as the Mareſchal roſe from dinner, he being then at *Carmagnolle*, and with him Meſſieurs *de Bonivet*, Preſident *Birague*, *d'Auſſun*, *Franciſco Bernardin*, *la Moth-Gondrin*, and ſome other whoſe names I have forgot. So ſoon as the Mareſchal underſtood the Count's apprehenſion, and heard he had no proviſions, and that the Governor (whoſe name I have omitted) had not ſent any in according to his order, though he had ſtill pretended to have done it, both he and all the company entred into a very great diſpair, and concluded the place for loſt, being the Mareſchal had no viſible way to relieve it, foraſmuch as he had not men to reſiſt the third part of the Enemy's Army. He then demanded of the Lieutenant what Captain he deſir'd to have come to him to aſſiſt him, to which he made anſwer, that the Count lov'd me exceeding well, and often ſaid, that I had once reliev'd him, and that he would give the one half of his eſtate, upon condition that I was with him. I was then but newly recover'd of a Feaver, with which my mouth and lips were much ſwell'd and broken out. The Mareſchal then ſent for me by his *Valet de Chambre* to come preſently to his lodging, where I found him in this trouble. He there made the Lieutenant to give me an account of the extremity they were in in *Benne*, as he did, and moreover complaining of the Governor by whom they had been ſo deceiv'd, earneſtly entreated me to go and put my ſelf into the Town. To which I made anſwer, *What would you have me do, there being neither corn nor meal? I can work no miracles*; to which he return'd, that the Count had ſo high an opinion of me, as alſo all thoſe in the Town, that if I could once get in, they The Duke of *Savoy* in the Spaniſh Army.

The Count *de Benne* in great perplexity.

The Count *de Benne* demands the Sieur *de Montluc* to be ſent to his relief.

were very confident the place would not be loſt, but that I would find ſome expedient to ſave it.

Every one knows how theſe great Lords, when they would make one undertake an impoſſible thing, can wheedle and flatter a man into a good opinion of himſelf, and accordingly they here repreſented to me the exemples of *Lans*, *St. Damian*, and other places where I had had to do, and had ever been ſo fortunate, as that all things had ſucceeded according to my own deſire. The Preſident *Birague* then began to perſwade me on the other ſide, but Monſieur *de Bonivet* and the reſt ſaid nothing, knowing very well how dangerous an Enterpriſe it was for the loſs of my honor, and that I muſt in the end of neceſſity come to a Capitulation; as the Mareſchal himſelf alſo told me, that for the laſt refuge I muſt proceed to that; to which I made anſwer, that I had rather die, *than that my name ſhould be found upon record ſubſcribed to a Capitulation, or that any place ſhould be ſurrendred I had once taken upon me to defend; but that I would do as God ſhould direct me, in whoſe aſſiſtance I repoſed my only confidence and truſt.* Monſieur *de Bonivet* then commanded twelve or fifteen Gentlemen of his to go along with me, (of which number the Governor *de la Moth Rouge*, who is yet living was one, and I took as many of my own, making up thirty horſe, without taking any ſervant with me, ſave only a *Valet de Chambre* and a Cook) and writ to the Vicount *de Gordon* at *Savillan*, to furniſh me with a good Guide, and to Captain *Theodore Bedeigne*, that he ſhould convoy me with his Troop, and this was upon the Saturday. Upon Sunday morning by break of day I entred into *Benne*, and the Count, if he be yet living, and will ſpeak his conſcience, will ſay that it was one of the greateſt joys that ever he had in his whole life, as alſo the Counteſs, and the whole Town will witneſs the ſame. I preſently laid me down to ſleep in the Caſtle, and two hours after I awakt we went to dinner. The Count in the mean time had appointed all the head men of the Town, as alſo all the Maſons and Carpenters to repair to the Town-Hall, to which place the Count, the Counteſs, and all of us likewiſe came.

The Sieur *de Montluc* puts himſelf into *Benne*.

I there propoſed all that was neceſſary to be done, the Count complain'd of the little corn he had, and the Towns-men declar'd, that they had not ſufficient for eight days; ſo that although the Town was ſcituated advantagiouſly enough, yet were they in a very great neceſſity, by reaſon it was the latter end of the year, and on the other ſide they had ſold all their corn to the *Genoeſes*, and to thoſe about *Savona*, being tempted ſo to do by the rates they gave, it being at that time ſold for three Crowns a ſack: and the Count who was a man that liv'd at a very great expence, had ſold all his in expectation, and upon the aſſurance of the 1200 ſacks which the Governor, that I forbear to name, ought to have ſent in thither. We then fell to diſputing in caſe we had corn, which way we ſhould get it ground: But ſo ſoon as the Count had told me whereabouts the Camp lay, I preſently conceiv'd that I ſhould make a ſhift to get corn, though I would not ſay any thing to any one, till after we were return'd from the Council, then I told it to the Count and the Counteſs only. Whileſt we were ſitting in Council there was a little man a Maſon of above threeſcore years of age, who preſented himſelf before us, ſaying that he had formerly got ſeveral great ſtones to lay upon the Graves of the dead, from a Quarry that he nam'd hard by, and that he conceiv'd if thoſe ſtones were taken off the Graves, they would ſome of them at leaſt, if not all, be proper to make Mill-ſtones: whereupon we deputed two of the Town, together with the Counteſs, who would needs go along with them, to make tryal with the Maſons, whether they could be of any uſe or no: and not long after the ſaid Lady return'd with great joy, and offer'd her ſelf to take the pains to cauſe the Mill-ſtones to be made; which at the firſt I would by no means endure; but in the end ſhe would be obeyed, and was ſo diligent in the buſineſs, that in two days and two nights ſhe had got eleven hand-Mills finiſht compleat, which were diſtributed amongſt thoſe of the Town, who would thereupon undertake to nouriſh the Soldiers, provided there might be a way found to get corn. We then concluded with thoſe of the Town, that at one of the clock at night they ſhould bring me five or ſix hundred men and women, the one carrying little ropes, and the others Scythes and Sicles to cut the corn, and that the Gates of the Town ſhould in the mean time be kept ſhut, to the end that no body might go out to carry intelligence to the Enemy; for Monſieur *de Trinitat* had ſeveral friends in the City, that the Count himſelf had in ſome ſuſpition. I then diſpatcht away two of the Inhabitants with a letter to Captain *Hieronimo*, the Son of Colonel *Giovanni* of *Turin* (who lay at a little Town, the name of which I have forgot, but it was about a mile diſtant from the place where the Enemy had cut, and diverted the current of the River) entreating him that this night he would by one way or another attempt to repair what the Enemy had broken down, and do all that in him

Benne unfurniſht of proviſions.

The Counteſs of *Benne* her ſelf takes care to ſee the work of the Town go forward.

The way to get corn.

him lay, if poſſible, to ſend the water to us again, which that very night he accordingly executed, though he was but a very young Gentleman, for I believe he was not then above twenty years old. We then went home expecting the night, when being return'd back to the Caſtle, I told the Count, that it would be convenient we ſhould go alone upon the walls to look out a field of corn that ſhould lie neereſt to the City, which we were to cut all that night, whilſt I ſent out Captain *Theodore* with 200 Soldiers to give a ſtrong and furious alarm to the Court of Guard, who were ſet to hinder thoſe of the Town from cutting any Corn. So ſoon then as we had made choice of one, we return'd back to ſupper, and after we had ſupp'd, carried out Captain *Theodore* and two others, Commanders of Companies, that were there preſent upon the Wall of the Town, to ſhew them on which ſide they were to give the alarm, and the others to fight the Court of Guard. After which we appointed ten of the Townſmen on horſe-back to overlook the people that cut the corn, to haſten them in their work.

Great diligence in the people.

At one of the clock at night all theſe people went out, the Soldiers to fight, and the people to cut; ſo that nothing was to be heard all night long but alarms, as well in the Camp, as at the Court of Guard, and as the people cut and bound up the corn, they ſtill ran back to the Gate of the City, and there threw down their burthens, and immediately went again for more; for ſome were appointed to reap, and the reſt to bind and carry. In the mean time the day appear'd, when we cauſed thoſe to whom the field beloriged to convey away the corn from off the place, ſo there was not one ſack of corn loſt of all night. The Enemy who ſaw this field all cut, and carried away, plac'd thereupon ſtronger Guards, and neerer than before; but the people who began to taſte the ſweetneſs of their gain, reſolv'd to hazard themſelves to get their corn off the ground, rather than the Enemy ſhould have it; inſomuch that at the beginning of the night there ſallyed out above two hundred of the Inhabitants of the Town, of which ſome ventur'd further, and others did their buſineſs neerer at hand. Now *Benne* you muſt know is almoſt totally ſurrounded with valleys, which are pretty wel covered with Copſe, and watered with ſeveral Rivulets: ſo that when they heard any body coming, they hid themſelves with their corn, and in the morning at the opening of the Gates return'd back to the City. The next morning after my arrival the water by the diligence of Captain *Hieronimo*, began to come down to the Mills, and for two days and two nights continued its courſe; whereupon enſued a great confuſion at the Mills; but we made an order that no one ſhould grind any more than to make ten or a dozen loaves only, by which means every body got ſome to ſerve them a little while, and two dayes and two nights after Captain *Salines* a *Spaniard* came to view the water, which the ſame night was again taken from us. I then gave Captain *Hieronimo* notice of the place where they had again return'd to cut it off from us, who never ceaſed till he had made up the Bank again: but he could not do it ſo as to ſend the water to us for above a day; for from hour to hour the Enemy ſtill came to viſit the work: but by this time the Counteſs had made an end of her work, ſo that we no more car'd for the water.

The ſituation of *Benne*.

Handſome skirmiſhes before *Benne*.

Now by means of frequent skirmiſhes, which were here as many, and as handſome as in any place where I ever had the fortune to be, and by the diligence was uſed in cutting by night, we had at laſt as much corn as the Enemy. When *Don Ferrand* ſeeing himſelf fruſtrated of the aſſurance had been given him by Monſieur *de la Trinitat*, began to be highly diſcontented with him. Captain *Theodore* the night after we had made the firſt cutting, in which he alſo was engag'd, return'd back to *Savillan*, and in going away had three or four horſes and men of his Troop wounded, who therefore ſtaid behind at *Benne*; but he fail'd not to ſend away an account to the Mareſchal of what I had done upon my arrival; of which the Mareſchal was exceeding glad, as alſo all thoſe who were with him; and thenceforward began to entertain ſome hope of the conſervation of the place: though I am of opinion that had *Don Ferrand* batter'd the Town with his Artillery, they muſt infallibly have been enforc't to a ſurrender: but he was ſtill buz'd in the ears with this water, and the want of proviſions in the Town, which rendred him very much diſſatisfied with thoſe who had adviſed him to this courſe, and made him entertain ſome kind of jealouſie of Monſieur *de la Trinitat* himſelf; wherefore he raiſed his Camp the three and twentieth day after my arrival, having been ſet down eight dayes before I came. The Count is yet living as I am told, and Preſident *Birague* I know to be ſtill in being, with ſeveral others who can bear witneſs, if I have inſerted any thing but the truth; but whether Monſieur *de Coſſé* was yet return'd back to the Mareſchal I am not able to ſay; for he was a little before gone into *France*. Thus then the Town was ſav'd, and a few dayes after the Baron *de Chipy*, who was gone to Court to give his Majeſty thanks for the donation he had made him of the aforeſaid office return'd,

Don Ferrand diſcontented with Monſieur *de la Trinitat*.

Don Ferrand's error.

The Siege of *Benne* raiſed.

and having taken upon him his command of Camp-maſter, I went to *Alba* to take poſſeſſion of my new Government.

Oh Captains, the great things that a man may do, how little ſoever his judgment or experience may be, if he will intend nothing but that wherein he is immediately engag'd thence to come off to his own honor, and the advantage of his Maſter! and on the other ſide nothing but misfortune can attend him, who minds nothing of buſineſs, and only ſpends his time in pleaſure, play, and feaſting; for it is impoſſible but that the one muſt make you forget the other; we cannot ſerve ſo many Maſters: whenever then you ſhall be engag'd upon ſuch an account as this, ſtrip your ſelves of all your vices, and burn them all, to the end that you may remain in the white Robe of loyalty and affection that we all owe to our common Maſter: for God will never proſper the vitious and voluptuous man; but on the contrary will ever aſſiſt him who is clad in the white Robe of loyalty. I give you the ſame advice that I ever gave my ſelf, and it was therefore that God has ever aſſiſted and been ſo favourable to me, that I have never been defeated, and have never been in any engagement (if I commanded) that I was not alwayes victorious. Neither could I fail, for God evermore inſpir'd me, and prompted my memory with what I had to do, and that is the reaſon that I have ever been bleſt with ſo good fortune. And he will alſo aſſiſt you, as he hath done me, if you ſtudy, nor buſie your ſelves about nothing but how to ſerve your Maſter with the loyalty and fidelity we all owe him. Afterwards when we have nothing elſe to do, we may freely enjoy our pleaſures and delights, for then it will be no prejudice to the King, nor to him we ſerve under him. Then you ſhall enjoy a ſweet and pleaſing repoſe, when you ſhall return home laden with honor, and ſhall preſent your ſelves before your Prince, to whom it ſhall be told what you have done for his ſervice. All the treaſure in the world is not comparable to that. Take then (Camrades) exemple by me, who have never had other thought, nor deſign, than how to acquit my ſelf worthily of my charge, and doing ſo it will be impoſſible, but you muſt acquire great honor and reputation. In the mean time you that are put in truſt to attaque or block up places: whenever you have a deſign to reduce a Town by famine, if you find you cannot totally hinder the beſieged from fetching in corn from the fields adjoyning, ſet them on fire: for taking this commodity from them, they will be ſufficiently diſtreſſed; but to ſay you preſerv'd it for your ſelf, it muſt be concluded that you were very improvident to offer to attaque a place without having means and power to carry away all near unto, and in the very face of the Town you would attaque; in ſuch caſes you muſt have no pity, for this affair requires ſcurvy remedies.

The Enterpriſe of *Courteville.*

Some time after the Mareſchal undertook to go take *Courteville*, which is a Caſtle and a little City in the *Langues*; the Caſtle is ſtrong, and the River runs through the midſt of the Town, over which there is a fair Bridge of Brick, and a Bourg adjoyning to it. The ſaid Mareſchal then came to *Alba*, and took me in his way along with him, with the one half of my Company, which he entertain'd for the Guard of his own perſon, leaving the other half in *Alba* and being come to the ſaid *Courteville*, lodg'd in the Bourg on the further ſide of the River, on this ſide of which, and near unto the Caſtle was a Monaſtery wherein he lodg'd three Enſigns, which notwithſtanding thoſe of the Caſtle commanded us more than we commanded them. Monſieur *de Salcede* had kept this place all the time when he was with the *Spaniard*. The Mareſchal planted on this ſide the Bridge eight or ten pieces of Canon wherewith to batter the Curtain that was oppoſite to the Monaſtery, in which during the Battery, Monſieur *de Bonnivet* lodged himſelf, where although I was no longer Camp-maſter, I nevertheleſs never left him whilſt the Battery continued day nor night. In two or three days time then we ſpent 1200 Canon ſhot againſt this Curtain, and in the end were never the nearer, foraſmuch as they had raiſed a great and thick rampier behind the wall within; ſo that when that was beaten down, the place remained ſtronger than before, by reaſon of the ſaid Rampier. The Mareſchal thereupon remained three days in ſuſpence what he were beſt to do, whether he ſhould ſend for more ammunition, or return without making any further attempt upon the place. Captain *Richelieu* had in the mean time gain'd the Town, and was with his own and two other Companies lodg'd within it: but ſo ſoon as I ſaw the Mareſchal in this perplexity, I paſt the River on that ſide by the Monaſtery: for although I follow'd Monſieur *de Bonnivet*, I nevertheleſs now retir'd at night to the Mareſchal. There was a Gate of this Monaſtery, that went out into a great high way, upon which one might march undiſcover'd and ſecure, without being ſeen by thoſe of the Caſtle: but betwixt the Gate and the high-way there were ſome fifteen or ſixteen paces, which were to be nimbly diſpatcht, for the whole Curtain playd upon this Gate. Afterwards it was ne-

Courteville batter'd by Monſieur *de Briſſac.*

ceſſary

ceſſary to go ſtooping up to the Bridge at the entry into the Town, and then to run full ſpeed till you was within it. So ſoon as I had paſt this danger, and was got into the high way, I began to look about me if it was poſſible to carry Canon into the Town, which I perceived it a matter of great difficulty to do, and that was the reaſon that I went into the Town to take Captain *Richelieu* along with me, with whom I went to diſcover the backſide of the Caſtle, which lookt into a great ſpace uninhabited, betwixt the Caſtle and the Wall of the Town. There was there a little houſe cloſe by the wall of the City, into which we put our ſelves to obſerve at our eaſe, whether or no the Caſtle were much fortified on that part, and there I obſerv'd ſome cracks and chinks in the wall, through which one might plainly ſee the light on the other ſide, and ſhew'd Captain *Richelieu*, that if by any invention we could bring three pieces of Canon to this place we ſhould certainly take the Caſtle, foraſmuch as it had not been fortified on that ſide, by reaſon of the impoſſibility of bringing up Artillery to force it.

The Sieur *de Montluc* goes to diſcover the place.

That which appears impoſſible to one, is feaſible enough to another, and many places are ſo taken. I then return'd by the way near to the Abby, and Captain *Richelieu* with me, where we fell to diſcourſe about the buſineſs, and began to conſider if there was any way to be found to get Canon to the backſide of the Caſtle: whereupon it ſuddainly came into my head to cauſe the River to be ſounded, to ſee if the bottom was firm ground; to which purpoſe I cauſed a Soldier of the Abby to be call'd, to whom ſo ſoon as he came to me I made an offer of ten Crowns, if he would venture to ſound the River, telling him withall that he muſt creep on his hands and knees, till he came into the water, and that then he ſhould chop up to the neck. I then call'd another Soldier by whom I ſent word to the Captains in the Abby, that they ſhould ſend out fifteen or twenty Soldiers, which ſhould go to the very foot of the wall, as if they went to skirmiſh, which accordingly was done, and by that means I ſav'd the Soldier, inſomuch that the Enemy never perceiv'd him, till he was got into the water. Firſt he went directly to the wall of the City, where the water daſht againſt it, and thence waded upwards as far as the foard, where we uſed to paſs over betwixt the Mareſchals Quarters and the Abby, and behind the Abby he entred into it, whether we ran full drive to avoid the danger of the ſhot, and found him already got into the Abby, and the Soldiers that had been ſent out to skirmiſh returned a pretty while before, where he told me that the bottom of the River was very good, and the water no deeper than to the nave of the wheels. Whereupon I preſently mounted to horſe, and went to acquaint the Mareſchal with what I had ſeen, the two Maſters of the Ordnance *Balazergues* and *Duno* being by, for Monſieur *de Caillac* was not there. There *Duno* diſputed it againſt me, affirming he had diſcover'd all, and I affirming the contrary, till at laſt the Mareſchal ſaid it was their trade, and that to undertake a buſineſs, and not to effect it, were only to loſe time and a great many men to no purpoſe. At which I began to be moved, having been netled by *Duno* before, and ſaid to the Mareſchal. *Sir I have had the honor a great while to know Monſieur* de Briſſac, *and never ſaw him ſo much afraid of Arquebuz ſhot, that he would forbear to diſcover a place he had a mind to ſee. I take you to be the ſame man, and that you are not become a Coward for being the Kings Lieutenant. Mount to horſe, and I will make you confeſs, after you have ſeen it, that you ſhall take the Caſtle without the expence of ten Canon ſhot.* We hereupon all in a fume got to horſe, taking *Duno* along, and leaving *Balazergues* behind, and went to paſs the River above the Abby, into which we entred, and I had taken with me the Soldier who had ſounded the River. Now to get into the high way it was neceſſary ſuddenly to open the Gate, to which the Enemy had evermore an eye, and run fifteen or twenty paces till we got into it, out of the danger of the Curtain of the Caſtle. The Gate then was ſuddenly thrown open, and I paſt running, and the Mareſchal did the ſame; but as he was running they fir'd three Harquebuzes, with ſome of which I verily thought he had been ſhot, for I heard the noiſe of a Bullet, as when it enters a mans body, and when he came up to me, lookt him in the face, and ſaw that he ſhak't his head, and ſmil'd, and ſitting down by me upon the ground (for we were to keep very low) *I have ſcap't a ſcouring* (ſaid he) *for the bullets flew betwixt my legs. You are very unwiſe Sir*, ſaid I, *to follow me, do you not perceive that I aim at being the Kings Lieutenant if you die? which is the reaſon that I would be rid of you, and have brought you hither to that purpoſe*; at which he laught only, ſeeing very well by my countenance, that I was very glad he had eſcap't the misfortune; for the fault would have been laid at my door, though God knows I could not have help't it: for thoſe that go to ſuch Weddings as theſe often bring away red Liveries.

The River ſounded to paſs over the Canon.

Diſpute betwixt the Sieur *de Montluc* and the Maſters of the Ordnance.

The Mareſchal *de Briſſac* in great danger.

In the mean time *Duno* and the Soldier arrived, to whom the Mareſchal engag'd to pay the ten Crowns I had promiſed him; but that he muſt return and do the ſame again in his

his preſence, and he would give him ten more, which the Soldier undertook to do. *Duno* then cauſed his Boots to be pull'd off, and went in his doublet only with the Soldier to enter into the water behind the Abby, for the man had heart enough, and men of his trade muſt no more care for a Bullet than a Codling, We ſaw them the one after the other wade down the River, and afterwards came to the wall of the City, into which they went, landing hard by the Gate: Which was not perform'd without infinite danger both for them and us, for it was there very hot; ſo that I often wiſht Monſieur *de Briſſac* at his Quarters, being more afraid of him than of my ſelf. Seeing then *Duno* and the Soldier paſt over, we ran at the mercy of the Harquebuz ſhot, and recover'd the Town. *Whom God defends are well defended*; for it was a miracle that ſome one of us at leaſt was not pepper'd: but either my fear or my affection made me go more upright and nimbly than I was wont, ſo that I felt no great pain of my hip. I then carryed the Mareſchal, and ſhewed him all that Captain *Richelieu* and I had ſeen before; when after he had heard *Duno*'s relation concerning the depth of the River, and found the truth of what I had told him, he began to break out into ſome paſſionate expreſſions againſt *Duno*; but I told him that he ought not to be angry, but intend the taking of the Caſtle, for that no one was ſo wiſe but he might be deceiv'd. Whereupon he gave order to Captain *Richelieu* to get together thirty or fourty great Wine-pipes, which at the beginning of the night he ſhould cauſe to be carried to the place where *Duno* ſhould appoint, and to another Captain to pull down a houſe, to furniſh planks to put upon the Pipes after they ſhould be filled with earth to raiſe the defence ſtill higher, becauſe of the great Tower of the Caſtle, that lookt into the recoyl of the Canon, commanding the other Captain alſo to provide great beams of Timber wherewith to raiſe the whole ſo high, that the Tower might not look into the recoyl of the Canon. And before we departed from the little houſe which was behind the Caſtle, I ſhew'd the Mareſchal a Rock where thirty or fourty Harquebuzeers might lye covered to ſhoot at the Battlements of the Tower, when the Enemy ſhould preſent themſelves to ſhoot at the Artillery; for they muſt of neceſſity ſhew themſelves from the Girdle upward.

We afterwards went up the River to the Wall of the Town to meaſure what height the Canon was to mount to get into the City, and found that it was not two foot, becauſe the way was very low, When a Gentleman belonging to the Mareſchal came to us, the ſaid Mareſchal having expreſly forbid that any other ſhould advance further than the Abby, to whom I cauſed the charge to be committed of breaking the wall, and making it fall into the River, which being done we return'd, and *Duno* ſtaid with Captain *Richelieu*. At the beginning of the night then came the aforeſaid Gentleman with thirty or fourty Pioneers, and after him another Genntleman of the ſaid Mareſchal's with fourſcore or an hundred more, where they found that Captain *Richelieu* had already got above half the Pipes upon the place. Monſieur *de Bonnivet* and I accompanied *Balazergues*, who drew three pieces of Canon with horſes (the Mareſchal having provided enow to draw ſix) and went on horſeback above twenty paces in the River with the Canon, as alſo did *Balazergues* himſelf, and the Carters up to the Codpiece in water: we then turn'd to go down behind the Abby, and ſo went into the Town, where though the Enemy ſhot very hard, yet could they ſee nothing by reaſon of the extreme darkneſs of the night, and therefore ſhot at random, and the level of fortune, which at this time ſmil'd upon us; yet does ſhe not always do ſo, eſpecially upon me: there are ſome indeed ſo happy as never to be toucht, as for exemple that brave Cavalier Monſieur *de Sanſac* (I do believe there are not two Gentlemen alive, who have been in more engagements than he and I) and yet he was never hurt that I know of, excepting at the Battail of *St. Denis*: where in I have not been ſo fortunate as he. Now when we came to the place where the Gentleman was, we found the wall already broken down, and tumbled into the River, and thereupon cauſed the Pioneers to break down two corners of houſes that hindred the paſſage of the Canon, which preſently came to the Wall, thorough which the horſes entred the Town, and by the help of the Soldiers we thruſt the Canon in after them; which being done *Balazergues* return'd to fetch the other two, which alſo we brought after the ſame manner to the place where *Duno* had fill'd the Pipes; ſo that two hours before day they were ready to Batter, and the Soldiers lodg'd behind the rock to ſhoot at the Battlements.

The good fortune of Monſieur *de Sanſac*.

The Mareſchal in the interim had intelligence brought him that *Don Arbro de Cende* was come to *St. Stephe*, within five miles of us, and would march by night to relieve the Caſtle, which cauſed the ſaid Mareſchal to ſend us word that he was going to poſſeſs himſelf of a mountain of advantage, and to fight him by the way, and that in the mean time we ſhould do the beſt we could with the ſix Companies we had in the Abby, and

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in the Town. The Mareſchal accordingly gain'd the ſaid Mountain by night, and ſet his people in order to defend the paſs.

At the break of day when we had thought to have given fire to the Canon, the Drum of the Caſtle began to beat a Parley. There was a Spaniard Governor there whoſe name was *Don Diego*, as proud a vain-glorious Coxcomb as could walk upon the earth, and ſo he was reputed. Monſieur *de Bonnivet* made the Capitulation, for I was laid to ſleep in the little houſe upon a Matrice the ſaid Sieur *de Bonnivet* had cauſed to be brought thither for himſelf, till I was call'd to ſign the Capitulation, for *Don Diego* knew me, he having been Lieutenant to one of the four Spaniſh Companies the King had when he took the County of *Oye*. The Mareſchal in the mean time ſent out a party of Horſe to meet *Don Arbro* whom they found upon his retreat, by reaſon he had had notice that the Mareſchal had gain'd the paſs, ſo that about an hour after dinner he return'd back to us, where he found that *Don Diego* with his three Companies, one whereof was Spaniſh, was marcht away two hours before. There were ſeveral who made ſuit to the Mareſchal for the Government of this place, it being very commodiouſly ſituated for the King's ſervice: But Monſieur *de Bonnivet*, and I agreed together to cauſe it to be given to Captain *Richelieu*, who was Lieutenant to one of his Colonel Companies, and accordingly at our requeſt the Mareſchal was pleaſed to confer it upon him, and moreover writ to the King to confirm it, which his Majeſty did, and Monſieur *de Bonnivet* left with him his Company for ſome time.

Don Diego Governor of *Courteville*.

Are theſe (Captains) I mean the taking of *Lans*, and that of *Courteville* two things fit to be omitted, weigh well I beſeech you all that we did both at the one place and the other, and the account I gave of them both, without truſting to the report of others. And you Princes, and his Majeſties Lieutenants, do not ſo much fear your skins, that you will not ſearch into depth of things. Why have you that great authority, and thoſe noble Commands; to ſit ſtill in your Cloſets? Obſerve how Monſieur *de Briſſac* did; he needed not be importun'd to go to diſcover, but rather to be with-held; he was all bravery and courage. And you that ſhall ſee your ſelves engag'd in a place, learn to be wiſe at the expence of theſe Bragadochio's, who ſurrender at the firſt ſummons, and yet pretend to be *Rowlands*. Whoever is ſtout of his tongue, ought to be doubly tall of his hands. I am very ſure, that if *Don Diego* had ſo pleaſed, he might have found us enough to do: but to loſe a place, and to carry away no honour, either alive or dead, he that put you into it does you manifeſt wrong, if he do not cut off your head. Without all doubt he might have been reliev'd, or at leaſt he ought to have ſtood an aſſault, for we could not have carried it at the firſt puſh, but it would have coſt us very dear. What pitiful place ſoever you have to defend, if you reſolve to ſtay for the Canon, after it has endured a breach, it is very neceſſary, that he who commands it for his own honor, ſhall alſo abide an Aſſault, if he be not totally unprovided of all things, and have no means to make any enterenchment within.

A few days after the Mareſchal would go take *Seve*, and writ to me to *Alba*, that I ſhould make my ſelf ready, and that he would paſs by *Alba*. So ſoon therefore as he had given me this notice of his departure, and that I ſhould draw three Enſigns out of *Alba* to carry them along with me, I preſently made them ready, and likewiſe two Culverines, which he had writ for alſo. Waiting then in expectation of his coming, I went in the mean time to *Sarvenal*, which is a little Town about four miles from *Alba* towards the *Langues*, and two other little places upon the ſame Road, where the Enemy had Garriſons, eſpecially at *Sarvenal*, where there were an hundred men ſtrangers. After I had a while batter'd it by the Gate, thoſe within began to parly with me; but in the mean while my people entred by another ſide through a Window with Ladders; ſo that whilſt their Captain was dodging with me about the Capitulation, thoſe within ſaw themſelves taken, and were therefore enforc't to render themſelves upon diſcretion. The moments of a Parly are always dangerous, and it is then that they ought the beſt to man their walls, to avoid ſurprizes: for *betwixt the Fruit and the Cheeſe*, as the Proverb ſays; at ſuch an unexpected time a great miſchief may be done. I have ſeen many very fooliſhly ſurpriz'd; therefore follow the Italian rule, which is, *Non te fidar, & no ſerai inganato: Do not truſt, and thou ſhalt not be deceived*: a leſſon that ought to be very much ſtudied by you Governors of places: for when a woman once endures a Parly, and has patience to hear, farewel Goſſip, you have already one foot in the ſtirrup. In like manner when a Town once begins to hearken to a compoſition, you may certainly conclude it for loſt. It is true, that you muſt not then give them leiſure to conſider better of it; for there are certain Catch-dolts, who make a ſhew of parly, but it is only to work their own advantage. If you therefore fear a relief, or that you find your ſelves weak, take them at their word, make uſe of your time,

The Enterpriſe upon *Seve*.

The hours of a Parly dangerous for ſurprizes.

time, and get Hoſtages betimes if you can. And on the other ſide, you who would defend a place, of all things take heed you never open your mouths to parly if you have not an intention to ſurrender, and are not neceſſitated ſo to do: for your Enemy preſently gets a marvelous advantage by it. 'Tis better the overture be made by ſome particular perſon, and it is better becoming the Beſiegers than the beſieged, though both the one and the other ought to ſet a good face upon the matter, it will ſoon be ſeen who has the worſt of the Game. At theſe times however be ſure eſpecially to have an eye to the main chance; for ſo ſoon as ever it is rumour'd, that there is a ſurrender towards, thoſe within inſtead of looking after their defence, think, one of ſaving his money, another his arms, and ſo forth; and thoſe without ſeeing themſelves defeated of all hope of Booty, if the Capitulation take effect, will try to ſhew you a ſlippery trick; for then they approach at greater eaſe to the wall, becauſe of the Truce. Remember then that the hour of a Parly is dangerous.

The ſituation of *Seve.*

The other two little places ſurrendred upon ſummons, and ſent me their Keys; and the next day after the Mareſchal arrived, who was very well pleaſed with my exploit, and ſo we march'd directly to *Seve*. *Seve* is a little Town very neatly built, and encloſed with a very good wall. A River runs either thorough it, or cloſe under the walls, I am not certain which, for I was never there, but when Monſieur *de Bonnivet* and I came to relieve the Mareſchal, and at this time when we retook it, and then lay there but one night only: for the Mareſchal ſent me back in the morning, becauſe *Don Arbro* with his forces was within five miles of us, and in *Alba* there was only left my Lieutenant, and the half of my Company. Now there is above the Town a Mountain, on the top of which there ſtands a Church, and in the Rock an Hermitage, the entry into which was over a planck from the Church into the ſaid Rock, and within were Altars for Maſs, and a Chamber for the Hermite, but no light into it, ſave only by the door where you come in, which looks towards the Town; and they had ſo order'd the matter, that by pulling in to them the planck, that lay over betwixt the Hermitage and the Church, all the world could not take them. They had alſo made another Fort on the right hand, at the diſtance of ſome twenty paces from this, which they had contriv'd after the manner of a pit, and the Counterſcarpes very high; ſo that coming upon the Counterſcarp, no man could ſhew ſo much as a fingers length of his head without being diſcover'd and kill'd, and they had moreover caſt up a Trench that ran along from this Fort to the very body of the Church.

As Signior *Franciſco Bernardin* and I, who were for that time *Mareſchaux de Camp*, came to encamp near to this place, and being about to lodge the Army, there ſallyed out two or three hundred men, what out of the Fort, the Trench, and the Church, and furiouſly charg'd upon us. I had no body with me but Captain *Charry*, with 50 Harquebuzeers, and ſome few horſe to Guard us. Wherefore the Baron *de Chipy*, Camp-Maſter, ſent to re-inforce me with 100 Harquebuzeers: but I was conſtrain'd to ſend him word that he muſt ſend me more, for that we were already at it, and very near to one another: at which inſtant of time Monſieur *de Bonnivet* return'd poſt from Court, who hearing the skirmiſh without alighting, ſaid to the Baron *de Chipy*, *Halt here till the Mareſchal come up, and in the mean time I will go find out Monſieur de Montluc.* The Captains follow'd him, and ſome Harquebuzeers on horſe-back, when juſt as we were embracing, the Enemy came up and charg'd our men, ſeeing which I ſaid to Monſieur *de Bonnivet*, *Sir for your welcome alight, and let us go charge theſe people, and beat them back into the Fort*: whereupon every one immediately alighted, and he ſaid to me, *charge you directly upon thoſe who would recover the Fort*, which ſaid he clapt a Target upon his arm, and I catcht up a Halbert, for I ever lov'd to play with that kind of Cudgel, ſaying to Signior *Franciſco Bernardin, Camrade, whilſt we charge do you make the Quarters*; to which he replyed, *is that all the reckoning you make of the employment the Mareſchal has entruſted us withal? if it be ſo, I will be a fool for company, and once play the part of a Gaſcon*; and ſo alighted, and went on with me to the charge. He was arm'd with very heavy arms, and moreover age rendred him unweildy of himſelf, which made him that he could not go ſo faſt as I. At ſuch kind of Banquets my body me thought did not weigh an ounce, and I fancied that I did not touch the ground, I had quite forgot my hip. I then charg'd up ſtraight upon thoſe on that ſide by the Trench, and Monſieur *de Bonnivet* did as much on his ſide, ſo that we thundred them back with ſuch a vengeance, that I paſt over the Trench pell-mell amongſt them, and purſued them, killing all the way as far as the Church. I never laid ſo about me, nor did ſo much execution at one time. Thoſe within the Church ſeeing their people in ſuch diſorder, and ſo miſerably cut to pieces, quitted the place, and took a little path that went all along the rock of the Mountain

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down into the Town, where one of my men caught hold of him that carried the Enſign; but he diſingaged himſelf very bravely from him, and leapt into the path, making to the Town as faſt as he could trip. I ran after him, but he was too quick for me, as well he might, for he had fear in his heels. The Captain was kill'd, whom they very much eſteem'd, and I believe was a man of threeſcore years old, for he was all over white. They could not all recover the path, which made part of them return back into the Church, where they very bravely defended themſelves. They had made a Raveline before the Gate, which we gain'd from them, and then they retreated into the Hermitage, and drew the planck after them like a draw-bridge.

Monſieur *de Bonnivet* was very roughly handled, for he loſt at leaſt twenty of the beſt men he had, and had above thirty more wounded: for as our people would throw themſelves at a venture from the Counterſcarp into the Fort, before they could diſcover the Fort they were knockt 'oth head, and amongſt others we loſt four of thoſe he had brought with him out of *France*; who came but too ſoon for them, as alſo two Baſques, as valiant young men as the earth ever bore; I had known them before, but thoſe people have ſuch uncouth names I cannot remember them, which I am very ſorry for; but after the loſs of ſo many men the ſaid Monſieur *de Bonnivet* was conſtrain'd to leave this Fort, and come to me to the Church.

The Mareſchal in the mean time had cauſed all the Camp to make a halt about a mile off, expecting when Signior *Franciſco* and I ſhould bring him the Billets for the Armies Quarters; when hearing no news of the one or the other, he ſent a Gentleman to ſee what was become of us; who found us at the Church, where he told us, that the Mareſchal was diſcontented, and very angry, not knowing where to lodge, nor where the Quarters were made. To whom I then ſaid, *Get you back to him, and tell him that he has made two wiſe Quarter-Maſters, who have thought of nothing but how to quarter him and his Army, but it has been by ſending people into another world.* The Gentleman perceiving by this anſwer that there was nothing done, returned back, it being almoſt night, ſo that the Cavalry was conſtrain'd to draw into a valley on the left hand, and the Infantry into another on the right. The Mareſchal himſelf then came up to us, and could have found in his heart to have been very angry, but ſeeing what we had done was well enough ſatisfied, and began to laugh at the Mareſchaux de Camp he had made. Signior *Franciſco Bernardin* laid the fault upon me, and I again upon him; but the Mareſchal ſaid, *I know the white-head was too wiſe, and therefore it muſt needs be a Gaſcon extravagance.*

With the Mareſchal came Colonel *Santo Pedro Corſo*, and thoſe of the Hermitage ask'd for him, becauſe there were many Corſes amongſt them, and the Captain himſelf who was kill'd at the Gate was one. The Colonel aſſur'd them of the death of the ſaid Captain, and that if one or two of them would come out, he would ſhew them his body: Which they did, and the Mareſchal was ſtill with us, and ſtaid there all night, for he knew not where to lye, and a great many were laid down, who gave me many a black good-night After they had ſeen their Captain dead, they ſurrendred themſelves upon the Colonels word, that they ſhould march away with bag and baggage, whereupon the ſaid Colonel entred the Hermitage with five or ſix of his own men only, and ſo ſoon as the day appear'd they went out, and almoſt all of them liſted themſelves under the ſaid Colonel, ſending their Drum to thoſe of the Fort, to let them know that they had ſurrendred, and that they adviſed them to do the like; which they likewiſe did upon the ſame conditions; for Colonel *Santo Pedro* managed the whole buſineſs. We then went down, and preſently the Governor ſurrendred the ſame, and at the ſame inſtant march'd away with thoſe men he had left; and the Mareſchal lodg'd himſelf there with ſome few only, that the proviſion might not be devour'd, and to prevent any diſorder in the Town. Of which he made Captain *Loup* Governor, having with him four Enſigns of foot, and ſome Light-horſe; which being done he retir'd back by the ſame way he came, and I (as I have already ſaid) about one of the clock in the afternoon came to *Alba*.

The Hermitage ſurrendred.

The Fort ſurrendred.

The Town ſurrendred.

Captain *Loup*.

This is all that I did in *Piedmont* worthy remembrance whilſt I ſtaid there with the Mareſchal *de Briſſac*: But if I ſhould give an account of all the skirmiſhes wherein I have been engag'd, I muſt have double paper, and eſpecially that of *Andeſan*, which was the greateſt and moſt furious skirmiſh wherein I have ever been; all the foot of two Armies being therein totally engag'd, amongſt whom I had no more but four and thirty Soldiers of my own Company, foraſmuch as I then lay in Garriſon at *Savillan*, and Monſieur *de Termes* would not ſuffer my Company to go out of the Town. I cover'd all my Soldiers Morrions with yellow Taffata, out of reſpect to Monſieur *de Termes*, whoſe that colour was, who for ſo few men perform'd ſo great and almoſt miraculous feats of arms, that whilſt any mans memory ſhall live, who was then alive, the yellow Morrions of *Montluc*

The ſkirmiſh of *Andezan*.

will be talkt of in *Piedmont* : In truth theſe four and thirty were worth five hundred others, and I have my ſelf an hundred times wondred at what theſe people did; I may therefore very well ſay, it was a little body, but a very good one. I have found that it is of great uſe to give your Soldiers ſome particular diſtinction; for ſeeing themſelves to be ſo diſtinguiſhed and known, it redoubles their courage. I am ſure theſe did very well, and obtein'd for themſelves ſuch a mark of reputation, that every one pointed at them as they marcht along, ſhewing for a wonder the yellow Morrions who had perform'd ſuch noble feats of arms. I have ſince alſo been in ſeveral other skirmiſhes, which I will not trouble my Reader withall, for being too tedious : though I cannot forbear making mention of one, which the Baron *de la Garde* may pleaſe to remember, when he brought the Gallies, we being then before *Bullen*. The great skirmiſh was at his landing, which continued for two hours, where the Canon-ſhot flew ſo thick that they ſeemed volleys of Harquebuzeers. I had all the Forces of *Bullen* upon me, notwithſtanding which I made one of the braveſt and moſt honourable retreats that man could poſſibly make. The late Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſaw it all, who had no more but five and twenty horſe, and therefore could no wayes relieve me; to do which he muſt of neceſſity have come down into the plain, where he would immediately have been ſwallowed up by the Canon, and no man believ'd that I could poſſibly have made my retreat without manifeſt running away; but I did it alwayes at four Pikes length, often facing about, and muſt needs ſay, that I never perform'd any thing from whence I deriv'd more honor than from this action. Monſieur *de Guiſe* did ſufficiently magnifie it, and commended me but two much. But I ſhall ſpeak no more of theſe kind of things, and content my ſelf with writing what I perform'd commanding only, wherein ſuch as will do me the honor to read my book may learn ſome thing as to the practice of Arms, which is not altogether ſo eaſie as is believ'd. Great and commendable parts and qualities are required to the making up of a compleat Captain. It is not all to be hardy and brave, we muſt have other pieces in our harneſs beſides. Neither will I pretend to be one of the firſt form of Souldiers; but being the eldeſt in this Kingdom, my opinion will nevertheleſs be allowed a vote in the Chapter, which may ſerve to enform ſuch as know leſs than I, and as for the reſt they need no Tutor.

The Skirmiſh before *Bullen*.

What parts are required to make up a compleat Officer.

I then left *Piedmont* to go home a little to refreſh my ſelf, and to take ſome repoſe, by reaſon of a great diſtemper I was fallen into : but what juſt occaſion ſoever I might have to ask it, I had nevertheleſs much ado to obtain leave of Monſieur *de Briſſac*, though he at laſt was pleaſed to diſmiſs me, upon my promiſe ſpeedily to return. At my coming home I found my ſelf honour'd and eſteem'd of all the greateſt perſons of the Country. My name was up, and therefore for one thing I had done they would perſwade me I had done four : Report goes evermore encreaſing; and alſo at this time *Piedmont* was the only Scene in vogue for a Nurſery of war. I did not however continue long idle at home, my Maſters neither giving me leiſure, nor my own diſpoſition enclining me ſo to do, I having ever propoſed to my ſelf by the way of Arms to arrive to all the degrees of honour, to which man can attain; and you who are Gentlemen born ought to conſider that God has ſent you into the world to bear arms for the ſervice of your Prince and Country, and not to hunt the Hare, and follow after Miſtreſſes; when peace comes you may take your ſhare of pleaſures and delights. *Every thing in its due time and ſeaſon.*

The Sieur *de Montluc* returns into *Gaſcony*.

The End of the Second Book.

THE COMMENTARIES OF *Meßire Blaize de Montluc,* MARESCHAL of FRANCE.

The Third Book.

WHilſt the War was kept on foot in *Piedmont*, after the manner I have before related, under the conduct of this great Soldier, Monſieur *de Briſſac*, who there eſtabliſhed ſo admirable a Military Diſcipline, that it might with good reaſon be ſaid to be the beſt School of War in *Europe*; they did not ſleep in *Picardy*, *Champagne*, and *Metz*, which was at this time beſieg'd by the Emperor. There it was that the great Duke of *Guiſe* acquir'd immortal glory. I was never more troubled at any thing in my whole life then that I had not the good fortune to ſee this Siege: but a man cannot be in ſo many places at once. The King, who deſired to diſcompoſe the Emperor's affairs in *Italy*, prevail'd ſo far by the practices and dexterity of ſome Cardinals of his party, and of Monſieur *de Termes*, that he made the Inhabitants of *Sienna* to revolt, which is a very beatiful and important City in *Tuſcany*, inſomuch that the Spaniſh Garriſon which was in it was driven out, and the Citadel raz'd to the ground. So ſoon as theſe people had thus ſhak'd off the Spaniſh yoke, and ſaw themſelves at liberty, having ſet up the Enſigns of *France*, they were not wanting to themſelves in imploring ſuccours and aſſiſtance from the King, who accordingly gave the charge thereof to Monſieur *de Strozzy*, (the ſame who was afterwards Mareſchal) who by the help and concurrence of the King's confederates and friends in thoſe parts drew ſome forces into the field, being therein aſſiſted by the Signiors *Cornelio Bentivoglio*, *Fregoſa*, and other *Italians*, with the Sieurs *de Termes*, and *de Lanſac*; where, though he had all the Forces of the Emperor and the Great Duke of *Florence* to deal withall, he nevertheleſs carried himſelf with ſo much bravery and conduct, as to make head againſt the Marquis *de Marignano*, who proſecuted the War with might and main. Notwithſtanding which Monſieur *de Strozzy* in deſpight of him took ſeveral little Towns belonging to the State of *Sienna*, the particulars whereof I ſhall not meddle withal, foraſmuch as I was not there preſent: but, by what I have heard, he there perform'd ſeveral very brave exploits: for the Emperor and the Duke of *Florence* deſired nothing more, than to drive the King out of *Italy*, out of the apprehenſion they had, that having got in a foot, he ſhould afterwards skrew in his whole body: We never yet knew how to husband our Conqueſts; I know not what we may do hereafter, though I fear that matter will never be mended, at leaſt I ſee no ſigns of it yet; God grant I may be miſtaken.

Piedmont the Nurſery of War.

Sienna revolts to the *French* the 5th of *Auguſt*, 1552.

The Sieur *de Strozzy* the King's Lieutenant in the State of *Sienna*.

Monſieur *de Strozzy* then ſent to the King to aquaint him, that it was not poſſible for him both to keep the field, and to govern in *Sienna* too, and that therefore he moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty to make choice of ſome perſon in whom he might ſafely confide to command in the Town, ſo long as he ſhould continue in the field. The King having receiv'd this diſpatch, call'd for the Conſtable, Monſieur *de Guiſe*, and the Mareſchal *de*

Want of a Governor in *Sienna*.

St. André, where he acquainted them with Monſieur *de Strozzy*'s requeſt, deſiring them to name each of them one for this employment; for all things paſt through the hands of theſe three, and nothing was determin'd without them. All our Kings have ever had this trick, to ſuffer themſelves to be govern'd by ſome particular men, and perhaps too much, ſo that it looks ſometimes as if they ſtood in awe of their own ſubjects. Of theſe the Conſtable ſtood in the higheſt degree of favour, and was ever more belov'd by the King than any other; he therefore firſt nam'd his man, Monſieur *de Guiſe* another, and the Mareſchal a third. Which having done the King ſaid to them, you have none of you nam'd *Montluc*, to which Monſieur *de Guiſe* made anſwer, that it was out of his head, and the Mareſchal ſaid the ſame, Monſieur *de Guiſe* moreover adding, *if you name Montluc I have done, and ſhall ſpeak no more of him I nominated before*; nor I ſaid the Mareſchal, who has ſince related to me the whole debate. The Conſtable then ſtood up, and ſaid, that I was by no means proper for this employment, as being too humorous, peeviſh, and paſſionate, to which the King made anſwer, that he had ever obſerv'd and known me to be peeviſh and paſſionate, upon the account of his ſervice only, when I ſaw him not ſerv'd ſo well as he ought to be, and that he had never heard I ever had a quarrel with any one upon my own particular account. Monſieur *de Guiſe* and the Mareſchal ſaid alſo the ſame, adding moreover that I had already been Governor both of *Montcallier* and *Alba*, without ſo much as any one man's opening his mouth to complain of my Adminiſtration; and that alſo had I been a perſon of that temper, the Mareſchal *de Briſſac* would never have lov'd and favour'd me at the rate he did, nor have repoſed ſo great a confidence in me as he had ever done. The Conſtable hereupon anſwered very roundly again, and made good his former objection with great vehemency, and would by all means that the perſon he had nominated ſhould ſtand: for he was impatient of being controverted, and more of being over-rul'd; neither indeed did he ever much love me, nor any of his. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* was there preſent, who may better remember than I, who it was that the Conſtable nam'd: but (if I be not deceiv'd) it was *Boccal*, who is ſince turn'd Hugonot: however in the end the King would carry it, having Monſieur *de Guiſe* and the Mareſchal *de St. André* on his ſide, and diſpatch't away a Courier to the Mareſchal *de Briſſac* to ſend me into *Avignon*, where accordingly I ſtaid expecting a Gentleman his Majeſty ſent to me, who brought my diſpatch to go preſently away to *Sienna*.

A diſpute about the nomination of Monſieur *de Montluc* for the Government of *Sienna*.

Now the Mareſchal had ſome dayes before given me leave to retire to my own houſe, by reaſon of a ſickneſs I was fallen into, as I have ſaid elſewhere; who had no mind to do it, as he himſelf confeſt to me ſince; and has done me the honor to tell me, that had he known of what importance the loſs of me would have been to him, he would not have ſo commended me to the King as he had done, and that in his life he never repented any thing ſo much as the letting me depart from him, telling me of a great many things wherein he had not been ſo well ſerved after my departure out of *Piedmont*. Monſieur *de Coſſé*, Preſident *Birague*, and ſeveral others can witneſs how oft they have heard him lament my abſence, eſpecially when matters did not ſucceed according to his deſire. And if any one will take the pains to conſider what I perform'd while I was there under his Command, he will find that what I ſay is very true, and that he had ſome reaſon to regret me. I was alwayes at his feet, and at his head. I will not ſay nevertheleſs, that any thing would have been better done for my being there: but however I muſt needs ſpeak the truth, and there are who can ſay more if they pleaſe.

Advice of the Mareſchal *de Briſſac* to the King concerning his nomination of the Sieur *de Montluc* for the Government of *Sienna*.

He then writ a Letter to the King, and another to the Conſtable, wherein he ſent his Majeſty word, that he had made a very ill choice of me to command in *Sienna*, for that I was one of the moſt croſs-grain'd chollerick fellows in the whole world, and ſuch a one as that for half the time I had been with him, he had been neceſſitated to ſuffer much from me, knowing my imperfections. That indeed I was very good for the maintaining of diſcipline and juſtice in an Army, to command in the field, and to make the Soldiers to fight: but that the humour of the *Siennois* conſider'd, it would be fire to fire, which would be the only means to loſe that State, which was to be preſerv'd by gentleneſs and moderation. He moreover entreated the Conſtable to remonſtrate as much to the King, and in the mean time diſpatch a Courier to me, who found me very ſick, by whom he ſent me word, that the King would ſend me to *Sienna*; but, that as a friend of mine, he adviſed me not to accept of that employment, entreating me not to forſake him, to go ſerve elſewhere under another, and aſſuring me withal, that if any Command hapned to be vacant in *Piedmont*, that I had more mind to than what I already had, I ſhould have it; which were all artifices to detein me.

The Mareſchal *de Briſſac's* pollicy to detein Monſieur *de Montluc*,

O that a wiſe Lieutenant of a Province ought to have an eye, and to take heed of loſing

a man

a man in whom he may abſolutely confide, and whom he knows to be a man of valour, and ought to ſpare nothing that he may keep him; for oftentimes one man alone can do much. You muſt eat a great deal of Salt with a man before you can rightly know him; and in the mean time you are depriv'd of him with whom you were throughly acquainted, in whom you repoſed your truſt, and of whoſe fidelity you have already had ſufficient proof. The ſaid Mareſchal had moreover ſent word to the King, that I was in *Gaſcony* very ſick, and in the morning as the Letters were read, the Conſtable, who was mighty well pleaſed with the contents, ſaid to the King, *Did not I tell your Majeſty as much, you find the Mareſchal to be of the ſame opinion, and no man living can know* Montluc *better than he who has ſo often ſeen him at work.* To which the King (who naturally lov'd me, and had ever done ſo, after he had ſeen my behaviour at the Camiſado of *Bullen*) reply'd, *that although all thoſe of his Council ſhould ſpeak againſt me, yet ſhould they prevail nothing by it: for it was his nature to love me, and that he would not alter his election let them all ſay what they would.* Monſieur *de Guiſe* then ſpake and ſaid, *here is a letter very full of contradictions: for in the firſt place the Mareſchal* de Briſſac *ſays that* Montluc *is croſs-grain'd and cholerick, and that he will never ſuit with the* Siennois, *but will ruine your ſervice if you ſend him thither; and on the other ſide commends him for qualities that are required in a man of command, to whom the truſt of great things is to be committed: for he ſpeaks him to be a man of an exact diſcipline, and great juſtice, and fit to make the Soldiers fight in great Enterprizes and Executions; and who ever ſaw a man endued with all theſe good qualities, that had not a mixture of Choller amongſt them? Such as are indifferent whether things go well or ill may indeed be without paſſion, and as to the reſt, ſince Sir your Majeſty has your ſelf made the Election, I humbly conceive you ought not revoke it.* The Mareſchal *de St. André* ſpake next, and ſaid, *Sir, what the Mareſchal* de Briſſac *complains of, you may eaſily correct, by writing to* Montluc, *that your ſelf having made choice of his perſon above all others for this employment, he muſt for your ſake as much as he can govern his paſſion, having to do with ſuch a fickle-headed people as thoſe of* Sienna. To which the King made anſwer, *that he did not fear but that after he had writ me a letter, I would do as he ſhould command me*; and immediately thereupon diſpatcht away a Courrier to me to my own houſe, by whom he ſent me word, that although I ſhould be ſick, I muſt nevertheleſs put my ſelf upon my way to go directly to *Marſeilles*, where I ſhould meet my diſpatch, and ſhould there embark my ſelf with the *Germans* that the *Rhinceroc* brought, and ten Companies of *French* foot, to which place he would alſo ſend me money for my journey, and that I muſt for a while leave my paſſion behind me in *Gaſcony*, and a little accommodate my ſelf to the humor of that people. The Courrier found me at *Agen* very ſick, and under the Phyſicians hands, notwithſtanding which I told him, that in eight dayes I would begin my journey, which I did, and verily thought I ſhould have dyed at *Tholouſe*, from whence by the advice of the Phyſicians I was to return back again, which I would not do: but cauſed my ſelf to be hall'd along as far as *Montpellier*, where I was again adviſed by the Phyſicians to go no further, they aſſuring me that if I ventur'd to proceed on my journey I ſhould never come alive to *Marſeilles*: but whatever they could ſay, I was reſolv'd to go on ſo long as life laſted, come on't what would, when juſt as I was going away there came another Courrier from the King to haſten me, and from day to day I recovered my health in travelling; ſo that when I came to *Marſeilles* I was without compariſon much better than when I parted from my own houſe.

Cholerick men the beſt.

Cholerick Captains more valiant than others.

In plain truth the King my good Maſter had reaſon to defend my cauſe, for my choler was never prejudicial to his ſervice, it has indeed been ſometimes prejudicial to my ſelf and ſome others, who would not avoid nor comply with my humour. I never loſt Place, Battail, nor Rencounter, nor ever was the occaſion of loſing any one of his Subjects; my choler never ſo far tranſported me as to do any thing prejudicial to his ſervice, and if it be violent and prompt, it is the ſooner gone: I have ever obſerv'd that ſuch people are better to be employ'd than any other, for they have no malice in them, nor no dangerous reſervations, and if they be more ſuddain, they are alſo more valiant than thoſe who by their moderation would appear to be more wiſe: but leaving this diſcourſe I ſhall return to my voyage.

At my coming to *Marſeilles* I found that the Baron *de la Garde* was already departed with the Army to go to *Argiers*, there to prevail with the King of *Argier* to convoy him with his Fleet, forasmuch as the ſaid Baron had been advertized, that Prince *Auria* lay waiting for him with a great Navy to intercept him by the way; and the Kings Fleet of it ſelf was not ſtrong enough to undertake him, which was the reaſon that we delayed the time for a few days. So ſoon then as the Baron arrived, having the *Argier* Fleet with him, we embarkt our ſelves at *Toulon*, and by the way met eight or nine Veſſels laden with Corn, that

The Siege of *Sienna* was in the year 1555.

The Baron *de la Garde.*

that came out of *Sicily*, and was going for *Spain*, which the Baron cauſed to be ſet on fire, excepting two that he took along with him for the ſupport of his Army, and ſo went on to *Port-Hercole*, at which place we could not poſſibly land, foraſmuch as the Marquis *de Marignano* lay with his Camp near unto the way by which we were of neceſſity to paſs to go to *Sienna*. We were therefore conſtrain'd to reimbark our men, and to fall back, to land with greater ſafety, near to *Eſcarlin*, where Monſieur *de Strozzy* lay with his Camp. We there heard news that the Prior of *Capua* had but two days before been ſlain in viewing *Eſcarlin*, which was a very great loſs, he being as brave a man as liv'd, both by land and ſea, and a true Servant of the Kings. He was Brother to Monſieur *de Strozzy*, and it was ſaid, was kill'd by the hand of a Peaſant, that fir'd a Harquebuz at him from behind a Buſh. Behold what a ſad misfortune this was, that ſo great a Captain ſhould periſh by the hand of a Raſcal with his fire ſtick. And ſo we marcht on to *Bonconvent*, Monſieur *de Strozzy* going always a little before us for conveniency of victual, and there all the Army joyn'd together.

The Prior of *Capua* ſlain.

Before the *Germans* and the *French* arriv'd at the ſaid *Bonconvent*, Monſieur *de Strozzy* went out in the morning before, with the three thouſand *Griſons* (of which Monſieur *de Fourcavaux* was Colonel) and the *Italians*, to make room for the *Germans* and *French* who had need to lye and reſt an hour or two. I went over night to wait upon Monſieur *de Strozzy*, and in the morning departed with him, that I might come betimes to *Sienna*; where we found Monſieur *de Lanſac*, who at our coming treated Monſieur *de Strozzy*, Monſieur *de Fourcavaux* and me at dinner. At the coming up of the *Griſons* and *Italians* there hapned a great skirmiſh at *St. Bonde*, a Monaſtery of Nuns near unto *St. Mark* another Monaſtery of *Religieux*. The Mareſchal *de Marignano* lay with his Camp at the Palace of *Diau*, which is upon the road to Florence, within a little mile of *Sienna*, and this very morning had raiſed his Camp to go to *St. Bonde*, there to aſſault Captain *Bartolmeo de Peſera*, whom Monſieur *de Strozzy* with his Company had quartered at that place. The ſaid Marquis had left his *Italians* at the ſaid Palace of *Diau*, and taken all his *Spaniards* and *Germans* along with him, and as we were at dinner the skirmiſh began very briſk and round at *St. Bonde*. The *Griſons* and *Italians* halted at *la Palaſſot*, half a mile from *Sienna*, and our *Italians* alſo, by the command of Monſieur *de Strozzy*, to the end that he might both the ſooner determine where he ſhould lodge the Army, and alſo becauſe he would, that before they ſhould be lodg'd, the *Germans* and the *French* ſhould be come up, that they might all at once ſit down in their Quarters: but before we had made an end of dinner, we heard ſome little pieces go off at *St. Bonde*, that the Marquis had thither taken along with him. At which I ſaid to Monſieur *de Strozzy*, *Sir, the skirmiſh grows very loud, and is mixt with Artillery, they will deprive you of Captain* Bartolomeo de Peſera, *pray let us go ſee what they are doing*; to which he replyed, *let us go then, and we muſt go however to ſee where we are to lodge the Camp*. Monſieur *de Lanſac* lent me a gray Turk, for I had not brought my horſes by ſea; and I then asked Monſieur *de Strozzy* if he were pleaſed that I ſhould go ſee what the buſineſs was, whilſt he with Meſſieurs *de Lanſac* and *de Fourcavaux* went to take order about lodging the Camp? to which he anſwered, with all his heart; and ſo we went out at the Port St. *Mark*. I went then directly to the place where the skirmiſh was, and they a little on the right hand to ſee where they ſhould lodge the Army. So ſoon as I was on the other ſide the Treſſe, where the skirmiſh was, I there found not ſo much as one Captain; ſo that the skirmiſh lookt like a very diſorderly buſineſs, and the Enemy had got the advantage of our people; for they had drawn them from the little hills near unto *St. Bonde*, and driven them to the Medows that lye upon the banks of the River *Treſſe*. At my arrival I askt for the Captains, but met not one that own'd that title, from whence a great diſorder enſu'd: but upon the inſtant I ſaw one coming upon a gray horſe, and gallopt preſently up to him, to ask him if he was a Captain or no, who told me he was; I then askt him his name, to which he made anſwer, *Io mi chiamo Marioul de Santa Fiore*, and I ſaid to him. *Signior Capitano Io mi chiamo Montluco audiamo enſiemi*, Now all the Army had already heard that I was coming with the recruits; ſo that though we had never ſeen one anothers faces before, yet we knew one another well enough by our names. I entreated him then to rally his men, and give a charge upon the Enemy, to beat them back again up the Hill, which he did, and we accordingly drave them up to the very top. In the mean while the skirmiſh extended it ſelf all along the ridge of a Hill, and by the Vineyards directly to the *Pallaſſot*, which is a little Palace, behind which were the *Griſons*, and on the back of the Mountain a little further the Artillery plaid, which the Marquis had brought to *St. Bonde*. There all the *Italian* Captains, and *Signior Cornelio Bentivoglio*, who was there Colonel, were at the corner of the Vineyards looking towards *St. Bonde*,

The Skirmiſh before *Sienna*.

Captain *Marioul de Santa Fior.*

Bonde and *St. Mark*, behind a little Oratory, by which they were covered from the Canon ſhot.

Now betwixt *la Pallaſſot* and the little Oratory it might be about three hundred paces, and Signior *Marioul* and I ſo ruffled the Enemy, that we drave the skirmiſh all along the ridge of the Vineyards directly upon them: I had brought with me Captain *Charry*, who was my Lieutenant at *Alba*, with thirty good Soldiers, almoſt all Gentlemen, who would by no means be left behind with my brother Monſieur *de Lioux*, to whom the King had given the government of *Alba*, at the humble requeſt of Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother, and I had preferred in his behalf. About which there hapned a very great diſpute, for the Mareſchal *de Briſſac* deferr'd to accept him till he had firſt had an anſwer from me; who ſo ſoon as he underſtood the King's reſolution to ſend me to *Sienna*, he ſent me another Courier, entreating me not to quit the Government of *Alba*, and that I might name, either my own Lieutenant, or any other to command in the place till my return, aſſuring me that he would accept whomſoever I ſhould appoint, and in the mean time would take care that my pay ſhould be kept for me, ſo that I ſhould not loſe ſo much as a denier; adviſing me withal to conſider, that the Command the King gave me at *Sienna* would not be of ſo long continuance as that of *Alba*. But I moſt humbly beſought him to approve of my Brother, aſſuring him that he would be as much his affectionate ſervant as I was, and that if it ſhould pleaſe God I ever return'd from *Sienna*, I ſwore to come and find him out, and to ſerve him in the condition of a private Soldier, though the King ſhould not pleaſe to conferre any command upon me, that I might have the honor to be near his perſon. Now to give you an account of the humour of the Mareſchal, I will ſay and maintain, that he was one of the braveſt Gentlemen, and the beſt Maſters that has been theſe fifty years in *France*, for ſuch as he knew to be zealous and affectionate to the King's ſervice; and if Preſident *Birague* will lay his hand upon his heart, he will ſwear the ſame. He was a man that had evermore a greater regard to another man's profit than his own, a man could never loſe any thing by him, but every man had his ſhare both of advantage and honor, and as to the reſt, he lov'd and honor'd a worthy man, even to the meaneſt Soldier. The beſt men he knew by their names, and would give ear to the advice of all, without relying too much upon his own head-piece as Monſieur *de Lautrec* was too much enclin'd to do. But to return to the Skirmiſh, I found at the Oratory Signior *Cornelio*, and Colonel *Charamont*, whom I had not before ſeen, ſince my arrival. Betwixt the ſaid Oratory and *la Bonde* there is a great High-way, and by the ſide of it two little houſes, ſome ten or twelve paces diſtant from one another. In this High-way we gave the Enemy a charge, and gain'd from them the two houſes, into one of which Captain *Charry* put himſelf, and our *Italians* into the other, they there continued about three quarters of an hour, almoſt alwayes fighting, inſomuch that the Marquis ſent thither all his Spaniſh Harquebuzeers, and even the *Italians* who were at their Fort of *St. Mark*, and planted ſix Enſigns of Spaniſh foot upon the great High-way to maintain the fight. Now the hotteſt of the skirmiſh was on the right hand, and on the left amongſt the Vines, ſo that the Cavalry could do nothing. Signior *Cornelio* then by the advice of his Captains was about to retire, when I remonſtrated to him that he muſt by no means offer to ſtir, till firſt he had ſome horſe, and alſo the *Griſons* to make good his retreat, to whom I would preſently go, and entreat them to come up half way betwixt the Pallaſſot and the Oratory, and would likewiſe go to requeſt the ſame of the Count *de la Miranda*, who was Colonel of the horſe, and had halted in a Valley behind a little Wood near unto *la Pallaſſot*; which they approv'd of very well; and ſo I preſently ran to the *Griſons*, entreating them to advance but two hundred paces only; but the Colonel that commanded under Monſieur *de Fourcavaux* would by no means be perſwaded to it. I then ſpurr'd up to the Count, and pray'd him to ſend out four Cornets of horſe, which he preſently did, and they were the Count *de Fontavala*, *Cornelio*, *Joby*, the Baron *de Rabat*, and my Nephew *Serillac*, who commanded the Company of Monſieur *de Cipierre*. Now as the Cornets were advancing at a good round gallop, I ſaw Signior *Cornelio*, who at the importunity of his Captains was again begining to retire, and preſently ran to him, remonſtrating that the ſix Enſigns were upon their march, and that they were *Spaniards*, whoſe colours being ſo large, it was a ſign the Marquis was there in perſon with all his Army, who would infallibly charge him ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould begin to deſcend the Hill, entreating him therefore to return back to the ſame place, which he did, being departed from it not above thirty paces. I then return'd to the Cornets, and ſtopt them in the mid-way betwixt the Pallaſſot and the Oratory, which having done, I once more went to the *Griſons*, who after I had made them ſenſible of the danger we were in to loſe all the Officers, aroſe and began to ſtrike up their Drums,

The Sieur *de Lioux* Governor of *Alba*.

Character of the Mareſchal *de Briſſac*.

Drums, and marcht up cloſe by the Horſe. The Marquis ſeeing the Cavalry and the *Griſons* begin to appear in the field, thought it now convenient to withdraw his ſix Enſigns out of the great High-way; there was not one Officer of ours on horſeback but my ſelf and Signior *Marioul*, who never ſtirred from my ſide, ſo that I could plainly ſee all the Enemy did: I then ſaid to Signior *Cornelio*, *Look you Sir, the Spaniſh Enſigns having diſcovered our Cavalry, and the Griſons are facing about, now charge them home, for now it is time*: which being ſaid, Signiour *Marioul* alighted, and clapt a Target to his arm, having his ſword in his hand; I then ſaid to Captain *Charry, that he was now to ſhew what he had ever been, and muſt let theſe ſtrangers ſee what a Gaſcon could do, bidding him be ſure to charge in before them all.* Monſieur *de Fourcavaux* had brought four hundred Italian Harquebuzeers from *Parma*, very brave men, who were drawn up cloſe by the Oratory (for my part) I will not make my ſelf more valiant than I am, for I alighted not, I already began to play the King's Lieutenant, and we divided the men to the right and left, all along a great High-way, and there we made our charge, which was a brave one, if ever any was, and ſuch that we drave them as far as a deſcent on the left hand of *St. Bonde*, where the Marquis ſtood with the remainder of his *Spaniards* and *Germans*, and being the *Spaniards* ſtood juſt upon the edge of the aſcent, thoſe who were put to flight ruſht quite through them, and both one and the other ran full drive upon the *Germans*. The Marquis who ſaw the torrent of this diſorder coming upon him, began, as well as he could, to retire by a Valley, without ſound of Trumper, or beat of Drum. Thoſe who were come out of *St. Marks*, retreated alſo in very great haſte, carrying off with them the four little pieces with which they had batter'd *St. Bonde*, into their Fort. The Marquis told me after, when I came out of *Sienna*, as he accompanied me two miles from the Town, that had we follow'd the purſuit we had put all his Army to flight, and given him a total defeat: but we were not aware of his diſorder; we thought our ſelves very happy, that we had come off ſo good cheap; and our Enemies thought themſelves happier than we.

Monſieur *de Strozzy*, who was in a Valley on the other ſide the Port *St. Mark*, as he was conſulting with Meſſieurs *de Lanſac* and *de Fourcavaux* about the ſituation of the Camp, heard very well that there was a very great skirmiſh; but he knew that all the Captains were there, and that I was alſo gone thither; neither did they ever imagine it had been half ſo ſharp as it was; but in the end hearing it grow ſo loud, they left all and came gallopping to us; yet could they not come time enough to the charge, which the ſaid Monſieur *de Strozzy* was very much troubled at, and ſomething diſcontented that no notice had been given him of the fight, and Monſieur *de Fourcavaux* was the ſame, foraſmuch as the *Griſons*, of which he was the chief Officer, were come up juſt to fight, and that his Harquebuzeers had fought. But I excus'd it to them both, telling them that I had never a horſe-man with me, but Signior *Marioul*, and that he was too brave a Gentleman to leave the skirmiſh, having beſides three or four Enſigns under his command, wherefore it had not been poſſible for me to ſend them word. Now Monſieur *de Strozzy* at his riſing from dinner had ſent away Signior *Roberto* his Brother in all haſte, to cauſe the *French* and *Germans* to advance, which he did, and found the *Germans* beginning to drink, and conſequently could not ſuddainly get them from the Tables; for the ſaid, Signior *de Strozzy* had cauſed meat to be ſet ready for them upon the great High-way, which had he not done they had held on their march, and juſt in the nick had come into the heat of the fight, and ſo the Battail had been won; but we muſt ſay with the *Italian. Fa me indevino, & io ti daro denari.* This was that which was done the firſt day that I arriv'd at *Sienna*, where I ſo ſignaliz'd my ſelf to the *Siennois*, and all the Italian Captains, that knew me not before, as purchaſed me a very great eſteem, both with the Inhabitants of the City and the whole Army; for by running up and down amongſt the foot now here, now there, ordering theſe on the one ſide, and thoſe on the other, I gave them to underſtand that this was not the firſt skirmiſh by a hundred wherein I had been engag'd.

The Germans are eating and drinking in the midſt of the skirmiſh.

The Mareſchal then lodg'd his Camp betwixt *Porto Novo* and *Porto Tufo*, in the beautiful Suburbs that are there, and not only there, for I dare boldly ſay, that if the Suburbs of *Sienna* had ſtood altogether, they would have been bigger than the City; for in the Suburbs were more goodly Palaces, and finer Churches and Monaſteries than there were in the body of the Town. The next morning Monſieur *de Strozzy* carried us up to that part of the wall looking towards the Enemies Camp, where we fell into conſultation, whether or no it were good to hazard a Battail; and there the opinions were various, ſome thinking it the beſt, and others conceiving it not convenient ſo to do. Thoſe who were of opinion that we ought not to fight objected, that we could not go to the

A Conſultation held at Sienna about fighting a Battail.

Palace

Palace of *Diau*, without paſſing cloſe by a little Fort the Marquis had made, betwixt the little obſervance and the aforeſaid Palace, where there was three or four pieces of great Artillery (as it was true), and that leaving that behind, we ſhould alſo leave our own Fort of *Camolia* naked of defence. I then propounded that for any harm the Artillery of the little Fort could do us, we could paſs by a little before day, and might leave an Enſign or two to bridle the little Fort from daring to ſally out, and as for the Fort of *Camolia*, we could leave three or four Companies of the City to keep them likewiſe in aw, and that I on my part with the reſt of the Forces of the City would go out by *Porto Fontebrande*, and ſhould by break of day be got to the top of a little Mountain, ready to preſent my ſelf in the Plain at ſo opportune a time, that juſt as our Camp ſhould appear near to theirs, I ſhould at the ſame inſtant be got ſo near them, that they muſt of neceſſity enter into ſome apprehenſion, to ſee us come the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s advice.

The *Siennois* made account that they could draw four thouſand good men out of the Town. There were ſome who approv'd of my propoſal, and of the *Siennois* alſo which was to fight; and others were of a contrary opinion. The Game could not be plaid without being luſtily diſputed, for the Marquis had three Tertia's of *Spaniards*, namely that of *Sicily*, that of *Naples*, and that of *Corſica* (which we call Regiments) the two firſt compoſed of old Soldiers, and that of *Corſica* of new-raiſed men (wherein nevertheleſs there were very good Soldiers) together with two Regiments of *Germans*, each of them containing twelve Enſigns, and four or five thouſand *Italians*. As to the Cavalry I think ours would have beaten theirs, for we had very good Officers, and very brave Light-horſe; and for the reſt, our Army conſiſted of ten Enſigns of *Germans*, ten of *Griſons*, fourteen of *French*, and betwixt five and ſix thouſand *Italians*. Of all this day Monſieur *de Strozzy* could not reſolve what to do, by reaſon of the diverſity of opinions, nevertheleſs I think he was reſolv'd the next day to have fought them; for the *Siennois* were ſtark mad of fighting, and I do believe fighting for their liberty would have playd the devils: But the Marquis either had ſome knowledge of his intent, or elſe his deſign was not to ſtay any longer there; for he departed an hour before day in the morning; ſo that had God inſpir'd Monſieur *de Strozzy*, that he had this day gone out to fight, we had in the morning found them all diſlodg'd, and had fought them upon their retreat, and in diſorder: but I muſt repeat what I ſaid before, *Fa me indevino, & io ti daro denari.*

The Forces of the Marquis of *Marignan*.

The French Forces.

The Marquis *de Marignan* diſlodges his Camp.

The Marquis took the way towards *Mauchaut*, where the Mareſchal had left four Enſigns, or elſe the Marquis held it, who went to another place hard by, and Monſieur *de Strozzy* directly to *Mauchaut*, I do not certainly remember whether: but ſo it was that their Camps lay eight or nine days within ſeven or eight miles of one another, the one going to take ſome place, and the other following after to relieve it. Nevertheleſs the Marquis at laſt arrived before *Mauchaut*, and began to batter either to take or retake it. I was not there, for I ſtaid behind at *Sienna*, according to the King's intention, and in relation to my command; yet had it not been for a ſickneſs that I began to fall into, I do believe Monſieur *de Strozzy* would have taken me along with him, and have left Monſieur *de Lanſac* Governor, as before; but in the end, as Monſieur *de Strozzy* march't away, Monſieur *de Lanſac* took his way towards *Rome*, to acquit himſelf of his Commiſſion of Ambaſſador. So ſoon as the Marquis was ſenſible of Monſieur *de Strozzy*'s coming, he gave place, and drawing off his Artillery, plac't himſelf a little on the right hand, at the diſtance of a hundred and fifty or two hundred paces from the Town, where he made his advantage of two or three little Mountains, under which he entrencht himſelf on that ſide by the Fountains. Monſieur *de Strozzy* then came and encampt his Army all along a hollow way that there was betwixt the Marquis and the Town. Now Monſieur *de Strozzy* plac't himſelf ſo near in deſign to fight the Marquis, if he could once tempt him out of his Trenches, and there they lay ſeven or eight days to ſee which ſhould firſt diſlodge. The Marquis knew very well, that in caſe he ſhould firſt move, Monſieur *de Strozzy* would infallibly fight him; and therefore would by no means be drawn to do it, being expreſly forbid to put any thing to hazard, as we were after told by *Don Juan de Luna* himſelf, who was preſent with the Marquis at that time, and in his own perſon, a very brave *Spaniard*.

Monſieur *de Lanſac* goes Ambaſſador to *Rome*.

Don Juan de Luna.

Now betwixt the two Camps there was no more than the breadth of one little field, and that not above fifty paces over, wherein there daily hapned skirmiſhes betwixt the foot of both Armies, and ſo diſadvantageous to us, that we always came off with the worſe, by reaſon of the Artillery the Marquis had planted upon the three forementioned little Mountains; ſo that Monſieur *de Strozzy* loſt more men by their Canon than by their ſmaller ſhot. The ſaid Sieur *de Strozzy* was poſſeſt of one Fountain only, upon

which the Artillery from one of the Mountainets continually playd, and kill'd a great many men; ſo that they were conſtrain'd to fetch all their water by night; neither could he ever draw up his Cavalry into Battalia, but that the great ſhot did great execution upon them, and I was told that in three or four dayes time he had above ſixſcore men and horſes kill'd, inſomuch that our Cavalry was infinitely diſcourag'd, and the foot alſo very much baffled and out of heart. Notwithſtanding all which Monſieur *de Strozzy* perſiſted obſtinate not to remove his Quarters, and that both out of the hope he had that the Marquis would firſt diſlodge, and give him an opportunity to fight him, as alſo out of punctilio, that he would not give him that advantage, as the firſt to forſake his ground. Both the one and the other of theſe Generals had mettle enough, and both of them had glory in their proſpect: but it is better to do one's Maſters buſineſs, than to ſtand upon nicities of honor; I mean if there be no manifeſt ſhame in the caſe.

The *French* very much annoy'd by the Enemies Canon.

Monſieur *de Strozzy* every day ſent an account of all he did, both to me and to the Senat, as we alſo met every day in Council to debate upon what he writ to us, and I every hour adviſed, and entreated him not to conſume his Forces with continual loſs, which would encourage the Enemies Soldiers, and diſhearten his own: the Lords of the Senate likewiſe counſel'd him the ſame; but he had ſo paſſionate a deſire to fight with the Marquis, that that longing alone blinded his judgment, and depriv'd him of the knowledge of his daily loſs. I dy'd with deſire to go to him, but the Senate would by no means conſent unto it: at laſt he writ me word, that within two dayes he would retire in the face of the Enemy, directly to *Luſignano*, whereupon I immediately diſpatcht away a Gentleman to him, who was preſent when the Letter came, called the Sieur *de Leſcuſſan*, by him entreating and conjuring him not to make his retreat by day, ſince the loſs in the skirmiſhes had hapned on his ſide (for by ill fortune our people had loſt more the two laſt dayes, than of all the time before,) and that whoever might adviſe him to the contrary, I begg'd of him to be rul'd by me, and to retire by night, for it was no more than two miles to *Luſignano*; beſeeching him withall to remember that King *Francis* had retreated from before *Landrecy* after this manner, and was ſo far from being condemn'd for ſo doing, that on the contrary he was highly applauded for it, and it was lookt upon by all the Princes and Potentates of Chriſtendome for the moſt prudent thing he ever did; yet had he ſuſtain'd no loſs by skirmiſhes. I gave him moreover to underſtand, that hitherto I had never ſeen a good retreat made after this manner, neither by Friend nor Enemy, if they who made it were cloſely purſued. I further repreſented to him the retreat that Meſſieurs *de Montegean* and *de Boiſſy* would make at *Brignolles*, who would not be perſwaded to retire without ſeeing the Enemy, for all the Captains who were preſent with them could do or ſay, which was the cauſe they were defeated within leſs than half a mile of their Quarters. I alſo ſet before him the exemple of Monſieur *d'Annebaut*, at that time Mareſchal of *France*, at *Theroanne*, of Monſieur *d'Auſſun* at *Carignan*, and ſeveral others: and that ſince ſo great a Prince, and ſo great a Soldier, as King *Francis* was, had by all the world been commended for that diſcreet way of proceeding, he ought to take him for his preſident, conſidering alſo that ſo many valiant Leaders had loſt themſelves in retreating at the head of an Army; and that by ſuch a loſs (if it ſhould ſo unhappily fall out) he might gueſs what would become of the City of *Sienna*. In ſhort Monſieur *de Leſcuſſan* brought me word, that once Monſieur *de Strozzy* was reſolv'd to do it after this ſort, and had it not been for one unlucky fellow called *Thomas d'Albene* he had with him, he had retreated after the manner I adviſed: but as there are ſome men in the world, whom God has appointed to do good, ſo has he created others to do miſchief, as he did this *Thomas*; for he repreſented to Monſieur *de Strozzy* ſo many things, and ſo preacht what a diſhonor it would be to him to ſteal away by night, that in the end he made him to alter his determination; who thereupon ſent me word that he was reſolv'd to make his retreat in the face of the Enemy: Whereas before, to let me ſee that he was reſolv'd to follow my advice, he had at one of the clock in the night ſent away two pieces of Canon he had with him ſtraight to *Luſignano*; at which place I do believe they were already arriv'd (for it was but two little miles) before he altered his reſolution. It was four of the clock in the morning before Monſieur *de Leſcuſſan* parted from him, who brought me his determination; and arriv'd at ſeven of the clock in the morning *a la mode de France*. This hapned to be in *Auguſt*, and preſently I ſent to the Senate, deſiring them all to meet me at the Palace, for that I had ſomething of importance to deliver them, which they did. Now my ſickneſs was ſtill more and more encreaſt upon me, and was at laſt turn'd into a continued Feaver, with a Flix, notwithſtanding which about nine of the clock I came to the Palace, where I began a Speech to them in Italian, which I ſpoke better then than I can write it now, which is one reaſon

The Sieur *de Montluc's* advice to Monſieur *de Strozzy* upon his reſolution to retreat in the face of the Enemy.

Retreats at the head of an Army dangerous.

Thom. d'Albene the cauſe of Monſieur *de Strozzy's* misfortune.

The Sieur *de Montluc* ſick.

ſon why I have here ſet it down in French, as alſo to the end, that the Gentlemen of *Gaſcony*, who few of them underſtand that Language, and ſhall read my Book, as I am confident they will, may not be put to the trouble to have it interpreted to them. I very well remember what I ſaid, and do truly believe I do not miſs ten words, for my diſcourſe was only what was dictated to me by nature, without any help of Art.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Harangue to the people of *Sienna*.

"Gentlemen, I have requeſted you to this Aſſembly, that I might remonſtrate to "you four things, which I conceive to be very important to your conſervation, and have "been moved ſo to do, by reaſon that Monſieur *de Strozzy* has this night ſent me word "by *Monſieur de L'Eſcuſſan* of the reſolution he has taken this morning to retreat in o-"pen day to *Luſignano*, in the very face of his Enemy. You all know very well what "perſwaſions and intreaties we have uſed, that he would take heed of retreating after this "manner, and particularly what arguments and exemples I laid before him by the ſaid "Sieur *de l'Eſcuſſan*, which he reliſht very well at firſt, and was once reſolv'd to do as "King *Francis* did before *Landrecy*; nevertheleſs, by I know not what misfortune, he "ſuffers himſelf to be carried away by a man he has with him, one *Thomas d'Albene*, "who has made him alter his determination, by making him believe that to retreat by "night would be diſhonourable to him: God grant the ill counſel of this man do not "prove diſhonourable and ruinous both to him and to you alſo. Now Gentlemen, whilſt "we are in expectation what will be the iſſue of this Battail, I have four things to remon-"ſtrate to you. The firſt, and which moſt nearly concerns you, is, that you will pleaſe "to call to mind, that you are Soveraigns in your own Republick, that your Predeceſſors "from Father to Son have left you this honorable Title: that this War aims at nothing "but the ruine of that Soveraignty; for if the Enemy remain victorious, you are to hope "for no other, than from Soveraigns to be converted into Subjects, and Slaves; and that "therefore it is much better for you to die with your arms in your hands in the defence "of this honorable Title, than tamely to part with your Birth-right, and to outlive the "loſs of your Priviledges and Liberty with ſhame and infamy. The ſecond is, that you "will conſider the friendſhip the King my Maſter has towards you, who pretends to no "other advantage from you, than that your amity be reciprocal to his, and that ſince he "has generouſly taken you into his protection, you will have this confidence in him, "that he will never forſake you: for ſhould you go leſs in your reſolution for one little "blow of fortune, conſider with what contempt the whole world will look upon you; "there is not a Prince upon the earth that will aid and aſſiſt you, ſhould they once diſcover "you to be a mutable and irreſolute people. For all theſe conſiderations therefore I be-"ſeech you to continue firm and conſtant, and approve your ſelves magnanimous and "faithful in adverſity, when you ſhall hear news of the loſs of the Battail, which I ve-"ry much fear you will ſoon do, conſidering the reſolution Monſieur *de Strozzy* has ta-"ken, though God of his goodneſs divert the misfortune. The third is, that you will "conſider in what a height of reputation your forefathers liv'd and dy'd, which alſo "they have left you to inherit, that you may for ever carry the name of the moſt vali-"ant and warlike people of all *Italy*, and have moreover left behind them honorable "memory of the Battails they have won of thoſe of their own Nation. You alſo derive "your ſelves from the antient warlike *Romans*, and pretend to be their true legitimate "Sons, giving their antient arms, which is the Wolf with *Romulus* and *Remus*, Founders "of their proud City, the Metropolis of the World. I therefore moſt earneſtly beſeech you "Gentlemen, that you will call to mind who you are, and what your Progenitors have "ever been; which title of honor ſhould you once loſe, what a ſhame and infamy would "it be to your famous Anceſtors, and what cauſe will your children have to curſe the "hour that ever they were deſcended of ſuch Fathers, who have abandon'd their Liberty, "to ſubmit their necks to the yoke of ſervitude and ſubjection? The fourth thing I "have to trouble you withal is to remonſtrate to you, that as I have an entire confidence, "you will manifeſt your valour and vertue upon this occaſion, you in order thereunto "will ſuch-lainly think of making proviſion of all things neceſſary to the conſervation of "your City; for the Battail I already give you for loſt, not that it will nevertheleſs pro-"ceed from any default in Monſieur *de Strozzy*, but from the loſſes we have ſuſtein'd "in the ſeveral skirmiſhes that have been fought before *Mauchaut*, it being impoſſible "by reaſon thereof, but that our people muſt be mightily Creſt-fallen and dejected, and "thoſe of the Enemy in greater heart and courage. 'Tis an effect of victory to be exalt-"ed, and fear is the iſſue of misfortune and diſgrace; neither do the little loſſes in skir-"miſhes, which are the uſual forerunners of a Battail, ever portend any thing but diſaſter "and ruine. On the other ſide alſo, thoſe who retire muſt of neceſſity ſhew their backs

The Sieur *de Montluc* preſages the loſs of the Battail.

Monſieur *de Montluc* is a little miſtaken in this point, for the *Siennois* are not deſcended from the antient *Romans* but from the *Gauls*.

" to the Enemy; where, although they often face about, yet muſt they ſtill make for-
" wards, where it will be impoſſible but they muſt meet with ſome hedge or ditch, o-
" ver which they muſt of neceſſity paſs in diſorder; for upon a Retreat every one will
Fear ever accompanies a Retreat. " ſtrive to be foremoſt, becauſe fear and terror are the ordinary concomitants of thoſe
" who would retire; and for never ſo little diſorderly haſte they ſhall make all will be
" loſt, if the Enemy have but half the courage that men ſhould have. Remember (Gentle-
The Battail of *Cannee*. " men) the Battail that *Hannibal* gain'd of the *Romains* at *Cannee* near to *Rome*. The
" *Romans* who were at home in the City never ſuſpected it poſſible that their people
" ſhould be beaten, and therefore made no kind of proviſion, nor took any order in
" their affairs; ſo that when news came of the defeat, they were ſtrook into ſo great a
" terror, that the Gates of *Rome* remain'd for three dayes and three nights wide open,
" not a man ſo much as daring to go ſhut them; ſo that had *Hannibal* purſued his vi-
" ctory, he might without any oppoſition have entred the City; as *Titus Livie* reports
" in his Hiſtory. Therefore (Gentlemen) give preſent order for the ſecuring of your Gates,
" and appoint men to guard them, which you muſt alſo chooſe out of thoſe of beſt re-
" pute for the braveſt and moſt faithful amongſt you: In the next place cauſe procla-
" mation to be made throughout the City, that all thoſe who have Corn or Meal at the
" Mills, ſhall make haſte to get their Corn ground, and bring it all into the City. Cauſe
" alſo all thoſe who have grain, or any other ſorts of ptoviſion in the Villages immediately
" to fetch it into the Town, upon penalty of having it burnt, or put to ſack if by to mor-
" row night it be not all brought within the walls; and all this to the end that we may
" have wherewith to ſupport our ſelves, and maintain the Siege till the ſuccours the King
" will ſend us ſhall arrive; for he is not ſo inconſiderable a Prince, but that as he has had
" the power to ſend you theſe aids that are already come, he is yet able to ſend you more;
" and moreover command your three Standard-bearers to have all their Companies in a
" readineſs at the beat of Drum. My Fever preſſing upon me, I am conſtrain'd to retire to
" my lodging, in expectation of ſuch news as God ſhall pleaſe to ſend us, and you I hope
" in the mean time will take preſent order about ſuch things as I have put you in mind
" of, in which aſſurance, for the ſervice of the King my Maſter, and particularly your
" own, I make you a tender not only of the little experience God has given me, but more-
" over of my life for the defence of your City, and the antient priviledges thereof.

Thus then I departed from them, who immediately reſolv'd to have patience in what fortune ſoever God ſhould be pleaſed to ſend them, and to eat to their very children, before they would for any misfortune that ſhould befall them, depart from the Amity and Protection of the King of *France*. I perceived both by their countenance and their ſpeeches, that they were a people very well reſolv'd to defend their liberty, and to preſerve inviolate the friendſhip they had promiſed and ſworn to me. A reſolution at which indeed I was mightily well pleaſed. They immediately then cauſed proclamation to be made, upon which every one ran to the field to fetch in what they had, and about five a clock in the Evening arrived Captain *Cambas*, Camp-Maſter to the French Infantry, who came to bring me news that the Battail was loſt, and Monſieur *de Strozzy* wounded to death, whom they had laid upon Poles to carry him to *Montalſin*, and that that very night all thoſe of the Army who had eſcap't the Battail would be at the Gates of *Sienna*. I leave any one to judge what a condition I was in, being ſick of a Fever and a Diſſentery, ſeeing our General dead, or what was as bad, it being not above fourteen or fifteen dayes ſince I arrived in this Republick, not having any acquaintance with any one perſon in the City, and conſequently not knowing who were good Frenchmen, and who were not. Time is requir'd to the knowledge of men. Monſieur *de Strozzy* had left me but five Italian Companies, of which I did not know ſo much as one Captain, and thoſe he had left in the Citadel and the Fort of *Camolia*, which were the Keys of the City. I then ſent Captain *Cambas* to carry the news to the Senate, who were nothing diſmai'd at it, but told him that three or four dayes before I had remonſtrated to them, that this retreat would be dangerous; and that although by what I had ſaid to them they had given the Battail for loſt, they would nevertheleſs nothing alter the good inclination they had for the King, nor deſpair of being reliev'd by him.

Monſieur *de Strozzy* defeated the 3d of *Auguſt* 1555.

Do not think it ſtrange (fellow Captains) if foreſeeing the loſs of a Battail, I alſo foretold it to the *Sienvois*, which I did, not to diſhearten, but to aſſure them, to the end that the ſudden news thereof might not ſtrike a general aſtoniſhment throughout the whole City; 'twas this made them reſolve, this made them take counſel to prepare themſelves; and in my opinion men do better in expecting the worſt, than in being over confident of their Fortune. Upon what I had ſaid to them every one put on a reſolution to die in the

defence

defence of their walls, and every thing was preſently brought into the City. At break of day in the morning the Infantry arriv'd, for the Cavalry were gone away with Monſieur *de Strozzy*; neither had there indeed at *Sienna* been any thing for the horſes to eat. Colonel *Rheincroc*, and Signior *Cornelio Bentivoglio* came to my lodgings, where amongſt us it was determin'd, that the *Rheincroc* ſhould out of ten Enſigns that he had make ſix, Signior *Cornelio* ſix of *Italians*, and Captain *Cambas* ſix of *French*, and that all the reſt ſhould be ſent away to *Montalſin*. The Foot were never permitted to enter the Town, till firſt the Election was made, and with the remainder we alſo ſent away five Enſigns of *Italians* to goe to the ſaid *Montalſin*: to which place I writ to Monſieur *de Strozzy* (upon the aſſurance Signior *Cornelio* had given me that there was yet hopes of his life) to give him an account of the order I had taken, which he did alſo very well approve.

The Marquis knew not how to follow his victory, which if he had, all the Army had been cut to pieces, and all the earth could not have ſav'd Monſieur *de Strozzy* from being put to a cruel death by the Duke of *Florence*. 'Tis the ordinary fault of Conquerors. You Generals of Armies therefore that ſhall come after us, learn to be wiſe at the expence of ſo many others, and ſuffer not your ſelves to be ſo far tranſported with joy for the winning of a Battail, that you forget to improve it to the utmoſt; follow your blow, and do not give your Enemy leiſure to recollect himſelf. The Marquis came not till the next day to *Luſignano*, for he fear'd leſt Monſieur *de Strozzy* might again rally his Army, conſidering that he had loſt none of his horſe, and not knowing him to be wounded, and came not of three dayes before *Sienna*.

The Marquis *de Marignan* knows not how to make uſe of his victory.

I ſhall not undertake to give any account how this Battail was fought, nor how it was loſt; both becauſe I was not preſent there, and that alſo there is ſome diſpute about it, and various reports made of thoſe who had done well and ill. This is like a trial at Law, all parties muſt be heard before judgment be pronounced: for I have heard the *French* and the *Lanſquenets* accuſe the *Griſons* and *Italians* for behaving themſelves ill in this Battail (though they deny it) and the Cavalry much worſe. Others ſay, and affirm that there was treachery in the buſineſs: for my part I can ſay nothing to't, for I know nothing but by hearſay; but ſhall ſtick to what I ſaid before, that theſe retreats by day in the face of an Enemy are dangerous, and to be avoided, if poſſible; or if not, 'tis better to lay all at ſtake,

Diſputes about the loſs of the Battail.

Monſieur *de Strozzy* lay thirteen days without diſcovering any hopes of life, which notwithſtanding he fail'd not to ſend out Captains towards *Romania* to raiſe new Forces, and to furniſh all the Garriſons upon the Sea Coaſt, and about *Montalſin* with foot and horſe. He was a man of great vigilancy, diligence, and wiſdome; but 'tis impoſible to be alwayes fortunate. Now ſeeing my ſelf reduc't to the laſt extremity, at the door of death, and given over by all my Phyſicians, I aſſign'd over the Government of the City to Signior *Cornelio*: but Monſieur *de Strozzy* hearing of my deſperate condition, ſent away poſt to *Rome* for Monſieur *de Lanſac* to come and command there; who accordingly being come as far as *Montalſin*, he was there adviſed to go by night, and on foot with two Guides and one Servant, and to balk the great high-wayes, by which means he might the better eſcape the Enemies Guards: but as he was come hard by *Sienna*, he was there met by ſome Soldiers who were going to the warre, by them taken and carried to the Marquis, and by him ſent away to *Florence*, where he remained priſoner during all the time of the War, and a good while after. The ſaid Sieur *de Lanſac* was in this very ill adviſed, for he might have paſt well enough, had he known how to carry his buſineſs. Had he come I do certainly believe I had died; for I had then had nothing to do, whereas my mind was ſo wholly taken up with the care of my buſineſs, that I had not leiſure to think of my diſeaſe. Monſieur *de Fourquevaux* was wounded, and taken priſoner at this Battail, and Captain *Balleron* Colonel of the French Foot, with ſeveral others, to the number of betwixt four and five thouſand. 'Twas ſaid that Monſieur *de Strozzy* in his own perſon, behav'd himſelf like a brave and valiant Leader. And this was the ſucceſs of this unfortunate Battail.

The diligence of Monſieur *de Strozzy*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* ſick almoſt unto death.

The Sieur *de Lanſac* taken priſoner.

This Hiſtory may ſerve for exemple to ſuch as have a vanity in making retreats in the face of an Enemy, and I ſhould ever adviſe that they would rather put it to the puſh of a Battail, than to retire after this manner; for I find nothing in the whole practice of Arms ſo difficult as a retreat. Of this that of the Conſtable at *St. Quentin* gives us moreover ſufficient proof; a man who in his time had known both how to ſhew, and teach other Commanders what they ought to do, though ſuch was his misfortune here, that he could not make uſe of thoſe precepts himſelf had at other times given to others. Though I muſt nevertheleſs needs ſay, that had he been well ſeconded by the Captains of Foot, who were without with him, he might perhaps have made his retreat; for they had only

needed

needed to hazard three or four hundred Harquebuzeers with the Mareſchal *de St. André*, who might very well have kept the Count *d'Aignemont* from ſeeing the diſorder that was amongſt the Baggage, which was yet mixt with the horſe, and he would never have charg'd the ſaid Mareſchal, had he been ſuſtein'd by the Harquebuzeers, foraſmuch as the ſaid Count had no foot at all, and the Conſtable had had above half an hours time wherein to be gaining ground, as he had already begun to do, and had recover'd the wood to ſave his Infantry, and ſo had retir'd with all the Cavalry to *la Fere*, by which means they could have loſt no more than the Harquebuzeers, and part of the Mareſchal's horſe only; which it had been much better to do, than to loſe the General, and all, as they did. I have ſince talkt with ſeveral of the Foot Officers, who are yet living, and remonſtrated to them what a riddle this buſineſs was to all men of underſtanding, telling them that I at the age of eighteen or nineteen only had very well diſcover'd in the retreat of Captain *Carbon* and Monſieur *de Grammont*, at *St. Jean de Luz*, that a ſmall party was to be hazarded to ſave all, of which I my ſelf had had experience, as I have writ in the beginning: but they excuſed themſelves upon the Camp-Maſter, and laid all the blame to him, which was all they had to ſay for themſelves. All theſe exemples I have ſet down that they may be of uſe to others for the time to come, and cannot forbear often to repeat, and much to inſiſt upon the fault committed by theſe kind of retreats, by reaſon of the great inconveniencies that enſue upon them, to the loſs of a Battail. It were not worth ſo much repentance, if they were reſolv'd upon a Battail, and to fight it out, that every one might do his beſt: but to be beaten when they have a mind to retire, and apparently decline fighting is intolerable.

The Conſtable defeated at *St. Quentin.*

You Generals and Lieutenants of Provinces may here ſee of what importance theſe errors are; when that of *St. Quentin* put the whole Kingdom in danger, and was the occaſion that we quitted all our Conqueſts; and this put the King's affairs of *Italy* in a very ill condition. Be not then aſham'd to cover your deſigns with the ſhades of night, which is ſo far from being ſhameful, that it is on the contrary honorable to fool and deceive your Enemy, that watches an opportunity to do you a miſchief; and who when the day appears ſhall find nothing but the empty neſt, and the birds flown and gone: it is a much greater ſhame and diſhonor to you to be beaten turning your backs. If you be ſo nice of your honor fight in good earneſt in God's name; ſit ſtill in your Fort, if it be a place of the leaſt advantage, and there quietly expect either till your Enemy ſhall be weary of waiting upon you, or that he comes to attaque you in your Camp, and ſo you ſhall be ſure at leaſt to play your game above board as they ſay.

The Marquis *de Marignan* before *Sienna.*

Now the Marquis lodg'd the Tertia of *Corſica* at the little Obſervance, the Tertia of *Sicily* at the Chartreux, where he entrencht them ſo well, that we could by no means come to them, and himſelf with the reſidue of his Camp remain'd at *Arbeirotte*, and part of his Cavalry were quarter'd at *Bonconvent*. He truſted to the Garriſon he had in the Fort *St. Mark* every night to go the Patrouille, and ſo ſcour the road on that ſide towards *Fontebrando*, that no proviſion ſhould enter into *Sienna*; yet could he not order it ſo, but that there entred Cows and Buffles for ſix weeks together. I think the thing that made the Marquis proceed with ſo much leiſure and moderation, was that he waited for my death, and that of Monſieur *de Strozzy*; making account that we being once dead, and Meſſieurs *de Lanſac* and *de Fourquevaux* taken priſoners, our people wanting a French-man to head them would deliberate to retire: Monſieur *de Strozzy* nevertheleſs recover'd, and being told that I was dead (for by reaſon I had for three dayes been look't upon as a dead man, no one entring into my Chamber but the Prieſts to take care of my ſoul, for my Body was given over by the Phyſicians, they had ſent him ſuch word) Monſieur *de Strozzy*, I ſay, ſeeing Monſieur *de Lanſac* taken, and me dead, would venture to come from *Montalſin*, and to put himſelf into *Sienna*. According to this reſolution then he departed in the beginning of the night from *Montalſin*, with ſix Companies of foot and two Troops of horſe, one of which was commanded by my Nephew *Seriſſac*, who before he ſet out bethought himſelf to borrow three or four Trumpets of his Companions, fearing that would fall out which did; for Monſieur *de Strozzy* could not ſo ſecretly depart, but that the Marquis had intelligence of his deſign, and with all his Camp lay in wait for him about *Fontebrando*, and all along the River *Treſſe*.

The hopes of the Marquis of *Marignan.*

The Sieur *de Strozzy* goes to relieve *Sienna.*

Monſieur *de Strozzy* had placed all his Foot before, and his Cavalry behind, being himſelf mounted upon a very little horſe, and having his leg ſuſtain'd in a Sarre faſtned to the pummel of his Saddle, and with him was the Biſhop of *Sienna*. So ſoon as our Italian Foot came into the Enemies Ambuſcado, they fell upon them with ſo great fury, and ſo ſudden a terror, that without much reſiſtance they betook themſelves to flight, and bore Monſieur *de Strozzy* over and over, who with the Biſhop got amongſt the ruins of

Monſieur *de Strozzy* in very great danger.

of ſome old houſes, where he ſtaid holding his horſe in his hand. The noiſe was ſo great that it was heard to *Sienna*, it being not above a mile off at the furtheſt. The Enemy follow'd their victory with great execution, when *Serillac* with his Trumpets charg'd through the middeſt of them; who hearing ſo many Trumpets, and ſeeing the horſe faln in amongſt them, faced about in rout and confuſion, and ran full drive upon the Marquis, who ſeeing the diſorder was conſtrain'd to retire to *Arberiotte*. Now thoſe who had given the charge, and who alſo had receiv'd it, were *Spaniards* and *Italians* mixt together, inſomuch that our people fled on the one ſide, and the Enemy on the other. Two or three hundred *Italians* of ours recover'd the walls of *Sienna*, others fled away twelve miles from thence, and old Captains too, whom the Mareſchal very much eſteem'd: but the braveſt men in the world having once loſt their judgment, and giving all for loſt, know not where they are. By this you may ſee how great the dangers of war are, and how infamous a thing it is to run away, without firſt ſeeing an apparent danger. During this buſtle the day began to appear, when *Serillac* remaining upon the place, found he had loſt no more than three or four of his Troop only, who were alſo run away with the Foot: but I believe there were not many left of the other Troop, they having only a Lieutenant to command them. Monſieur *de Strozzy* hearing now no more noiſe, with much ado again mounted on horſeback, beginning to diſcover our Cavalry, and was looking if he could find *Serillac* amongſt the dead bodies: when ſeeing him come to him, I leave you to judge what joy there was both on the one ſide and on the other, and ſo they marcht together ſtraight towards the City. Now I muſt needs ſay that Monſieur *de Strozzy* herein committed one of the greateſt follies that any man in his command ever did, as I have told him an hundred times ſince; for he knew very well, that had he been taken all the world could not have ſav'd him from being put to an ignominious death by the Duke of *Florence*, ſo profeſt and inveterate a hatred he had conceiv'd againſt him. And although *Serillac* be my Nephew, I may with truth give him this honor and commendation, that he was the only cauſe of Monſieur *de Strozzy's* ſafety; which I may the better be bold to write, becauſe Monſieur *de Strozzy* himſelf told me ſo. His Troop indeed was a very good one, being for the greateſt part *Gaſcons* and *French*; for it was the old Company of Monſieur *de Cypierre*. Of Captains there came to the Town only *Caraffa*, who was ſince Cardinal, and another, as I was told, whoſe name I have forgot, and two or three hundred Soldiers, whom Monſieur *de Strozzy* would not ſuffer to come into the Town, but that night ſent them away with the aforeſaid Captain, and kept *Caraffa* with him.

The flight and fright of both Armies.

Serillac and Monſieur *de Strozzy* meet.

So ſoon as Monſieur *de Strozzy* came into the City he preſently enquir'd how I did, and was anſwer'd, that for three or four dayes they had begun to conceive ſome hopes of my life, whereupon he came and alighted at my lodging, the Biſhop and the ſaid Gentleman being with him, where he found me ſo miſerably worn away, that my bones had pierc't through my skin in ſeveral parts of my body. He comforted me after the beſt manner he could, and there ſtaid twelve dayes expecting how God would diſpoſe of me; when ſeeing me from day to day recover ſtrength, and grow into a better poſture of health, he reſolv'd the thirteenth day in the beginning of the night to depart, without acquainting any one with his intention but my ſelf only. A little before he took horſe he and the Biſhop came to take their leaves of me, knowing very well that his being there would cauſe the Marquis to proceed with greater vigour againſt the Town, and alſo that being abroad he might find ſome way or other to relieve me; where at parting I promiſed and aſſured him to hold out to the laſt gaſp.

Monſieur *de Strozzy* goes to viſit the Sieur *de Montluc* in *Sienna*.

The Mareſchal had ſet Guards upon all the Roads to catch him, but he choſe to retire by a way, by which of all other the Mareſchal never ſuſpected he would attempt to paſs; for he went out at the Port *Camoglia*, from whence he deſcended on the right hand down into the Valley, leaving the Fort of *Camoglia* above, and going all along by the River towards the Palace of *Dian*. During his ſtay in *Sienna* he perfectly recover'd of his wounds, ſo that he arm'd, and mounted himſelf upon a good horſe. He met by the way fourty or fifty of the Enemies foot, which gave him ſome alarm, but he ſtill held on his way, without loſing any but ſome few ſervants only belonging to ſome Gentlemen who went out of the City to attend him. It was not however without peril. In a few [illegible] he eſcap't three great dangers. A little after his departure I recover'd my health, and cauſed my ſelf to be carried in a Chair about the Town. The Marquis loſing no time, fell upon us up on every ſide, and every day we had very handſome skirmiſhes: but I knew very well that the Marquis would have me for want of bread; which was the reaſon that I made this Harangue to the Captains, whom I had aſſembled together to that effect.

Monſieur *de Strozzy* goes out of *Sienna*.

"Gentlemen,

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Harangue to the Captains of *Sienna.*

" Gentlemen, I believe there is none of us who does not deſire to come off from this " Siege with honor and repute; the thirſt of honor has brought us hither. You ſee we " are here ſhut up for a long time, for we are not to imagine that the Enemy will ever " riſe from before us, till he have us by one way or another, ſeeing upon the reducing of " this place depends his victory. You ſee alſo that the King is at a great diſtance from " us, and that therefore of a long time it will not be poſſible for him to relieve us, for- " asmuch as he muſt of neceſſity draw our ſuccours from *Germany*, and out of his own " Kingdom of *France*, the *Italians* themſelves without the help of others not being ſuffi- " cient to raiſe the Enemies Siege, who have not only the Forces of *Italy*, but moreover of " almoſt all other Nations. Now in expectation of this relief we are to have a long pati- " ence, in husbanding as much as is poſſible our proviſions; in order whereunto I am to " tell you, that I have deliberated to leſſen the Size of bread from four and twenty, to twen- " ty ounces. I know very well the Soldiers would murmur at this, if you did not remon- " ſtrate to them how far we are diſtant from the King; that his Majeſty cannot ſuddenly- " relieve us, and that you will rather die of famine, than that it ſhall be laid in your " diſh, that had you had the patience to leſſen your diet the Town had not been loſt. It " would be an infamous reproach to have it ſaid, that you fill'd your bellies to ſtarve " your honor; you have not ſhut your ſelves up within theſe walls to occaſion the loſs " and ruine of the City, but to defend and to ſave it. Repreſent to them that they are " here amongſt ſtrange Nations, where they may ſet a mark of honor upon their own. " What glory do men acquire, when they not only obtain honor and eſteem for their " own particular perſons, but moreover for the Nation from whence they come? 'Tis " what a generous heart ſhould principally propoſe to himſelf for the reward of his do- " ing and ſuffering. You *Germans* ſhall return home proud of the hardſhips you have " ſuſtein'd, and the dangers you have undergone, and we *Frenchmen* alſo: and as for " you who are *Italians*, you ſhall acquire this renown, with invincible courages to have " fought for the liberty of your Country, a reputation we can none of us obtein, but by a " long patience, in giving the King my Maſter time to relieve us; and believe I beſeech you, " that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will in nothing fail of the friendſhip he has promiſed " and ſworn to you. If you remonſtrate all this to your Soldiers, and that they ſee and " know, that you your ſelves are thus reſolv'd, I am aſſur'd they will follow the ſame " wayes you take. Therefore, Gentlmen, never think to excuſe your ſelves upon them; I " have never known a mutiny happen (and yet I have ſeen many) thorough Soldiers alone, " if they were not by their Officers ſet on, and encourag'd to it. If you lead them the " way, there is nothing they will not do, no incommodity they will not ſuffer. Do it " then I beſeech you, or reſolve betimes to diſcover the bottom of your hearts, and plain- " ly tell us you have no mind to undergo the length and inconveniencies of a Siege, that " ſuch as had rather diſhonourably ſpend their time in eating and drinking, than ſtake " their perſons upon an account of honor, may depart, and not divert others from nobler " reſolutions. Now becauſe the *Germans* did not underſtand my Gibberiſh, I bad the *Rheincroc's* Interpreter tell his Maſter what I ſaid, which he did, and the *Rheincroc* made an- ſwer, that both he and his Soldiers would put on the ſame patience that we our ſelves did:

The *Germans* anſwer.

and that although it was ſaid of the *Germans*, that they could not endure without eating and drinking their fill, both he and his upon this occaſion would manifeſt the contrary. I was in plain truth the moſt afraid of theſe people, becauſe they love to make good chear more than we. As for the *Italian* he is more enur'd to hardſhip and ſuffering than we are. Thus then every one retir'd to his own Quarters to call their Companies together, to whom they accordingly remonſtrated the ſame things that I had repreſented to them

The reſolution of the Captains and Soldiers.

before. Which having heard the Soldiers all held up their hands, and ſwore they would ſuffer to the laſt gaſp of their lives before they would yield, or do any thing unbecoming men of honor. I then ſent to the Senate, entreating them the next morning to aſſemble all the chief men of the City to the Palace, to hear a remonſtrance I had to make to them, that concern'd them and their affairs, which they did, and there in *Italian* I made them this following Oration.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Speech to the *Siennois.*

" Gentlemen, had Almighty God been pleaſed ſooner to reſtore to me my health and " memory, I had ſooner thought of what we are to do for the conſervation of our li- " berty, and the defence of this City. You have all ſeen how I have by ſickneſs been re- " duc't to the very door of death, and how God at laſt has rather by miracle than any " operation of Nature raiſed me up again, to do yet more ſervice for the Republick in ſuch " and ſo great a neceſſity. Now, Gentlemen, I very well ſee, that the conſervation of " your City and Liberty conſiſts in nothing but the making your proviſions hold out;

" for

" for ſhould the Marquis attempt to have us by force, we ſhall I hope give him ſuch an " entertainment as ſhall make him curſe the hour that ever he came to beſiege *Sienna*: " but I perceive he has no mind to go that way to work; on the contrary he intends to " reduce us by famine; againſt which we muſt if poſſible provide, and defeat him of that " expectation. I yeſterday called together the Colonel of the *Germans* and his Captains, " Signior *Cornelio* here preſent with his, and *Combas* alſo with his *French* Officers; to " whom I remonſtrated, that to prolong time, and to give the moſt Chriſtian King lei- " ſure to relieve us, it would be neceſſary to leſſen the Soldiers bread, from four and " twenty to twenty ounces. Telling them that ſo ſoon as all the world ſhould know, " and particularly the King, that we are reſolv'd to hold out to the laſt morſel, it will in- " cite his Majeſty to fall ſpeedily in hand with levying of ſuccours, that ſo many brave men " may not be loſt, and that he may not ſeem to abandon thoſe he has taken into his pro- " tection in a time of the greateſt neceſſity and danger. Now, by what I have been told " you have, during the time of my extremity, taken account of your proviſions, and have " only found ſo much as to laſt to the fifteenth of *November*. Of which you have alſo " ſent word to his Majeſty, a thing that may very well give him occaſion to grow cold " in ſending us relief, conſidering the great diſtance betwixt him and us, and that alſo " Winter is drawing on. Armies do not fly, nor ride Poſt. His ſuccours will be worthy " a great Prince, ſuitable to the friendſhip he bears to you, and ſufficient to force the Ene- " my from your Walls, and therefore cannot ſo ſuddenly be ſet on foot. Now (Gentlemen) " after I had remonſtrated thus much to the Captains, I found them all ready to ſuffer to " the laſt gaſp of their lives, and Nation for Nation went to make the ſame Remonſtrance " to their Soldiers, whom they found all willing to have patience, and ſo have both pro- " miſed and ſworn. See then what you *Siennois* ought to do, ſeeing it concerns the loſs " of your Liberties and Seigneuries, and peradventure of your lives; for you are to ex- " pect no good uſage, having put your ſelves under the King's protection. I beſeech you " therefore, that ſince we who have nothing here to loſe, neither wives nor fires have " ſhew'd you the way, you will conſider of it, to regulate the expence, and appoint " Commiſſaries to take an account of all the corn you have in the City, and alſo of the " mouths; and this being done, begin to reduce your bread to fifteen ounces, for it is not " poſſible, but you muſt have ſome little conveniency in your houſes, that the Soldiers " cannot have. And of all this good order I ſhall advertize the King's Miniſters at *Rome*, " and from thence ſhall cauſe a Gentleman to go on forwards to the King himſelf, to the " end that his Majeſty may judge what time he may have wherein to relieve us, and for " the reſt rely upon me, who will have no more priviledge than the meaneſt Citizen. The " Faſt that we ſhall keep ſhall not only be for our ſins, but alſo for the ſaving of your " lives; for the conſervation of which I will willingly lay down my own. *Credete Signi- ori, che fin a la morte, io vi gardaro quello che vi o promiſſo, ripoſate vi ſopra di me.*

Order propoſ'd by the Sieur *de Montluc* to the *Siennois*.

They then return'd me very many thanks for the good advice I had given them, which only tended to their own preſervation, entreating me to retire to my lodging foraſmuch as they would go into the great Hall, where all the moſt eminent perſons of the City were aſſembled, to whom they would give an account of what I had ſaid to them, and that within two hours by two of their Senators they would return me an anſwer, and ſo I departed from them. They were as good as their words, and my Propoſition being re- preſented in this Aſſembly, they at laſt all with one voice reſolv'd to eat to their very wives and children rather than not to wait the King's pleaſure, upon the confidence they repoſed in him of a certain relief, and immediately went about taking of order for the contracting the allowance of bread, and for the taking an Inventory of both Corn and other proviſion, which in five or ſix days was diſpatch'd. I then ſent away Monſieur *de L'Eſcuſſan*, but with very great difficulty, for the Marquis cauſed ſtrict Guard to be kept to hinder any from bringing us in any proviſions, and as many Countrymen as were ta- ken attempting ſo to do, were immediately hang'd without mercy. *L'Eſcuſſan* went firſt to *Montalſin*, there to give Monſieur *de Strozzy* an account of all proceedings, that he might give notice thereof to the King's Miniſters at *Rome*, and from thence went to his Majeſty to repreſent unto him the miſerable condition of the *Siennois*, as I had given him charge to do, and this might be about the middle of *October*.

Monſieur *de L'Eſcuſſan* ſent to the King to acquaint him with the eſtate of *Sienna*.

From this time forward I could do nothing worth ſpeaking of until *Chriſtmas* Eve, ſaving that a little after the departure of the ſaid *l'Eſcuſſan*, we again abated the Soldiers bread to eighteen ounces, and that of the City to fourteen, though all the while there were frequent skirmiſhes, and very handſomely fought on both ſides. Upon *Chriſtmas* Eve, about four of the clock in the afternoon, the Marquis *de Marignano* by one of his

Trumpets ſent me half a Stag, ſix Capons, ſix Partridges, ſix Borachio's of excellent wine, and ſix loaves of white bread, wherewith the next day to keep the Feaſt. I did nothing wonder at this courteſie, becauſe in the extremity of my ſickneſs he had permitted my Phyſitians to ſend men through his Camp to fetch certain Drugs from *Florence*, and had himſelf three or four times ſent me a very excellent ſort of Birds, a little bigger than the Beccaficco's that are taken in *Provence*. He had alſo ſuffer'd a Mule to enter the Town laden with Greek wine, which was ſent me by the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, my people having ſent the Cardinal word, that in the height of my ſickneſs I talkt of nothing but drinking a little Greek wine. Whereupon he ſo order'd the buſineſs, that the Cardinal *de Medici* writ to the Marquis his Brother to ſuffer it to come in to me, it being ſent under pretence of making me a Bath. The wine came at a time when I was at the laſt gaſp, and ſo was not deliver'd to me; but the half of it divided amongſt the big-bellied women of the Town. Whilſt Monſieur *de Strozzy* was there I gave him three or four bottles of it, the reſt I drank as they do Hippocras in the Mornings. All theſe civilities I had receiv'd from the Marquis before, which made me nothing wonder at the Preſent he ſent me now: Part of which I ſent to the Seigneury, part to the *Rheincroc*, and the reſt I receiv'd for Signior *Cornelio*, the Count *de Gayas*, and my ſelf, becauſe we commonly eate together. Such little civilities as theſe are very gentile and commendable, even betwixt the greateſt Enemies; if there be no thing particular betwixt them, as there was not betwixt us two. He ſerv'd his Maſter, and I ſerv'd mine: He attaqu'd me for his honor, and I defended my ſelf for mine. He had a mind to acquire reputation, and ſo had I. 'Tis for Turks and Sarazens to deny an indifferent courteſie even to an Enemy: but then it muſt not be ſuch a one, or of ſuch importance as to break or endammage your deſign.

The Marquis of *Marignan* gives a Scalado by night to the Citadel and the Fort of *Camoglia*.

But whilſt the Marquis careſſ'd me with his Preſents, which I only payd back in thanks, he was preparing for me another kind of feaſt; for the ſame night about an hour after midnight he with all his Army gave a Scalado to the Cittadel, and to the Fort *Camoglia*. 'Tis a ſtrange thing, above a month before my mind gave me, and ſeem'd to preſage that the Marquis would give me a Scalado, and the Captain *St. Auban* would be cauſe of the loſs of the Fort. This was evermore running in my head, and that the *Germans* alſo would occaſion the loſs of the Cittadel, into which an Enſign of that Nation every night entred, to keep Guard there; and that was the reaſon why I plac't an Enſign of *Siennois* in Guard overagainſt the Gate of the Cittadel. Signior *Cornelio* prevail'd ſo far with the *Rheincroc*, that he promiſed him that in caſe of an Alarm, and that the Enemy ſhould offer an aſſault to the Cittadel, the German Captain that he plac't there every night upon the Guard ſhould from him have command to let in the *Siennois* to help to defend it, though I think he that night forgot ſo to do. Every night I went to ſee a Company of *French* Foot mount the Guard in the Fort *Camoglia*, and another of *Siennois* betwixt the Fort and the Gate of the City, under a great Market-houſe, which on the two ſides was encloſed with a little Trench; but in the front of it, which went directly to the Fort, it was all plain with the pavement, and it might be from this Court of Guard to the Fort threeſcore or fourſcore paces, and as much to the Gate of the City. I plac't this Guard there for two reaſons, whereof one was to relieve the Fort if occaſion ſhould be, as the other Company of *Siennois* was to do the Cittadel, and the other to watch that the Enemy did not ſtorm the Wall of the City; foraſmuch as on the left hand, at the going out of the Town, the wall was very low, and moreover a part thereof fallen down.

The Sieur *de Montluc* preſages ſome diſaſter through the default of *St. Auban* a German Captain.

I had ſeveral times before ſaid to Signior *Cornelio*, and to the Count *de Gayas*, ſeeing Captain *St. Auban*'s Company enter into the Fort, theſe words. Would you believe that it eternally runs in my mind that we ſhall loſe this Fort thorough the default of Captain *St. Auban* and his Company? I never ſaw him enter into it, that it did not put me into a fit of an Ague, out of the ill conceit I had of him. I could never fancy him in my heart, becauſe he never had twenty men of appearance in his Company, for he valued a Teſton more than the braveſt man under the Sun, and as to himſelf he would never ſtir from his lodging, for any thing either I, or any of his companions could ſay to him. I could have willingly him far enough off, I had ſo ſtrange an averſion to him. And theſe were the reaſons why I ever fancied that this man would bring upon me ſome miſchief or other.

Deſcription of the Fort *Camoglia*.

Our Fort of *Camoglia* was environ'd with a ditch of a Pikes length in wi[dth] and as much in depth, and not much more on three ſides; and in the front of it, which butted directly upon the *Siennois* Court of Guard, nothing but a little Rampire of ſix or ſeven foot high, and no more; and about the middle of the Rampire there was a little levele or half pace, where the Soldiers had ſo much room only, as to ſuſtain themſelves upon their knees. The Enemy had another Fort three times as big as ours, and juſt oppoſite

to

to it, within an hundred and fifty paces the one of the other. So that neither they nor we durſt pop up a head without being hurt from that Quarter; and in ours there was a little Tower exactly overagainſt theirs, where for greater ſecurity we had evermore three or four Soldiers which ſerv'd us for Centinels, and who got up into it by a little hand ladder, as they do into a Pidgeon-houſe. The ſaid Tower had been broke through on that ſide towards the Enemies Fort, and we had there plac't barrels fill'd with earth, for the hole had been made by the Artillery from their Fort. Which Fort of theirs Monſieur *de Termes* had cauſed to be made; but when he went away it was not wholly finiſh't: nevertheleſs when the Duke of *Florence* broke with the King, the Marquis in one night made a very long march, carrying a great number of Pioneers along with him, and poſſeſſing himſelf of it (for there was no Guard kept there) immediately put it into defence.

The Scalado.

Now, as I have ſaid before, at one of the clock in the night the Marquis at once gave me a Scalado both to the Cittadel and the Fort *Camoglia*, where by ill luck the Company of *St. Auban* was this night upon duty. The Marquis with the *Spaniſh* and *German* Foot aſſaulted the Cittadel, where by good fortune they had but three Ladders long enough, and at the very firſt ſo overcharg'd thoſe three with men, that one of them broke. Our *Germans* defended, and the *Siennois* preſented themſelves at the Gate, as they were appointed to do. But the Captain of the *Germans* who had the command of the Gate would by no means let them in. This diſpute laſted for above half an hour, during which five or ſix of the Enemy entred, and forc't the *Germans*, who began to turn their backs and fly. They then open'd the Gate to the *Siennois*, who ran to the head of the Cittadel, where the Enemy began to enter, and met theſe five or ſix, who were already entred, whom they cut in pieces, two of them being the Marquis his Kinſmen, one whereof did not immediately die; and this cool'd the courage of the reſt who were upon the point to enter. At the ſame time they gave a Scalado to the Fort *Camoglia*. *St. Auban* was in the City, in bed at his eaſe, and his Lieutenant call'd *Comborcy* was at the Fort, a young man of no experience; but that I think had he had good men in his Company would have done his duty. They are both of them turn'd Hugonots ſince. So ſoon as the Enemy preſented their Ladders by the three Courtins, all his Company betook them to their heels, and the Enemy conſequently entred in; and of the four that were in the Tower, three threw themſelves headlong down, and the fourth beat down the barrels from the hole, and drew the Enemy in. This Rogue had been taken a few dayes before, and had remain'd above ten dayes priſoner, and I do believe it was upon his account that the Marquis reſolv'd upon this Scalado; for he went away with them, and we never ſaw him after. Now Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas* were lodg'd near unto the Port *Camoglia*, who immediately upon the Alarm ran to the Gate, where they found the greateſt part of the Company of the *Siennois* before it, and the reſt were firing at the Enemy, who ſallyed out of the Fort to fall upon them. Signior *Cornelio* then left the Count *de Gayas* at the Gate, and came running to give me the Alarm, where he met me coming out of my lodging with two Pages, each of them carrying two Torches, and whom I immediately ſent back, bidding him both he and the Count *de Gayas* to go out, and of all things to take care that the *Siennois* did not forſake their Court of Guard, and to encourage them the beſt he could, for I would preſently come out after him. He did as I bid him, and came in ſo opportune a ſeaſon, that he found all abandoned, and gave the Enemy a charge with the *Siennois*, and beat them back into the Fort they had taken. The Alarm was already throughout the whole City, and ſome ran to the Cittadel, and others to the Fort of *Camoglia*. As I arriv'd at the Gate there came to me *la Moliere* and *l'Eſpine*, both on horſeback, the one being Muſter-Maſter, and the other Treaſurer, whom I commanded, the one to the Port *St. Mark*, and the other to *Porto Nuovo*, and that by the way as they went they ſhould cry out victory, the Enemy is repulſ't. Which I did, fearing leſt ſome in the Town might have intelligence with the Enemy, who hearing this cry would not dare to diſcover themſelves. In the mean time I was at the Gate of the City, ſending out the Captains and French Soldiers to ſuccour Signior *Cornelio*, and when I ſaw there were enow gone out, I commanded the Lieutenant of Captain *Luſſan* to ſtay at the Gate, and to ſhut the Wicket ſo ſoon after I was out, and that in caſe I ſhould be beaten back, he ſhould by no means open it, but rather ſuffer us all to be killed without, and me in the firſt place. I then went out with my four Torches, and found Signior *Cornelio*, the Count *de Gayas*, and the other Captains I had ſent out, who had recovered the Rampire, and had placed the Soldiers upon the little half pace upon their knees, who ſhot at the Enemy into the Fort, and they again at ours, who could not put up their heads without being diſcovered,

The Cittadel ſeaz'd.

The Fort *Camoglia* ſeaz'd by the Enemy.

A device to break Intelligences.

vered, and on the other two ſides the Enemy aſſaulted, and ours defended. Now whilſt I was putting the men out at the Wicket *St. Auban* ſlipt by without my ſeeing him. The Gate into the Fort which we had loſt was contrived after the manner of a hole, having one ſtep forwards, and another on one ſide, waving and winding to and fro, and ſo ſtraight that one man only could enter a breaſt, In this Entry I found Captain *Bourg*, who was Enſign to Captain *Charry*, Signior *Cornelio*, and the Count *de Gayas* cloſe by him. Monſieur *de Baſſompierre* Maſter of the Ordnance was always with me, and one of his Canoneers. I ſaw very well that the fight was like to continue, and fearing leſt our powder ſhould fail us, bad Monſieur *de Baſſompierre* diſpatch away two of his Canoneers to fetch more, which he did, and I dare boldly ſay, he was as much the cauſe of our ſafety as all our fighting, as you ſhall hear. Thoſe that we fought withal were *Italians*, for the *Spaniards* and *Germans* ſtormed the Cittadel. I continually ran firſt to one, and then to another, crying out to them *Courage friends, courage camrades*, and preſently on that ſide on the right hand of the Gate, where the three forenamed ſtood, I ſpyed *St. Auban*, to whom (running to him, and ſetting the point of my ſword to his throat, I ſaid *Rogue! Son of a whore! thou art the cauſe that we ſhall loſe the City, which notwithſtanding thou ſhalt never live to ſee, for I will at this inſtant kill thee if thou doſt not immediately leap into the Fort*: to which (ſufficiently terrified) he made anſwer, *Yes Sir, I will leap in*, and then called to him *Luſſan*, *Blaçon*, and *Combas*, who were his Companions, ſaying to them, *Come on Camrades, ſecond me, I pray leap in after me*; to which they made anſwer, *Do thou leap, and we will follow*; whereupon I ſaid to him, *Take thou no care, I will follow thee my ſelf*, and we all ſet foot upon the half pace with him, and immediately after this firſt ſtep, without any more delaying (for if he had he had died for't) he threw himſelf deſperately in, having a Target upon his arm, and his Companions alſo, for he was no ſooner in the air, but the reſt were alſo with him, and ſo all four leapt in together, and it was within two ſteps of the Entry, that *le Bourg*, Signior *Cornelio*, and the Count *de Gayas* diſputed. I then immediately made fifteen or twenty Soldiers leap in after the four Captains, and as all theſe were within, *le Bourg*, Signior *Cornelio*, and the Count *de Gayas* paſſed and entred into the Fort. I cauſed the Torches to be ſet upon the Rampire, that we might ſee, and not kill one another, and my ſelf entred by the ſame way Signior *Cornelio* had gone before me. Now neither Pikes, Halberts, nor Harquebuzes could ſerve us for any uſe here, for we were at it with Swords and Steeletto's, with which we made them leap over the Curtains by the ſame way they had entred, excepting thoſe who were killed within. There were yet however ſome remaining in the Tower, when Captain *Charry* came up to us, though but eight days before he had received an Harquebuz ſhot in his head, and ſuch a one as that thereupon we had given him for dead, notwithſtanding there he was with his Sword and Target, and a Morrion upon his head, over the Cap that cover'd his wound: a good heart will ever manifeſt it ſelf; for though he was deſperately hurt, yet would he have his ſhare of the fight. I was at the foot of the Ladder, and had ſent Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas* out of the Fort, to encourage thoſe who defended the Flanks, bidding them take the one the one ſide, and the other the other, as they did, and found work enough to do. I then took Captain *Charry* by the hand, and ſaid, *Captain* Charry, *I have bred you up to die in ſome brave ſervice for the King, you muſt mount the firſt*; which ſaid, he (who was certainly a man of as much courage as ever any man had) without any more diſpute began to climb the Ladder, which could not be above ten or twelve ſtaves, and he was to enter by a Trap-door above, as I have ſaid before. I had very good Harquebuzeers, whom I made continually to ſhoot at the hole of this Trap-door, and put two of the ſaid Harquebuzeers upon the Ladder to follow after him: I had two Torches with me (for the other two Signior *Cornelio* and the Count had taken along with them) by the light whereof we ſaw ſo clearly, that the Harquebuzeers did no hurt to Captain *Charry*, who mounted ſtep by ſtep, ſtill giving our Harquebuzeers time to fire, and ſo ſoon as he came to thruſt up his head into the Trap-door, they fir'd two Harquebuzes, which pierced through his Target and Morrion without touching his head. The Harquebuzeer who followed next after him diſcharged his Harquebuz under his Target, by which means Captain *Charry* advanced the laſt ſtep, and ſo they all three ſlipt in the one after the other, where they kill'd three of the Enemy, and the reſt leapt out at the hole. Thoſe in the Flancks were alſo beaten off, and ſo our Fort was regained on every ſide.

The Fort recover'd by the *French*.

The courage of Captain *Charry*.

Now the Marquis had given order to him that commanded at the Salado of the Fort, which was the Governor of their Fort of *Camoglia*, that in caſe he the Marquis ſhould firſt enter by the Cittadel, that then he ſhould come away to him with all his *Italians*,

and

and if alſo he ſhould firſt gain the Fort, that then he would come with his *Spaniards* and *Germans* to relieve him. According to this Agreement, ſo ſoon as the Governor of the Fort had gain'd ours, he preſently ſent to acquaint the Marquis with it; but there being ſeveral little valleys betwixt the Cittadel and the Fort *Camaglia*, the ſaid Marquis could not come ſo ſoon as he would, though he had made ſo good haſte, that when we had thought all had been at an end, we ſaw their whole Camp coming upon us, having above an hundred and fifty torches with them; at which time by good fortune *Baſſompierr*'s two Canoneers return'd with the powder, which in great haſte we divided amongſt the Harquebuzeers, for they had none left, and turning about, I bad him ſend them again for more. At the ſame inſtant *la Moliere* and *L'Eſpine* returned to me, when I immediately ſent back *la Moliere* to the Standard-bearer of *St. Martin* to ſend me two hundred of the beſt Harquebuzeers he had, and ſend them by the Son of *Miſſer Bernardin*, a young man that carried a Colours in his Regiment, full of courage, and of whom I had taken particular notice in ſeveral skirmiſhes, who accordingly came in all haſte, and found us at it with the whole Camp. I then left Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas* with the other Captains to defend the Fort, and my ſelf, *Baſſompierre*, and the Muſter-Maſter went along the Flancks, doing nothing but run up and down from place to place to encourage our people. It might be about three hours after midnight when we rebegan the fight, and it laſted till the day took them off. They there committed one of the greateſt pieces of folly that ever men did; for by the light of ſo many torches we ſaw them more plainly than if it had been broad day, whereas had they taken the advantage of the night, and advanced with few lights, they had put us a great deal more hardly to't than they did. The two hundred *Siennois* Harquebuzeers, that the Son of *Miſſer Bernardin* brought, did us notable ſervice, as alſo did the Powder that *Baſſompierre* ſent for, for we had uſe for it all before we parted, by reaſon of the long continuance of the fight, where it was well aſſaulted, and better defended.

The Marquis *de Marignan* comes to relieve his men at the Fort *Camoglia*.

Error of the Marquis.

This was the iſſue of the fight, the greateſt, and of the greateſt duration without a battail wherein I have ever been, and where I believe God Almighty did as much aſſiſt me, if not more, preſerving my judgment all the while entire, as at any time in my whole life; for had I fail'd in the leaſt particle of command we had all been loſt, and the City to boot; for on that ſide we had not fortified at all, and all our confidence was in this Fort: I proteſt to God, that for at leaſt three months after my hair ſtood an end, ſo oft as I called to mind the danger we had been in. The Enemy there loſt ſix hundred men killed and wounded, as we were enform'd by priſoners we took, and we loſt but an hundred and fifty in all both hurt and ſlain. That which made them loſe ſo many was the light of the Torches, which gave our men ſuch aim that they could not miſs, eſpecially being within a Pikes diſtance or two at the moſt of one another, which made a great incongruity in the Marquis, as I ſaid before: for we having but little light, and they ſo much, we diſcovered them ſo plain, as gave us a mighty advantage. So ſoon as it was fair light day we went to take a view of what dead we had in the Fort amongſt theirs, where I found my *Valet de Chambre* and my Groom, who both leapt in after the Captains; in my life I never had two better ſervants. Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas* went likewiſe to viſit the Cittadel, for I was no longer able to ſtand, being yet ſo weak with my great ſickneſs, that with a puff one might have blown me down; ſo that I wonder how I was ever able to take ſuch pains: but God redoubled my forces in time of need; for in truth during all this great and tedious fight I never ceaſed running and skipping, now here, now there, without ever feeling my ſelf weary, till there appeared no more an Enemy to moleſt us. They came and gave me an account of all that had paſt, and there found a Kinſman of the Marquiſs, who was not yet dead, whom they cauſed to be carried to their Lodging, and his wounds dreſſed.

I will not forget to inſert here for an Exemple to others, that if ever man was well ſeconded in a time of ſo great danger, I was, and would for no conſideration deprive the Chiefs who were there of their due honor, nor the common Soldiers: for from the time that Signior *Cornelio* and the Count went out before me and charged the Enemy; neither after I was gone out to them did ſo much as any one man ever offer to come in again (as *Luſſan's* Lieutenant, whom I had left at the Gate, ſwore to me) excepting *Boſſompierr's* two Canoneers, who were ſent for powder. All the whole City remain'd in arms during the whole time of the fight, and I will give the *Siennois* this commendation, with truth (as God is true) that there was no ſo much as any one man, who ſtaid in the houſes, and who did not take arms, both young and old, nor a man that diſcovered the leaſt affection to the Emperor; which gave me a great aſſurance of two things, one of their Loyalty, and the other of their Courage. Three dayes after the Marquis ſent me a Trum-

Loyalty of the *Siennois*.

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pet (the ſame who had brought me the Preſent before) to ſee if any one of thoſe was living who had entred the Cittadel, and that he would not deny to me, but that there were two of his Kinſmen; Signior *Cornelio* then carried him to look upon that who was yet alive, and he prov'd to be one; whereupon the Trumpet immediately returned to the Marquis to acquaint him with it, who at the ſame inſtant ſent him back again, entreating me to reſtore him back to him, and that he would be reſponſible to me for his ranſome, which I did in a Litter he had ſent to that purpoſe: but he died three dayes after he came into their Camp.

Methinks you Governors of places ought here to take a fair exemple to preſent your ſelves to the fight: For there are ſome who ſay, that a Governor, or a Lieutenant of a Province never ought to hazard his own perſon, arguing that if he chance to miſcarry all is loſt. I grant them, that he ought not to expoſe himſelf at all times, and upon every light occaſion, like an ordinary Captain; but when all lies at ſtake, what is it that you are made Governors and Lieutenants for? what queſtion will be made of your courage? and how will your honor and reputation be brought into diſpute? Will it think you acquit you to ſay, I would not hazard my ſelf in the fight, leſt loſing my ſelf I ſhould loſe all; eſpecially in the night to relieve a Fort or a Citadel, conſidering I was however able to defend the Town? This excuſe will not ſerve your turn; and believe me the loſs of a Fort is of ſo great importance, that your Enemy has by that means one foot upon your throat already, you are therefore to die, or to recover what you loſt, as I did, having at my going out cauſed the Wicket to be ſhut, to take from us all hopes of retreat, being reſolv'd to die, or to expel the Enemy, and alſo letting them alone with their Conqueſt I had been infallibly loſt.

And you Captains my Camrades, take notice and exemple by *St. Auban*, that you may value valiant men above money, for the love of money will lead you to the loſs of your lives and reputations, and valiant men about you will defend both one and the other, and preſerve you from danger and diſhonor. Admire, and follow as near as you you can the great heart of *Charry*, who although half dead, would yet come to the fight, and preſented himſelf to enter the firſt, and paſs by a Ladder through a hole, than which a more dangerous paſſage could not poſſibly be; for in ſuch a place an Enemy has a mighty advantage. No danger nevertheleſs could deterre this brave Soldier from running the hazard. To conclude, I ſhall tell you Governors of places, that whenever you entertain an ill opinion of an Officer, you provide againſt his remiſneſs, cowardiſe, or infidelity, as I did, by placing the Companies near to the Forts. But I had done better, *St. Auban* being ſuſpected to me, ſince I could not totally rid my hands of him, to have employ'd him in ſome other place. It has ſince taught me to be wiſer, and I have found advantages by it, having never ſince that time entruſted any man of whom I had a miſlike. There are wayes enow to ſhake them off, without either offending any other, or diſincouraging the party himſelf.

The Emperor complains of the Marquis his ſlow Proceeding againſt *Sienna*.

A little after, as we underſtood, there came a Gentleman of the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, who brought letters to the Duke of *Florence*, and to the ſaid Marquis, wherein he writ them word, that he thought it very ſtrange this War ſhould continue ſo long, and that he very well knew *Sienna* was not a place to reſiſt Canon, but that it was the Marquis his cuſtom evermore to ſpin out a War in length. In anſwer whereunto the Marquis remonſtrated, that he had done all that in him poſſibly lay, and knew very well that Artillery would not take the Town, for I had valiant men within, and the whole City were reſolute to ſtand to me to the laſt, ſpeaking more honourably of me than I deſerv'd, commending my vigilancy, and the proviſion I had made for my defence, ſo that he very well knew by the good order I had taken in the City, he ſhould but loſe ſo much time by attempting to batter. Notwithſtanding the Gentleman being come from the Emperor to this effect, and having already ſpoke with the Duke of *Florence*, they together order'd it ſo, that they made the Marquis at laſt reſolve upon a Battery. He had before omitted nothing that a good Soldier ought to do, having coop't us cloſe in, without any hopes of relief, and yet he was accuſed of a deſign to protract the War: But it is the ordinary reward of a man's endeavour, when things do not ſucceed according to the appetite of ſuch as talk of things at their eaſe. The deſigns of thoſe we ſerve and fight for run a great deal faſter than we are able to follow.

The *Siennois* frighted with the coming of the Artillery.

About the twentith of *January* we had notice that the Artillery ſet out of *Florence*, to the number of ſix or eight and twenty Canon, or double Culverine to come to the Camp. The *Siennois* hearing this news were ſo curious as to ſend out a ſpy, that they might be certain of the truth of this report, who at his return bringing them word back, that the Artillery was already come as far as *Luſignano*, it put the whole City into ſome apprehenſion,

apprehenſion, and made them reſolve the next day to aſſemble all the Gentry and the chief of the City to the Palace, there to determine amongſt themſelves, whether they ſhould abide the aſſault, or ſurrender upon compoſition. Now I was not to huffe and vapour with theſe people, for they were ſtronger than I: I was therefore neceſſitated to win them by gentle remonſtrances, and civil perſwaſions, without the leaſt heat or ſhew of anger, and you may believe it was not without great violence to my own nature, that I proceeded after this manner, contrary to my diſpoſition, and the image the Conſtable had repreſented of me to the King, as he had ſeen me in my younger and more precipitous age. A prudent and ſtaid Governor, when he is amongſt ſtrange Nations muſt try as much as in him lies, to conform himſelf to the humour of the people with whom he has to do. With the *Germans* and *Swiſs* you muſt be cholerick and rough: with the *Spaniards* you muſt obſerve their ſtarcht face and formality, and pretend to be a little more religious and devout than you perhaps really are: with the *Italians* you muſt be diſcreet and circumſpect, neither to offend them in themſelves, nor to court their wives: as for the *French* man he is for any thing: but ſo it was that God gave me the grace, who am a *Gaſcon*, ſudden, cholerick, willful, and froward, ſo to deport my ſelf with this jealous and miſtruſtful Nation, that not ſo much as any one Citizen could ever complain of me. Now as all the Gentry and the Heads of the Corporation were going to the Palace, *Miſſer Hieronimo Hiſpano*, a Gentleman of *Sienna*, a principal man in the City, and one of the eight of the Council of War, before he went to the Palace, came in all haſt to ſpeak with Signior *Cornelio*, where he told him that all the chief of the City were ſummon'd to repair to the Palace, and that it was to determine, whether they ought to ſtand out a Battery, or to enter into Capitulation with the Duke of *Florence*, and the Marquis of *Marignano*, and that he had already heard that the major part of them had voted, that they ought to condition, and not to endure a Battery, and an Aſſault, for fear they ſhould come by the worſe; that he was now going thither to them, wherefore he entreated him to give me notice of it. Hereupon Signior *Cornelio* came to me, and found me ready to take horſe to go view the Guards: but ſo ſoon as he had told me the news we both went up into my Chamber, where we long debated by what means we might divert this blow; and whilſt we were in this deliberation came Signior *Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, who told me as much as I had heard before, and moreover, that he thought the reſolution was already taken throughout the whole City, and that he only went to the Palace, to caſt in his lot, and that after the lots ſhould once be caſt it would be too late to ſpeak.

A Governor ought to conform himſelf to the humour of the people over whom he is placed.

We were all three in a very great ſtraight, they which way to adviſe me, and I was as much to ſeek what advice to take. In the end I reſolv'd to go to the Palace, and to take with me the *Rhinecroc* and his Captains, Signior *Cornelio* with his *Italians*, and Captain *Combas* with the *French* Officers. Our *Germans* began to ſuffer much for want of wine, and their bread was very ſmall, for as for fleſh there was no more talk of any, unleſs of ſome horſe, or ſome aſs, that was expoſed to ſell in the Butchery, and as for money there was no ſuch thing in nature; for Monſieur *de Strozzy* had no poſſible means to ſend any in to us: all which conſider'd, it put us into ſome fear, leſt the *Germans* ſhould joyn with the City to enter into compoſition, which was the reaſon that I deſired Signior *Cornelio* to go to the *Rhinecroc*, and entreat him from me to bear me company to the Palace, and to bring his Captains along with him, and that he would in the mean time leave his Lieutenants and Enſigns every one in his own Quarters, to the end there might be no ſurprize about the Walls whilſt we ſhould be at the Palace: I wiſht him alſo himſelf to do the ſame, and order'd Captain *Combas* to come likewiſe, which being done, I ſent *Bartolomeo* in all haſte to the Palace, to try if he could ſecretly gain any one to his party that might help to break this deſign; for I had an opinion, that if I could but divert this one blow, I would deal with ſo many people afterwards, that the blancks ſhould be the greater number in the Lottery, and ſo they all went out of my Chamber without being further acquainted by me what I intended to do.

Great ſcarcity of all things in *Sienna*.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s practice.

I was yet ſo exceamly lean, and worn with my late ſickneſs, and the cold was at this time of the year ſo very great and ſharp, that I was conſtrained to go continually with both my body and my head ſo wrapt and muffled up in Furrs, that as they ſaw me go up and down the ſtreets of the City, no one had any hopes of my recovery, believing that my inwards were decayed and periſhed, and that I would fall down and die on a ſudden. What ſhall we do ſaid the Ladies and the Citizens Wives, what will become of us if our Governor ſhould die? we ſhall all be loſt; for next after God all our hope is in him; it is not poſſible he ſhould eſcape. I do verily believe that the prayers of theſe good women redeem'd me out of the extremity and languiſhing weakneſs I was in, I mean that of my body; for as to the vigour of my mind, and the quickneſs of my underſtanding,

nderſtanding, I never perceiv'd any decay there. Having then before been accuſtomed to go ſo wrapt and muffled, and obſerving what moan the people made for me, to ſee me in ſo lamentable a plight, I call'd for a pair of Breeches of Crimſon Velvet, which I had brought from *Alba*, laid over with gold lace, finely cut, and very neat, for I had made them at a time when I was forſooth in love. We had there leiſure enough for thoſe follies whilſt we lay in Garriſon, and having little elſe to do, it was fit to give the Ladies ſome part of our time. I put on a Doublet of the ſame, under which I had a Shirt finely wrought with Crimſon ſilk and gold twiſt very rich: (for in thoſe dayes they wore the neck-bands of their Shirts a good way falling over the collar) I then took a buffe Cellar, over which I put on the Gorget of my Arms, which was very finely gilt. I at that time wore gray and white, in honor of a fair Lady to whom I was a Servant when I had leiſure; I therefore put on a Hat of gray ſilk of the German faſhion, with a great ſilver Hatband, and a plume of Heron's feathers, thick ſet with ſilver ſpangles; the Hats they wore in thoſe dayes were not ſo broad as they wear them now: I then put on a ſhort Caſſock of gray Velvet garniſht with little plaits of Silver, at two fingers diſtance from one another, and lin'd with cloth of ſilver, all open betwixt the plaits, which I wore in *Piedmont* over my Arms. Now I had yet two little bottles of Greek wine left of thoſe had been ſent me by the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, with which I wet my hands, and with them rubbed my face, till I had brought a little colour into my cheeks, and then drank a ſmall draught with a little bit of bread, after which I look't my ſelf in the Glaſs. I ſwear to you I did not know my ſelf, and methought I was yet in *Piedmont*, and in love as heretofore. At which I could not forbear laughing, for methought I had got on a ſudden quite another face.

A pleaſant Sally of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

The firſt that came to me with his Captains was Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas*, Monſieur *de Boſſompierre* and the Count *de Biſque*, whom I had alſo ſent for; who finding me dreſſ'd after this manner, all fell a laughing. I ſtrutted up and down the room before them like fifteen *Spaniards*, and yet had not ſtrength enough to have kill'd a Chicken, for I was ſo weak as nothing more. *Combas* and the French Captains came alſo, and the whole Farce tended to nothing but laughter for all the company: the laſt that came was the *Rhinecroc* and his Captains, who ſeeing me in this poſture, laught to that exceſs that he ſobb'd again, when pulling him by the arm, I ſaid to him, *What Colonel, do you think me to be that* Montluc *that goes every day dying through the ſtreets? No, no, you are miſtaken, that fellow's dead, and I am another* Montluc *ſprung up in his room.* His Interpeter told him what I ſaid, which made him laugh ſtill more, and Signior *Cornelio* had already acquainted him with the reaſon why I had ſent for him, and that it was neceſſary by one means or another to diſpoſſeſs the *Siennois* of their fear. Thus then we went all on horſeback to the Palace, where ſo ſoon as we were got up to the top of the ſtairs, we found the great Hall full of Gentlmen, and ſuch other Burgers of the City as were of the Council. Within the great Hall on the left hand there is a leſſer room, into which none were to enter but the Captains of the people, the twelve Counſellors, and the Eight of the Council of War, all which are called the Magiſtracy. Thus then I entred into the great Hall, where I put off my Hat to them, but was known by no body at firſt; they all believing me to be ſome Gentleman ſent by Monſieur *de Strozzy* into the City to command at the Aſſault, by reaſon of my great weakneſs. I then entred into the little Hall, with all the Colonels and Captains after me, who kept at diſtance by the door whilſt I went and ſat down by the Captain of the people, in the place where thoſe who repreſented the perſon of the King were uſed to ſit, as I my ſelf upon that account had often done. In going up with my Hat in my hand, I ſmil'd firſt upon one, and then upon another, they all wondring to ſee me, and two had already deliver'd their opinions, when I began to ſpeak to them in *Italian* to this effect.

Of what the Senate of *Sienna* conſiſts.

Harangue of the Sieur *de Montluc* to the *Siennois.*

'Gentlemen, I have been told, that ſince the time you have been certain of the truth 'of the Enemies bringing up Artillery to your walls, you have entred into ſome debates 'which have rather begot amongſt you fear and aſtoniſhment, than any noble reſolution 'to defend your City and Liberty by Arms. Which I have thought very ſtrange, and 'greatly wondred at, not being able to perſwade my ſelf to believe any ſuch thing. 'However in the end I reſolv'd with the Colonels and Captains of all the three Nations 'the King my Maſter has in this City, to come to you to this place, and to underſtand 'from your own mouths the truth of all that has paſſed. Now I beſeech you Gentle-'men weigh and conſider well what you ſhall determine in this Council to which you 'are call'd; for upon this Council, and the reſolution that ſhall be the iſſue of it, de-'pends all your honor, greatneſs, authority, and the ſecurity of your State, your lives

'and

'and honors, and the conſervation of your ancient liberty; and on the contrary, all the 'ſhame, diſhonor and reproach, with a perpetual infamy to your poſterity, and diſ-'honor to your famous Anceſtors, who have left you for inheritance the Grandeur 'you now poſſeſs and uphold, having themſelves ever defended and maintain'd it by 'Battels, with their weapons in their hands, againſt all thoſe who have attempted to 'take it from them. And now when you ought to have purchaſt the occaſion that 'preſents it ſelf at the price of half your wealth, that therein you might to all 'Chriſtendom manifeſt and approve your ſelves the true legitimate Sons of thoſe 'Ancient Warlike Romans, and of thoſe Noble Anceſtors, who have ſo often, and ſo 'bravely fought to aſſert and maintain your liberty, is it poſſible that ſo great and ſo 'generous hearts as thoſe of the *Sienno*is ſhould enter into aſtoniſhment for hearing 'talk of Canon? will you be afraid for this? I cannot think that this proceeds from you, 'who have given ſo many, and ſo ample teſtimonies of your valour; neither is it out of any 'want of friendſhip to the moſt Chriſtian King, nor out of any diſtruſt you have in 'him, that he will not certainly relieve you, neither can it be out of any diffidence you 'have in one another, by reaſon of any factions in your City, for I have never obſerv'd 'the leaſt diviſion among you: But on the contrary, the greateſt unanimity for the con-'ſervation of your liberty and Republick. I have ever ſeen you reſolute to dye 'with your ſwords in your hands, rather than ſuffer it to be raviſh'd from you. I have 'ever ſeen all men of all conditions move with the ſame motion, and inſpir'd with 'the ſame reſolution. Neither can it be for want of courage, for I never ſaw you ſally 'out to skirmiſh, that ſome of your young men did not evermore ſignalize themſelves above 'our people, though much older Souldiers than they, who in a longer practice of Arms 'have perform'd acts worthy to be prais'd and eſteem'd of all. I cannot then believe 'that men who do ſo well, ſhould for the noiſe of Canon, which brings more terror than 'harm, enter into aſtoniſhment, and reſolve to ſurrender themſelves ſlaves to that inſo-'lent and inſupportable Nation of the Spaniards; our neighbours, your ancient and 'profeſſed enenemies. Since then this apprehenſion cannot proceed from any defect in 'your ſelves, it muſt of neceſſity proceed from me, who have the honour to be Lieutenant 'for the King of *France* your good Friend and Protector. If as to what concerns me, you 'apprehend, that I ſhall want health and vigour to undergo that toil and labour that will 'be neceſſary, and requir'd at the time when the Enemy ſhall aſſault us, by reaſon of 'the weakneſs wherein I now am, through my great ſickneſs; that conſideration ought 'not to beget in you the leaſt diſtruſt, arms and legs do not do all: The great Captain '*Antonio de Leva*, gouty and impotent as he was, has won more victories in his chair, than 'any other of our Age has done on horſeback. God has ever been pleas'd to preſerve 'my judgement, to preſerve you. Have you ever known me fail? Was I then ſtretch'd 'at eaſe in bed when the Enemy gave you the great Camiſado, and Scalado? Do but 'mark I beſeech you, Gentlemen, the great grace God was pleas'd to ſhew me on a ſudden, 'ſupplying me with as much ſtrength as I had never been ſick; by which you may per-'ceive, that Almighty God loves us, and that he will not that either you or we periſh. I 'feel my ſelf ſtrong enough now to wear my Arms, you ſhall no more ſee me ſwath'd and 'furr'd up as before. If perhaps you do it out of fear of my incapacity, or little experi-'ence, you do therein a great wrong to the King, that being as much, as to give all 'the world to underſtand, that His Majeſty has hither ſent you a man void of all abili-'ty, and poorly experimented to know how to order what ſhould be done for the de-'fence of your City? What? do you believe the King has ſo little kindneſs for you, 'as to ſend me hither, had he not had a great confidence in my capacity, and beforehand 'made ſufficient tryal elſewhere both what I am, and what I can do? I ſhall tell you 'nothing of my ſelf, it would not become me to be my own Trumpet, ſomething you 'have ſeen your ſelves, and the reſt you may have heard from others. You may then well 'judge, that the King has not ſingled out me, amongſt ſo many Gentlemen of his King-'dom, and has not ſent me to you, without having well weigh'd what I am able to do 'by the long experience he has had, not only of my Politicks in point of Government, 'of which you may hitherto have taken ſome notice: But moreover, of my conduct in 'matter of Arms, when an Enemy would carry a place by fine force. Do you fear, Gen-'tlemen, my courage will fail me in time of need? what then do all thoſe teſtimones I 'have given you ſince my coming hither being ſick avail? You have ſeen me ſally out 'from the time I have been able to mount to horſe; to go to ſee the skirmiſhes ſo near, 'that my ſelf commanded them. And have you altogether forgot the day, that I en-'tred into this City, and the great skirmiſh I then made? Your people ſaw it, and 'had a ſhare in the fight; and upon *Chriſtmas-Eve* yet a greater, where the fight laſt-

Commendation of *Antonio de Leva.*

'ed for ſix long hours together? Did I not then fight in my own perſon? Did you 'not then ſee, that I neither wanted judgement to command, nor valour to fight? I am 'aſham'd to ſay ſo much of my ſelf; but ſeeing you all know it to be true, I need not 'bluſh to ſpeak it. I will tell you nothing, but what your ſelves have ſeen, I am no 'bragging Spaniard, I am a Frenchman, and moreover a Gaſcon, the moſt frank and 'plain dealing of all that Nation. Now methinks, Gentlemen, you have ſo much ex-'perience of your ſelves, as will render you worthy of a perpetual reproach, ſhould 'you go leſs in your reſolution, beſides the ruine it would infalliby bring upon you. 'Methinks you ought to know me ſufficiently, having been ſo long amongſt you, and 'that I have omitted nothing of what the King propos'd to himſelf, I ſhould perform 'for his ſervice, and yours in the greateſt neceſſity and danger. All this that I have 'remonſtrated to you, as well for what concerns your own particular, as what relates to 'my ſelf, ought to make you lay aſide all apprehenſion, and to aſſume the courage 'and magnanimity that your Predeceſſors and ſelves who are now living have ever had. 'Wherefore I beſeech you, that you will unanimouſly, take up ſuch a reſolution, as va-'liant men, ſuch as you are, ought to take, that is, to dye with your weapons in your 'hands, rather than to looſe your Sovereignty and the liberty you have ſo long exercis'd 'and enjoy'd. And for what concerns me, and theſe Colonels and Captains, whom you 'ſee preſent here, we ſwear in the preſence of God, that we will dye with you, as at 'this inſtant we will give you aſſurance. It is not for our benefit, nor to acquire Riches, 'neither is it for our eaſe, for you ſee we ſuffer both thirſt and hunger: it is only in pur-'ſuance of our duty, and to acquit our ſelves of our Oath, to the end that it may one 'day be ſaid, and by you, that it was we who defended the liberty of this City, and 'that we may be called Conſervators of the Liberty of *Sienna*.

I then roſe up, bidding the German Interpreter to remember well all I had ſaid, to repeat it to the Rhinecroc, and his Captains, and then directed my ſpeech to the Colonels, and ſaid to them, *Signori mi & fratalli juriamo tutti & promettiamo inanzi Iddio, che noi moriremo tutti l'arme in mano oneſſi loro, per adjutar li a deffendere lor ſicureſſa & liberta: & ogni uno di noi s' obligi per le ſoi Soldati, & alſate tutti le voſtre mani.* Which being ſaid, every one held up his hand, and the Interpreter told it to the Rhinecroc, who alſo held up his hand, and all the Captains crying, *Io, io huerlie*, and the other, *Ouy, ouy*, we promiſe to do it, every one in his own Language. Whereupon the Captain of the people aroſe, and all the Council, returning me infinite thanks; and then turn'd towards the Captains, whom he alſo very much thank'd, and with great chearfulneſs. They then entreated me, that I would retire to my Lodgings, 'till ſuch time as they had ſpoken with all the Council, who were in the great Hall without, and given them an account of what I had remonſtrated to them; which I accordingly did, and at my going out of the little room, I there met with *Miſſer Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, who knew nothing of the Propoſition I had made (for he entred not into the Council Chamber) who told me in my ear, that he thought they had all taken a reſolution, not to endure a Battery. I then carried him back with me to my Lodgings, and three hours after, came four of the Magiſtracy, of which *Miſſer Hieronimo Eſpano* was one, having in charge from all the *Signeury* in general, to return me infinite thanks; and he told me, that *Miſſer Ambroſio Mitti* had made a ſpeech in the accuſtomed chair, which is in the middle of the great Hall, againſt the wall, giving them to underſtand, what a Remonſtrance I had made to them, wherein he forgot nothing (for he was a man of great Eloquence and Wiſdom) and the Oath that all the Colonels and Captains had taken, finally exhorting them to reſolve all to fight. I do not remember whether they put it to the * Balotte, or if they held up their hands as we had done: But they all four aſſur'd us, that they had never ſeen a greater joy, then what generally appear'd amongſt them, after the Propoſition of the ſaid *Ambroſia Mitti*. Telling me moreover, that after I had been in the ſaid Hall, and made an end of the forementioned Harangue, the two Gentlemen, who had deliver'd their opinions before, that they ought to capitulate, and come to a compoſition with the Enemy, had requeſted the Senate to do them that favour as to conceal what they had ſaid, and take no notice of it, but give them leave to vote anew; which being accordingly done, they again deliver'd their opinions, that they ought to fight, and enter into no kind of compoſition, but rather dye with their Arms in their hands. I then told *Miſſer Hieronimo Eſpano*, that I would retire my ſelf for all that day, and for all that night, to write down the order of the fight; which having done, I would immediately ſend it to the *Germans* in their Language, and to the French in theirs.

The Oath of the Soldiers, Foreigners.

* That is a caſting of Lots by little Balls, in uſe in moſt Cities of *Italy*.

The reſolution of the *Sienois*.

Governors

Governors and Captains, you ought to take ſome example here, foraſmuch as there are ſome, who ſay, they have ſurrendred a place, that the Soldiers would not defend, and moreover, that the Inhabitants of the Town went about to betray them, and by that means compell'd them to Capitulate. Theſe are mere excuſes, believe me they are mere excuſes. The thing that compels you, is your own want of experience. Gentlemen and Camrades, when ever you ſhall happen to be at ſuch a Wedding, put on your beſt Clothes, make your ſelves as fine as you can, waſh your faces with Greek wine, and rub a good colour into your cheeks, and ſo march bravely thorough the ſtreets, and amongſt the Soldiers with your faces erect, having nothing in your mouths, but that very ſoon, by God's help, and the ſtrength of your own Arms, you will in deſpite of them, have the Lives of your enemies, and not they yours; that it is not for them to come to attaque you in your own Fort; that it is the only thing you deſire, foraſmuch as upon that depends their ruine, and your deliverance. And by carrying your ſelves after that manner, the very women will take courage, and much more the Souldiers: But if you ſneak up and down with a pale face, ſpeaking to no body, ſad, melancholick and penſive, though all the City, and all the Soldiers had the hearts of Lyons, you will make them as timerous as ſheep. Speak often to thoſe of the City in four or five words, and likewiſe to the Soldiers ſaying to them, Well friends, are you not in heart? I look upon the victory as our own, and hold the death of our Enemies already for certain: For I have I know not what Prophetick ſpirit, which whenever it comes upon me, I am always certain to overcome, which I have from God, and not from men. Wherefore rely upon me, and reſolve all of you to fight, and to go out of this place, with honor and reputation. You can dye but once, and 'tis a thing that is predeſtin'd, if God has appointed it ſo, it is in vain for you to fly. Let us then dye honorably; but there is no appearance of danger for us, but rather for our Enemies, over whom we have the greateſt advantage imaginable. And who Governors and Captains, would you have dare to ſay he is afraid, ſeeing you ſo bravely reſolv'd? Let me tell you, that though they trembled before, they will lay aſide their fear, and the moſt cowardly will become as bold as the moſt couragious of the Company. The Soldier is never aſtoniſh'd, ſo long as he ſees the confidence of his Chief continue firm and unſhaken. As the Chief therefore carries away all the honor, and the reſt have nothing, but what he ſhall give them, in his report of their valour to the Prince; ſo ought he to reſolve never to diſcover the leaſt ſhadow of fear: For behaving himſelf after that fearleſs manner, the Soldiers themſelves will be ſufficient teſtimonie for him; ſo that the reputation he ſhall have acquir'd, ſhall remain indiſputably his own, without any one being able to contradict it. I do not then adviſe you any thing, I have not firſt tryed my ſelf, not only here, but in many other places alſo; as you will find in this Book, if you have the patience to read it. Now this is the order I ſet down for the fight, and for all the whole City, all which particularities I repreſent to you, without conſenting my ſelf to ſay, that *Sienna* was beſieg'd, where I nine or ten months ſuſtain'd the Seige, and was at laſt conſtrain'd to Capitulate by Famine; for of ſuch a General account as that, a Kings Lieutenant, a Captain, or a Soldier, can make no benefit. This is the Hiſtorians way, and of theſe kind of Writers, there are but too many: I write of my ſelf, and will inſtruct others that come after me; for to be born for a mans ſelf only, is in plain Engliſh to be born a Beaſt.

All things depend upon the Chief.

The deſign of the Author.

I then order'd in the firſt place that the City ſhould be divided into eight parts, of which the eight of the Council of War ſhould have every one a part; that every one of the Council of Eight ſhould appoint a perſon for whom he ſhould himſelf be reſponſible, to take a Liſt of the Quarter ſhould be aſſign'd him, how many men, women, and children there were in that diviſion, from twelve the males to ſixty, and the females to fifty years of age, which were to carry Baskets, Barrels, Shovels, Picks, and Mattocks, and that each one of his own Quarter ſhould make Captains of every Trade, without mixing them together: that every one ſhould be commanded upon pain of death, ſo ſoon as ever their Captain ſhould ſend for them to come to the place appointed immediately to haſte away, as alſo the women and children; that every one ſhould forthwith make proviſion of ſuch things as were proper for his or her employment, and that the Maſters of Men-ſervants and Maids, or their Miſtreſſes ſhould be obliged ſpeedily to take order, that their Men and Maids be furniſht with tools and utenſils wherewith to labour at the work, for which they ſhall be appointed, upon pain of two hundred Crowns, and the City to furniſh the poor, who have not wherewith to buy them, at the expence of the publick Treaſure: that the ſaid Deputies ſhall make their Catalogues, and ſhall go from houſe to houſe to Regiſter their people; and that ſo ſoon as the Captains, every one in his own Quarter ſhould cry out Force, Force, every one both men and women ſhould run

The order at *Sienna* for the Fortification.

to their tools, and preſent themſelves at the place to which the Captain ſhould lead, or appoint them to come; and that the Deputies ſhould deliver in the Liſts of all both men and women, they ſhall have found in their reſpective Precincts to each of the Eight of the Council of War, Quarter for Quarter; that the old men and women above the forementioned Ages ſhall remain in their Maſters houſes, to get meat, and to look to the houſe. That the ſaid Deputies ſhould take a Liſt of all the Maſons and Carpenters, who ſhould be found in their Quarter, which Liſt they ſhould alſo deliver to him of the Eight of the Council of War by whom they ſhall be deputed. And this was the order for the Laborers and Pioneers.

Order for the Fight.

The order for thoſe who bore arms, was, that the the three Standard bearers, namely of *St. Martin*, of *Ciotat*, and of *Camoglia*, ſhould forthwith take a view of all the Companies, which were four and twenty, and examine every mans arms, if they were in good order for fight, and if not to make them preſently to be repaired: that they ſhould refine all the Powder, and cauſe great ſtore of Bullet and Match to be made: that the three Standard-bearers ſhould every one keep in his own Quarter without ſtirring thence, till one of the Eight of War ſhould come to give them order what to do; that the antient Gentlmen who were not able to bear arms, nor to work, ſhould preſent themſelves to ſollicit the Pioneers of that Quarter where their houſes ſtood, and to aſſiſt the Captains of the ſaid Pioneers. Now I had ever determin'd, that if ever the Enemy ſhould come to aſſault us with Artillery, to entrench my ſelf at a good diſtance from the Wall, where the Battery ſhould be made, to let them enter at pleaſure, and made account to ſhut up the two ends of the Trench, and at either end to plant four or five pieces of great Canon, loaden with great chains, nails, and pieces of iron. Behind the * Retirade I intended to place the Muskets, together with the Harquebuzeers, and ſo ſoon as they ſhould be entred in, to cauſe the Artillery and ſmall ſhot to fire all at once, and we at the two ends then to run in upon them with Pikes and Halberts, two handed Swords, ſhort Swords and Targets. This I reſolved upon, as ſeeing it altogether impoſſible for the King to ſend us relief, by reaſon tha he was engaged in ſo many places, that it would not be poſſible for him to ſet on foot Forces ſufficient to raiſe the Siege, neither by ſea nor by land; and Monſieur *de Strozzy* had no means to relieve us, wherefore I would permit them to enter, and make little defence at the Breach, to the end that I might give them battail in the Town, after they had paſt the fury of our Canon and ſmaller ſhot: For to have defended the Breach had in my opinion been a very eaſie matter; but then we could not have done the Enemy ſo much miſchief, as by letting them enter the breach, which we would have pretended to have quit, onely to draw them on to the fight.

* A Trench within the wall of a City to retire into in caſe of an Aſſault.

Centinels perdues.

For five or ſix dayes before the Artillery came I every night ſent out two Peaſants and a Captain, or a Serjeant, as Centinels perdues, which is a very good thing, and of great ſafety; but take heed whom you ſend, for he may do you a very ill turn. So ſoon as the night came the Captain ſet a Peaſant Centinel at ſome fifty or ſixty paces diſtant from the Wall, and either in a ditch or behind a hedge, with inſtructions, that ſo ſoon as he ſhould hear any thing he ſhould come back to the Captain at the foot of the Wall, which Captain had in charge from me, that immediately upon the Peaſant's ſpeaking to him they ſhould clap down upon all four, and ſo creep the one after the other to the place where the Peaſant had heard the noiſe, or rather fall down upon their bellies cloſe to the earth, to diſcover if there were not three or four who came to view that place, and ſo obſerve if they did not lay their heads together to confer; for this is a certain ſign that they came to view that place in order to the bringing up of Artillery. To do which as it ought to be done, they ought to be no other than the Maſter of the Ordnance, the Colonel or the Camp-Maſter of the Infantry, or the Engineer, the Maſter Carter, and a Captain of Pioneers, to the end that according to what ſhall be reſolved upon by the Maſter of the Ordnance, the Colonel, and Canoneer; the Maſter Carter may alſo take notice which way he may bring up Artillery to the place; and the Canoneer ought to ſhew the Captain of the Pioneers what is to be done for the Eſplanade, or plaining of the way, according to the determination of the reſt. And this is the diſcovery that is to be made by night, after you have diſcover'd a little at diſtance by day; for if thoſe within be an Enemy of any ſpirit, they ought either by skirmiſhes, or by their Canon to keep you from coming to diſcover at hand. The Captain had order to come give me a preſent account of what he and the Peaſants had heard or ſeen, and to leave the Peaſants ſtill upon their perdue, and a Soldier in his own place till his return. Three times the Enemy was diſcover'd after this manner, and immediately upon the notice, having alſo the Liſt of the Eight Quarters, and of the Eight of War who commanded thoſe

Quarters,

Quarters, I ſuddenly acquainted Signior *Cornelio*, who could preſently tell me both the Quarter againſt which it was, and the Gentleman of the Eight of War that commanded it. I had never diſcover'd my intention to any one, but to Signior *Cornelio* onely, who was a man of great wiſdom and valour, and in whom I repoſed a very great confidence; who, ſo ſoon as he knew that I meant to give them Battail in the City, we did nothing of one whole day but walk the round both within and without, taking very good obſervation of all the places where the Enemy could make a Battery, and conſequently by that knew where to make our Retirade. And ſo ſoon as ever notice was given me by the Captain who ſtood Centinel without the City, I preſently advertized the Commander of that Quarter, and he his Deputy, and his Deputy the Captain of the Pioneers, ſo that in an hours time you might have ſeen at leaſt a thouſand, or twelve hundred perſons beginning the Retirade. Now I had order'd the City to make great proviſion of Torches, ſo that thoſe who had diſcover'd were hardly return'd to the Marquis, but that they ſaw all that part within the Town cover'd with torches and people, inſomuch that by break of day we had very much advanc't our Trench, and in the morning ſent back thoſe to reſt, calling in another Quarter to the work till noon, and another from noon till night, and conſequenty others till midnight, and ſo till break of day, by which means in a little time we performed ſo great a work, that we could by no means be ſurpriz'd. After this manner I ſtill turn'd the defences of the Town towards the Marquis his attempts, *who lodg'd at the houſe of Guillet the Dreamer*, and Signior *Fernando de Sylva*, brother to Signior *Rigomez* (who commanded on that ſide towards the little Obſervance, with whom I had ſome diſcourſe upon the publick faith, the Friday before we departed out of the City, betwixt their Quarters and the Fort *Camoglia*) told me that the Marquis had ſome jealouſie, that ſome one of their Council betray'd to me all their deliberations, ſeeing he had no ſooner deſign'd to batter any part, but that we alwayes fortified againſt that place; for by night the leaſt noiſe is eaſily heard, and ſo great a buſtle cannot be concealed; and becauſe he told me that he had compiled a Book of the particularities of the Siege of *Sienna*. he entreated me to tell him by what means I ſo continually diſcover'd their intentions, whereupon I told him the truth.

* A phraſe ſignifying that a man is nonpluſt, and knows not what to do, which is properly to lie at the houſe of *Guillot* the Dreamer.

But to return to our ſubject, the Marquis in the end came and planted his Artillery upon a little Hill betwixt Port *Oville* and the great Obſervance. The choice of this place put me, who thought my ſelf ſo cunning, almoſt to a nonplus, foraſmuch as at Port *Oville* there is a very ſpatious Antiport, where the houſes of the City do almoſt touch, having nothing but the ſtreet between, which made it impoſſible for me of a long time to make the neceſſary Retirade, to do which I muſt be conſtrain'd to beat down above an hundred houſes, which extremely troub'led me; for it is to create ſo many enemies in our entrals, the poor Citizen loſing all patience to ſee his houſe pulled down before his eyes. I gave to the Count *de Riſque* the charge of terraſſing up this Gate, for which uſe we took the earth out of the Gardens, and vacant places that lie a little on the left hand. O the rare exemple that is here, which I will commit to writing, that it may ſerve for a mirror to all thoſe who would conſerve their liberty.

A new Enterprize upon *Sienna*.

All theſe poor Inhabitants, without diſcovering the leaſt diſtaſte or ſorrow for the ruine of their houſes, put themſelves their own hands firſt to the work, every one contending who ſhould be moſt ready to pull down his own. There was never leſs than four thouſand ſouls at labour, and I was ſhewed by the Gentlemen of *Sienna* a great number of Gentlewomen carrying of Baskets of earth upon their heads. It ſhall never be (you Ladies of *Sienna*) that I will not immortalize your names ſo long as the Book of *Montluc* ſhall live; for in truth you are worthy of immortal praiſe, if ever women were. At the beginning of the noble reſolution theſe people took to defend their liberty, all the Ladies of *Sienna* divided themſelves into three Squadrons; the firſt led by *Signiora Fortaguerra*, who was her ſelf clad in violet, as alſo all thoſe of her Train, her attire being cut in the faſhion of a Nymph, ſhort, and diſcovering her Buskins; the ſecond was *la Signiora Picolhuomini* attir'd in carnatian Sattin, and her Troop in the ſame Livery; the third was *la Signiora Livia Fauſta*, apparelled all in white, as alſo her Train, with her white Enſign. In their Enſigns they had very fine devices, which I would give a good deal I could remember. Theſe three Squadrons conſiſted of three thouſand Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Citizens, their Arms were Picks, Shovels, Baskets, and Bavins, and in this Equipage they made their Muſter, and went to begin the Fortifications. Monſieur *de Termes*, who has often told me this ſtory (for I was not then arriv'd at *Sienna*) has aſſur'd me, that in his life he never ſaw ſo fine a ſight. I have ſince ſeen their Enſignes, and they had compoſed a Song to the honor of *France*, for which I wiſh I had given the beſt horſe I have that I might inſert it here.

The noble reſolution of the *Siennois*.

The praiſe of the Ladies of *Sienna*.

And

Of a young Maid of *Sienna.*

And ſince I am upon the honor of theſe women, I will that thoſe who ſhall come after us admire the courage and virtue of a young Virgin of *Sienna*, who, though ſhe was a poor mans daughter, deſerves notwithſtanding to be rank't with thoſe of the nobleſt Families. I had made a Decree at the time when I was Dictator, that no one upon pain of ſevere puniſhment ſhould fail to go to the Guard in his turn. This young Maid ſeeing a Brother of hers who was concern'd to be upon duty, not able to go, ſhe took his Morrion and put it upon her head, his Breeches, and a Collar of Buff, and put them on, and with his Halbert upon her neck, in this equipage mounted the Guard, paſſing when the Liſt was read by her Brothers name, and ſtood Centinel in turn, without being diſcover'd, till the morning that it was fair light day, when ſhe was conducted home with great honor. In the afternoon Signior *Cornelio* ſhew'd her to me.

But to return to our ſubject, it was not poſſible of all that day, nor the night following for the Count to perfect his Terraſs, nor we our Retirade, at which we wrought exceeding hard, leaving about foreſcore paces to the Marquis, if he had a mind to enter there. We had made a Traverſe by the Port *Oville*, where we had plac't three great Culverins, laden as I have ſaid before, at which place were Signior *Cornelio*, the Count *de Gayas*, and three Canoneers, who were there left by Monſieur *Baſſompierre*. On the right hand upon an Eminence was the great Obſervance, betwixt which and the walls we had planted five pieces of Canon ram'd with the ſame, which the ſaid *Baſſompierre* commanded in his own perſon; yet both the one and the other were ſo well conceal'd, that the Enemy could diſcover nothing from the little hills about us. Well did they perceive, that above at the Obſervance there were people; for they had evermore a clap at that: but we were all behind a Trench we had caſt up betwixt the Obſervance and the Wall of the City, tapiſt, and ſquat, ſo that we could not be ſeen. The Soldiers were all before the houſes, through which they had pierc't ſeverall holes to come, and go under cover. Behind the Retirade, which was not much above the height of a man, they were alſo ſheltred from being ſeen. Signior *Cornelio* was alſo under cover, by reaſon that he lay in a low place, and under the ſhelter of a very thick wall, which join'd to Port *Oville*. The order of the fight was thus.

The order and deſign of the Fight.

Signior *Cornelio* had with him one Enſign of *Germans*, two of *French*, four of *Italians*, and four of *Siennois*, having alſo the Count *de Gayas* to aſſiſt him: and with me at the Obſervance was the *Rhinegrave*, with three Companies of *Germans*, two of *French*, two of *Italians*, and four Enſigns of *Siennois*. In all the two Troops both of Signior *Cornelio*'s and mine there was not ſo much as one Harquebuz, but Pikes, Halberts, and two hand-Swords, (and of thoſe but few) Swords and Targets, all arms proper for cloſe fight, and the moſt furious and killing weapons of all other; for to ſtand pepping and pelting with thoſe ſmall ſhot is but ſo much time loſt; a man muſt cloſe, and grapple collar to collar, if he mean to rid any work, which the Soldier will never do ſo long as he has his fire arms in his hands, but will be alwaies fighting at diſtance.

All the night the Enemy were placing Gabions for ſix and twenty or ſeven and twenty pieces of Ordnance, and by break of day they had planted twelve, as they would in that time have done all the reſt, had it not been that they had been neceſſitated to draw their Canon up to this Mountain by ſtrength of hand. The Wall is good enough, which not long ſince by one of the two Popes *Pius*'s, who were of the houſe of *Picolhuomini*, and of the Order of the people, had cauſed to be made. At break of day they began their Battery within a foot or two of the bottom of the Walls, at the diſtance of about an hundred paces; which they did to cut the Wall by the bottom, making account the next day with the reſt of the Artillery in a ſhort time to beat down the whole wall: but for all that the Count *de Biſque* ceaſſed not continually to fill the Antiport, leaving us Flanckers, ſo that we could ſee all along the breach. About noon they gave over their Battery below, and began to batter the middle of the wall, when ſo ſoon as I ſaw them begin to let in light, I left Signior *Cornelio*, who continually went up and down from place to place, and took Monſieur *de Baſſompierre*, with whom I went to the Fort *Camoglia*, from whence we could plainly ſee into the recoyle of their Canon: but I ſhall leave this diſcourſe to finiſh the Order.

The Battery of the Imperialiſts.

I left a French Company at the Fort *Camoglia*, another at the Citadel, there being already two Companies of *Siennois* at each, more than two Companies of *Germans* at the place, each a part by themſelves; one of *Italians* at the Port *St. Mark*, and all along the wall towards *Fonde-brando*, *Siennois*, and towards *Porto Novo* the ſame, having given the word to the two *French* Companies, that in caſe I ſhould ſtand in need I would ſend for them, leaving the *Siennois* ſtill in the Citadel, and in the Fort. The ſame Inſtructions I left with the *Germans*, and had taken order that from ſix hours to ſix hours we

would

would change the word, as well by day as by night, to the end that whilſt every one lay cloſe at his poſt, if there ſhould be any Traytor amongſt us, he might go to no place where he might have any Intelligence with the Enemy, to draw men from that part to weaken that Poſt, to carry them to another: but that no one ſhould be believ'd if he did not bring the word, in changing of which it ſhould be carried to the *Siennois* by two of the Council of Eight, by the one to the one half, and by the other to the other; ſo that unleſs thoſe themſelves brought the word they were not to ſtir from their Poſt. I was ever afraid that the Marquis had ſome intelligence in the City, which made me take this courſe to prevent him. The *Germans* who were at the great place had the ſame command, and moreover that an Officer, or a Serjeant of the others ſhould come to fetch them; to which end there were ſix Serjeants choſen out of our *Italian* and *French* Companies, who had in charge, that during the time of the Battery, or of an Aſſault, they ſhould continually be moving along the Curtain of the Wall to the Quarters I had appointed, and never to abandon their Quarter. It was alſo ordain'd that no one upon pain of death, of what Nation ſoever, not ſo much as the *Siennois* themſelves ſhould dare to abandon the Retirade, being of the number of thoſe who were there appointed for the fight, and the ſame was carried quite round the walls of the City. It was alſo order'd, that of eight of the Council of War, four were continually to remain with me and Signior *Cornelio*, to the end that the two who remain'd with him might go continually on horſeback with the word, to fetch ſuch ſuccours as Signior *Cornelio* ſhould ſend for, to relieve him if occaſion ſhould be, and my two the like; that is to ſay of the Captains of the City, and the other four ſhould go to the places where the ſix Serjeants were appointed to be, to the end that they might joyntly encourage the Soldiers to fight, if neceſſity ſhould require. And there where there was no buſineſs to be done, and that any came to them with the word for ſuccours, they ſhould deliver him the one half, and keep the reſt to defend that Poſt. That the Officers of the King, as Controulers, Commiſſaries of victual, Treaſurers, or their Deputies, ſhould ordinarily be, part by day, and part by night, ſtill on horſeback, riding up and down the ſtreets of the City, and that from hour to hour one of them ſhould bring me news how all things ſtood in the body of the City, and about the Walls, bringing us ſtill ſome token or another that they had ſpoke with the four of the Council, and the Serjeants who were deputed with them. This was the order I gave, at leaſt as much as I remember, never failing my ſelf every day to viſit the Companies, and to encourage the Inhabitants to do well.

I now return to what we did at the Fort *Camoglia*: Monſieur *de Baſſompierre* ran to fetch a Canon we had in the Citadel; but as he went out to remove it the Carriage broke, ſo that inſtead of it he brought a Demy-Canon, which a *Siennois* the ſaid *Baſſompierre* had entertein'd in the quality of a Canoneer evermore ſhot in, and ſo well that he could hit with it as ſmall a mark as if it had been a Harquebuz. He was aſſiſted by ſome *Italian* and *French* Soldiers of the Citadel to bring it, whilſt I was making ready a Platform with the Soldiers of the Fort, till my Company of Pioneers came, which I had ſent for in all haſte, and in leſs than an hour and a half we diſpatcht it, where I mounted my Demy-Canon. I gave ten Crowns to our *Siennois*, that he might make ſome good ſhots with that Piece here, as he had done ſeveral at the Citadel before. The Enemy had plac't Gabions on the Flanck of their Battery towards us. *Baſſompierre* and I went a little on the right hand, and obſerv'd the Bullet in the air like a hat on fire, flying very wide on the right hand, and the ſecond as much on the left, which made me ready to eat my own fleſh for rage: Monſieur *de Baſſompierre* always aſſur'd me, that he would preſently take his level right, and ſtill went and came to and fro betwixt him and me. The third ſhot light upon the bottom of the Gabions, and the fourth playd directly into their Artillery, and there kill'd a great many of their men, whereupon all thoſe that aſſiſted fled behind a little houſe which was in the rear of their Canon. At which I ran and took him in my arms, and ſeeing him with his Linſtock ready to fire again, ſaid to him, *Fradel mio da li da ſeno, per dio facio, ti preſepte dalteri dieci. ſcondi, & d'une biechier de vino Græco.* I then left him the French Captain, who had the Guard of the Fort, to furniſh him continually with ſuch things as he ſtood in need of, and Monſieur *Baſſompierre* and I return'd to our Poſt. There then advanc't a German Enſign to the Enemies battery, who came along by the other Gabionade with his colours flying, and this might be about four of the clock in the afternoon, we could ſee him march from behind the Obſervance, and was no ſooner come to the Artillery, but our Piece fir'd and kill'd the Enſign, upon which the *Germans* immediately fled away, retiring to the place from whence they came. And this *Siennois* made ſo many brave ſhots, that he diſmounted them ſix pieces of Canon, and their Artillery remain'd totally abandon'd till the beginning of the night, without

out playing any more than two pieces of Canon, that were covered with Gabions, and flanckt towards the Fort *Camoglia*, which our Artillery could not touch, becauſe they ſhot over by reaſon of the height of the Gabions, and in the twilight they made ſeven or eight ſhots at the Obſervance where we were, and the houſes adjoyning, and of all night after ſhot no more. We work't exceeding hard all night to finiſh our Retirade, and the Count *de Biſque* was no leſs diligent at the Antiport, ſo that two hours before day all was perfected, and every one ſettled in his Poſt where he was to fight. That which made us make ſo much haſte, was, that we heard a great noiſe at their Artillery, and thought they were bringing up the reſt, which made me put out a man to diſcover their Battery, who brought us word, that they had cut above fourſcore paces of the wall, within a ſpan or two of the bottom; and that he believ'd in a few hours they would have beaten it totally down, which we did not much care for though they did, for we hop'd to ſell them their Entry very dear; and about an hour before day they ceaſed their noiſe, which made us think that they only expected the break of day to give fire. I then mounted upon the wall, having Captain *Charry* always with me, who by main force would needs have me down when the day began to break, and ſoon after I perceiv'd, that at the Windows of the Gabions there was no Artillery, and that inſtead of planting more they had drawn off thoſe there were. I then called out to Signior *Cornelio*, that we were out of danger of an Aſſault, and that the Enemy had drawn off their *Canon*; at which news every one began to come upon the wall, where the *Siennois* ſufficiently rated the Enemy in their language, ſaying, *Coloni marrani, venete qua vi metteremo per terra vinti braſſi di muri.* They were conſtrain'd to ſtay three days at the foot of the mountain to repair their Carriages, which the Demy-Canon we had brought to Fort *Camoglia* had broken and ſpoild them.

The Marquis draws of his Canon.

Now (as I have already ſaid) the Gentleman of the Emperors Bedchamber had all the while kept a great deal of clutter what Canon would do to the winning of the Town: but after he had been an eye witneſs of all that has been related, and that the Marquis had remonſtrated to him that the Retirade, and thoſe other Fortifications I made within, was to let him enter, and to give him Battail in the City (for if I knew what he did, he was no leſs enform'd of my proceeding, there being evermore one Traytor or another amongſt all people) he then was of the ſame opinion with the Marquis and the other Captains, that the Town was never to be taken by force; but that it was to be reduc't to famine, and therefore thought it convenient that the Artillery ſhould be ſent back to *Florence*. He then return'd back to his Maſter to give him an account of what he had ſeen, and that the Marquis could do no more than what he had already done. I do not know whether or no he acquainted the Emperor with the fright he had been in; which the Marquis himſelf gave me a relation of at my going out of *Sienna*, as he went along with me above two miles of my way, where he told me, that at the time when their Artillery was forſaken, by reaſon of the Havock our Demy-Canon made amongſt them, he was cloſe by the ſide of the little houſe in his Litter, being then very lame of the Gout, where his Litter being ſet down upon the ground, this Gentleman of the Emperor's was talking to him, having his hands upon the Cover of the Litter, and his head within it, whiſpering with the ſaid Marquis; when our Governor ſeeing the Artillery abandoned, and every one retyr'd under the ſhelter of the little houſe made a ſhot at it, with which a part of the wall, which was of brick fell upon the Litter, ſo that the ſaid Gentleman was by it beaten down upon the Marquis's Legs, ſo aſtoniſh't as nothing more, and the Marquis ſwore to me, that in his life he was himſelf never in ſo much fear of being kill'd, as at that time: that they drew the Gentleman out from off his legs, and himſelf after with much ado, all the Litter being full of the ruine, and covering of the ſaid houſe. And the ſaid Marquis moreover told me, that at the great fright he was in his Gout left him, for the whole ruine fell at once upon him, and upon the Gentleman, who verily thought himſelf to be kill'd. I have often heard that the apprehenſion of death has cur'd many diſeaſes; I know not if the Marquis his Gout be returned ſince, but he aſſur'd me he had never had it after from that fright, till the time I ſaw him. If it be return'd or no I leave others to enquire.

The Marquis his reſolution.

The Marquis his danger and fright.

This might be about the middle of *January*, and not above eight dayes after we began to perceive that the *Germans* grew very impatient at the little bread they had, having no wine, which was the moſt inſupportable of all. The *Rhinecroc* himſelf, who was ſickly, could no longer endure, there being nothing to be had unleſs it were a little horſe-fleſh, or a piece of an Aſs. Signior *Cornelio* and I then began to contrive which way we might get theſe *Germans* out of the City, and conceited that if they were gone we could yet keep the Town above two moneths longer, whereas if they ſtaid we ſhould be

The *Germans* can no longer endure the want of bread and wine.

be neceſſitated to ſurrender: we therefore concluded to ſend a man privately to Monſieur *de Strozzy* to remonſtrate all this to him, and to entreat him to ſend for them after the moſt plauſible manner he could (which I alſo directed him how to do) and ſent to him Captain *Coſſeil*, who is now my Enſign, very well inſtructed. It was with exceeding great difficulty that he was to paſs, which that he might do, we were to fight two Courts of Guard, by reaſon that the Marquis had already caſt up a great number of Trenches, which came up cloſe to the walls of the City on every ſide. Of theſe Captain *Charry* fought the one, and the Count *de Gayas* with a Company of *Italians* the other; ſo that whilſt they were fighting he got over the Trench, and recovered the rear of the Camp with his Guides, and two dayes after return'd in Company with an *Italian* Gentleman call'd Captain *Flaminio*, who brought Letters to the *Rhinecroc*, and to me alſo wherein Monſieur *de Strozzy* writ to me to ſend the *Rhinecroc* with his Companies out to him, for that he intended to ſet on foot a flying Army, having with him great ſtore of *Italian* horſe and foot; and that without ſome of thoſe Tramontane ſinews he ſhould never be able to relieve me, and that he would proteſt againſt me if the City was loſt. To the *Rhinecroc* likewiſe he ſent very obliging letters, having before-hand made Captain *Flaminio* very perfect in his Leſſon. The *Rhinecroc* upon the receiving theſe orders broke out into very great complaints, ſaying that Monſieur *de Strozzy* reduc'd him to the greateſt extremities, and that it was impoſſible for him to get away without being defeated: but that he would however ſpeak to his Officers, which he did, and which begot a very great diſpute amongſt them. At length one of them in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence, and who ſerv'd him in the quality of Camp-Maſter, remonſtrated to him, that he had much better hazard with his ſword in his hand to make his way through the Marquis his Camp, than ſtay to die of famine, or by a Capitulation to ſurrender himſelf to the Enemies diſcretion, which however in a few dayes he muſt of neceſſity do; for there was nothing left to eat, and their Soldiers began to murmur, inſomuch that they evermore expected when a great part of them ſhould go give themſelves up to the Enemy, which made them reſolve to depart. The *Rhinecroc* was not much to be blam'd for his unwillingneſs, it being a very perilous Journey, for at the very ſallying out of the Gate, he was of neceſſity to fight ſeveral *Spaniſh* Guards, and half a mile from thence another, at a Trench the Enemy had caſt up near unto a certain Mill, which was in his way. Upon their determination to depart, I gave expreſs charge that no one living ſhould ſpeak of this ſally, cauſing the Gates of the City to be cloſe ſhut, and at the beginning of the night they all came with their Baggage to the great place before *Porto Novo*.

A device of the Sieur *de Montluc* to be rid of the *Germans*.

The *Siennois*, who underſtood nothing of all this, at the ſeeing the *Germans* in this marching poſture, began in all haſte to repair to the Pallace in very great deſpair. I then cauſ'd three Companies to ſally out, two of *French*, and one of *Italians*; the firſt whereof was led by Captain *Charry*, the ſecond by Captain *Blacon* (who ſince dyed a Hugonot at *Xaintonge*) and the third by the Count *de Gayas*. Captain *Charry* had order to fight the firſt Court of Guard, which was in a great ſtreet of the Suburbs, the ſecond was at the *Auguſtins* in the ſame ſtreet, and the third at S. *Lazaro*. They had in command from me, never to give over till they had fought all the three Courts of Guards, and the Count *de Gayas* took the way on the outſide of the Suburbs on the right hand all along by the houſes, ſtill marching ſoftly on to rally our men together, as they ſhould be ſeparated and ſcatter'd by the fight. The *Tertia* of *Sicily* lay at the *Charter-houſe*, conſiſting of very good Soldiers, and the *Rhinecroc* at the going out of the Gate took on the right hand, entring into a valley, and the Count *de Gayas* remain'd upon the eminence moving ſtill ſoftly on, which produc'd two effects for the relief of our people; the one as has been ſaid, by gathering our ſquandred men together, and the other to ſuccour the *Rhinecroc* alſo, if he ſhould ſtand in need; and ſo we began to open the Gate, it being about one of the clock in the night. Captain *Charry* marched out firſt (for it was he who alwayes led the dance) *Blacon* after him, the Count *de Gayas* next, and then the *Germans*, who in a trice put themſelves into the Valley. We immediately heard the fight betwixt our *French* and the *Spaniards*: Captain *Charry* routed the two Courts of Guards, the one after the other, and beat them up as far as that of *St. Lazaro*; whereupon thoſe of the *Charter-houſe* came out to relieve their people, and came to the *Auguſtins* (where *Blacon* had made a halt expecting Captain *Charry*) and there clapt in betwixt them. Captain *Charry* having done his buſineſs, thought to return (hearing very well that they were fighting with *Blacon*) and met the Enemy, which redoubled the fight. The Count *de Gayas* could not come to aſſiſt him, by reaſon that I had expreſly forbid him to engage in the fight, till he ſhould firſt be ſure that the *Germans* were out of danger: but in the end he was conſtrain'd to do as the reſt did; our two *French* Companies being driven upon him:

The *Germans* go out of *Sienna*.

The Fight betwixt the *French* and the *Imperialiſts*.

The Fight continued above a long hour. Signior *Cornelio* and I were without the Gate by the Portcullis, and nothing was open but the wicket, and there as the Soldiers came one after another, we put them in, when on a ſudden we heard the fight coming towards us, ſome crying *France*, and others *Spain*, when at laſt they all came up pel mel together to the Portcullis. We had torches within the Gates, and through the wicket ſaw a little light, by wich we drew the Soldiers in. I muſt needs ſay, there were very valiant men, both on the one ſide, and the other; for not ſo much as either *French* or *Italian*, ever once ran furiouſly upon us, but ſtill fac'd about at the Portcullis, and never retir'd, but ſtep by ſtep, till we pull'd them in. All the three Captains were wounded, and we there loſt what ſlain, and wounded above forty of the beſt Soldiers we had, both *French* and *Italians*, and in the end we got in all the reſt of our people. And becauſe before the Sally, the *Siennois* were aſtoniſh'd at the departure of the *Germans*, I made Signior *Cornelio* to go about to the ſeveral Guards, and to the Forts, to reaſſure our men, for no one knew that the *Germans* were to go away, and I my ſelf went to the Palace, where I found all the Senate in a very great diſtraction, to whom I ſpoke as followeth:

Speech of Monſieur *de Montluc* to the *Siennois*.

'I ſee well (Gentlemen) that you have here aſſembled your ſelves upon the occaſion of 'the *Germans* departure, and that you are enter'd into ſome apprehenſion and jealouſie, 'that by that means your City will be loſt: But I muſt tell you, it is the conſervation, and 'not the loſs of your City; for thoſe ſix Enſigns devour'd more, than the twelve of the 'Italians and *French*. On the other ſide, I know you muſt have heard that the ſaid *Ger-* 'mans already began to mutiny, being no longer able to endure. I alſo diſcover'd well 'enough, that even their Captains were not like to govern them, themſelves apprehend- 'ing that they would go over to the Enemy, and you your ſelves have for five or ſix days 'laſt paſt heard the Enemy call out to us at the very foot of our walls, that we were loſt, 'and that our *Germans* would ſoon be with them. Yet did not this proceed from any de- 'fault in their Officers, but from the impatience of the common Soldiers, who were no 'longer able to ſuffer. Now (Gentlemen) ſhould you appear dejected upon their depar- 'ture; the world would ſay, that both your courage and ours, depended only upon 'theirs, and ſo we ſhould diſhonor our ſelves, to honor them; to which I ſhall never 'give my conſent: for you knew all the great fights that have hapned in this ſiege, have 'been perform'd by you, and us only, and they have never ſo much as ſallied out of the 'Town, ſave once only, that in ſpite of me the *Rhinecroc* would ſend out his people un- 'der the conduct of his Nephew and his Camp-Maſter, and would accept of no one of 'any other Nation, than his own, at which time you ſaw how ſoon, and how eaſily they 'were beaten back, even into the ditch of the Ravelin of *Porto Novo*; ſo that if, by good 'fortune, I had not been there, and had not made the *Italian* Guard ſally out to their 'reſcue, not a man of them had come off alive. I will not diſparage them, but they are 'much more proper for a Battel, than a Siege. Why then (Signiors) ſhould you be con- 'cern'd at their departure? I will ſay one thing more to you, that although I had alſo ſent 'away the twelve Companies that remain with me in this Town, I would yet undertake to 'defend your City, provided the Captains ſtay'd behind to relieve me. You muſt make 'your Enſigns Captains of the Watch by turns, who ſhall have two nights of intermiſſi- 'on, and ours ſhall have but one, and we muſt begin to contract our allowance of bread to 'fourteen ounces, and you of the City to ten. You muſt alſo put the uſeleſs mouths out of 'Town, and appoint ſix perſons to take a liſt of their names to morrow, without further 'delay, and that without regard of perſons, and ſpeedily thruſt them out of your City, 'by which expedient we ſhall make our bread laſt three months longer, which will be a ſuf- 'ficient time for the King wherein to relieve us, eſpecially now that the Spring is drawing 'on. Ceaſe therefore your apprehenſions, and on the contrary approve what I have done 'in order to your ſervice. If I have done it without pre-acquainting the Senate with my 'deſign, it was not out of any diſ-reſpect to them, but to keep this departure ſecret, 'which was of very great conſequence, as you your ſelves may have obſerv'd; I having 'been conſtrain'd to put Monſieur *de Strozzy* upon the buſineſs to deliver my ſelf from a 'people ſo entirely devoted to their bellies.

The Germans by no means proper for a ſiege.

The Senate having heard my Remonſtrance, deſir'd me to go to my repoſe, and that they would conſider of what I had ſaid, rendring me very many thanks for the comfort and good counſel I had given them. In the morning my whole Speech was divulg'd all over the City, and there was no more thought of fear amongſt them: But they could not well agree amongſt themſelves about the unprofitable mouths, foraſmuch as every one was willing to favour his own relations and friends; wherefore by *Ballotte* they created me their Dictator General for the ſpace of a month, during which time neither the Captain

The Sieur *de Montluc* choſen Dictator at *Sienna* for a month.

of

of the people, nor the Magiſtracy had any command at all, but I had the abſolute authority and dignity, anciently belonging to the old Dictators of *Rome*. I thereupon created ſix Commiſſaries, to take a liſt of all the uſeleſs people, and afterwards deliver'd the roll to a Knight of *Malta*, accompanied with five and twenty, or thirty Souldiers, to put them out of the Town, which in three days after I had deliver'd in the Liſt, was performed. A thing, that had I not very good witneſs of, both of the *Siennoiz*, the King's Officers, and the Captains who were then preſent in *Sienna*, I ſhould not however have mention'd in this place, leſt the world ſhould take me for a lyar: but it is moſt perfectly true. The Liſt of theſe uſeleſs mouths, I do aſſure you amounted to Four thouſand and four hundred people, or more, which, of all the miſeries and deſolations that I have ever ſeen, was the greateſt my eyes ever yet beheld, or that I believe I ſhall ever ſee again; for the Maſter was hereby neceſſitated to part with his ſervant, who had ſerv'd him long, the Miſtreſs with her maid, beſides an infinite number of poor people, who only liv'd by the ſweat of their brows; which weeping and deſolation continued for three days together: and theſe poor wretches were to go thorow the Enemy, who ſtill beat them back again towards the City, the whole Camp continuing night and day in Arms to that only end; ſo that they drove them up to the very foot of the walls, that they might the ſooner conſume the little bread we had left, and to ſee if the City out of compaſſion to thoſe miſerable Creatures would revolt; but that prevail'd nothing, though they lay eight days in this condition, where they had nothing to eat but herbs and graſs, and above the one half of them periſh'd, for the Enemy kill'd them, and very few eſcap'd away. There were a great many Maids and handſome women indeed, who found means to eſcape, the *Spaniards* by night ſtealing them into their quarters, for their own proviſion, but it was unknown to the Marquis, for it had otherwiſe been death: and ſome ſtrong and vigorous men alſo forc'd their way, and eſcap'd by night: But all thoſe did not amount to the fourth part, and all the reſt miſerably periſh'd. Theſe are the effects of War. We muſt of neceſſity ſometimes be cruel, to fruſtrate the deſigns of an Enemy. God had need to be merciful to men of our Trade, who commit ſo many ſins, and are the cauſers of many miſeries and miſchiefs.

The uſeleſs mouths thruſt out of *Sienna*.

You Captains and Governors of places, if you be not perfect already, learn theſe Arts and Stratagems: It is not all to be valiant and wiſe, you muſt alſo be circumſpect and cunning. Had I entreated the *Rhinocroc* to depart the City, he would have been diſpleas'd, and have reproach'd me, that I ſent him to the ſlaughter, but I proceeded more diſcreetly, ſerving my ſelf with the authority of Monſieur *de Strozzy*, wherein I had no other end, but to gain time to tire out my Enemy, and to give the King leiſure to relieve us: But as I have ſaid before, he emplo'd his Forces there where he had the moſt concern. *Nearer is the skin than the skirt*. Never fear to diſcharge your ſelves of uſeleſs mouths, and bar your ears from all crys of the afflicted: Had I obey'd my own diſpoſition, I had done it three months ſooner, which if I had, I might peradventure have ſav'd the Town, or at leaſt I had longer held my Enemy in play; and I have a hundred times ſince repented me, that I did not.

The Marquis ſeeing that I had put the *Germans* out of the Town (who were the greateſt part of them defeated by the way, and thorough their own great fault, which I ſhall not however give any further account of, for they were not defeated about *Sienna*, but elſwhere upon their march, where their own fear ſurpriz'd them, without any great reaſon) and ſeeing alſo that I had driven out the uſeleſs people, both which would help to prolong the Siege, with the contracting our allowance of bread (which he had alſo learn'd from thoſe that went out) theſe things made him to think of ſome other way, to bring us to his bow; fearing leſt ſome ſnow ſhould fall in the Spring (as it often falls out in thoſe parts at that time of the year) which ſhould it ſo happen, he ſhould then be conſtraind to raiſe the Siege, and repair to the Cities to eat, for he was almoſt in as great neceſſity as we, and the Soldiers of his Camp were fain to eat Mallows, and other herbs, as well as ours, by reaſon that oftentimes their proviſions could not be brought in due time; for it all came from about *Florence*, which was thirty miles off, and upon little Aſſes, excepting 100 Mules, and thoſe were to bring ſufficient to ſerve whilſt they could go and come, which was five or ſix days, and every return ſome of their beaſts of burthen dyed. For about the Camp there was no more, ſo much as one herb; neither hay, ſtraw, nor grain to be found, and much leſs any one Inhabitant within ten miles of the Road. And all his Cavalry lay yet ten miles beyond *Florence*, excepting the Company of Signior *Cabri* the Marquis his Nephew, which conſiſted of no more than fifty Horſe, and was alſo every fifteen days to be reliev'd, by fifty others that were quarter'd at *Banconvent*. So that had God been pleas'd to ſend us a little ſnow, though but for eight days only, his Camp would

The *Germans* defeate.

The Marquis his deſign.

The Marquis his ſufferings.

would have been neceſſitated to riſe, and to ſhift for themſelves in the moſt commodious quarters abroad in the Country. All theſe things together put the Marquis upon an attempt to ſhorten the War, wherein his deſign was one way or another to ſow diviſion amongſt the quarters of the City, ſeeing us weak, and knowing very well, that although we had yet twelve Companies, there was nevertheleſs not eighteen hundred men: To which effect by thoſe of the *Siennois* who were baniſh'd the City, and were with the Marquis, an invention was found out to gain a Citizen of the Town called Meſſer *Pedro*, a man with one eye, and of the order of the people (which was that wherein we moſt confided, together with the order of the Reformators) and that by the means of certain little boys, who went with little ſacks to gather herbs in the Meadows upon the River *Treſſe*. By whom the Marquis ſo order'd the buſineſs, that he corrupted this man, and made him a Traytor to his People and Countrey; and the form of this practice was, that Meſſer *Pedro* ſhould receive ſeveral blancks, ſign'd by the *Siennois*, who were in the Marquis his Camp, which he himſelf ſhould write over at his own diſcretion.

The Marquis his practices in *Sienna*.

The plot of this deſign was thus, that Meſſer *Pedro* ſhould in his Letters write theſe words, *that they wonder'd they ſhould thus ſuffer themſelves to be ſo manifeſtly abus'd by the Seigneur* de Montluc; *and that a child might diſcern all the aſſurances he gave them of relief from the King of* France *to be no other than gulleries and deceits: That although they had unworthily been thruſt out of the City, yet did they nevertheleſs, with tears in their eyes, infinitely lament to ſee them ſo miſerably looſe themſelves, and that if they would ſend out a man to go ſo far as* Rome, *to enquire if the King was raiſing an Army for their ſuccour, they would then infallibly diſcover the Cheat: That they begg'd of them not to ſuffer themſelves to be reduc'd to the laſt morſel, which if they ſhould do, they would not then come off cheaper, than at the price of their heads, the ruine of their eſtates, their wives and children: That they had yet means to make their peace with the Emperor, by the Mediation of the Marquis, if they would let him into the Town, which was a thing eaſie enough to do, if they would conſult and joyn with ſome of the City, who had already engag'd themſelves to them; and that they might know who were of the intelligence, they were to go into ſuch a ſtreet, and where they ſhould ſee a little white Croſs under the door, the Maſter of that houſe was one.* This one-ey'd Dog perform'd his office exactly well, and directed his Letters to one of thoſe in whom we repos'd an abſolute truſt, being very certain, that he would forthwith carry it to the Magiſtrate, and that the Magiſtrate would alſo in the morning ſend into the ſtreet mention'd in the Letter, and would ſeize upon the Gentleman of the houſe, at whoſe door the Croſs ſhould be found. However he reſolv'd ever to make his Croſs at ſome houſe of the orders of the *Novi*, and the Gentlemen, foraſmuch as the other two Orders had them in ſuſpicion, and the Marquis thought (knowing the humor of the *Siennois*, and the hatred they bore to one another) that immediately, ſo ſoon as that perſon ſhould be taken, they would hurry him without any other form of Juſtice to the Scaffold, by which means thoſe two Orders of the *Novi*, and of the Gentlemen, would enter into ſo great an animoſity and deſpair, that to ſave their lives they would be conſtrain'd to betake themſelves to arms, to poſſeſs themſelves of a Canton of the City near unto the walls, to favour the Enemy, and to help them into the City.

This curſed Rogue then began to forge his firſt Letter, and by night went and thruſt it under the door of the houſe of one of the Gentlemen, who was unſuſpected, and made his little Croſs in another ſtreet at the houſe of one of the richeſt Gentlemen of the Order of the *Novi*; ſo that in the morning the Gentleman to whom the Letter was directed, found it in the Entry of his houſe, preſently read it, and careird it to the Magiſtrates, who ſo ſoon as they had look'd upon it, immediately ſent it to me by Miſſer *Hieronimo Hiſpano*, ſending me word withal, that they had determin'd to go apprehend the ſaid Gentleman, and forthwith to carry him directly to the Scaffold. Whereupon I ſent the Signiors *Cornelio* and *Bartolomeo Cavalcano* back to them, to entreat them not ſo precipitouſly to proceed to blood, for that it might be an invention of the Marquis to ſet diviſion amongſt us: but that they might do well to commit him to priſon, which they accordingly did. Two days after there was another Letter found in the ſame manner, in the houſe of a Gentleman of the Order of the *Novi*, a man no more ſuſpected than the other, and the little Croſs under the door of one of the Order of the Gentlemen: At which the Senate was ſo incens'd, that I was fain my ſelf to go to the Pallace, where I had much ado to obtain the favour, that they would defer execution for five days only, to ſee if in that time God would pleaſe to give us further light into this Fact. All the whole City was enrag'd, and talk'd of nothing but cutting off heads. As God help me, it could never ſink into my head, that it was any other, than a device of the Marquis, for I knew very well with whom I had to do. I then entreated Meſſer *Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, that

that he would never ceaſe day nor night, to go viſit the ſaid Gentlemen, and the Citizens of the Orders of the Gentlemen, and the *Novi*, whom the misfortune concern'd, to entreat them not to deſpair, and to tell them, that I would take order no blood ſhould be ſhed, and that I gave no credit to thoſe Letters and Croſſes. Signior *Cornelio* alſo aſſiſted me very much in this affair, who had a very great intereſt in the City, by reaſon of the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, with whom he had always liv'd during his abode in this City.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* wiſdom.

Now three or four days after this, thinking the fury to be over, behold another Letter, and another Croſs found in the ſame manner as before: At which every body loſt all patience, and would immediately drag all three to execution. I then ran to the pallace, taking Signior *Cornelio* and *Signior Bartolomeo* along with me. As I was going it came into my head, that I had no way to divert this blow; but by a colour of devotion, and ſo ſoon as I came there, I found the great Hall already almoſt full of men of the Reformators, and of the Order of the people: when ſo ſoon as I enter'd into the Hall of the Magiſtracy, they all began to cry out, *that it was now no longer time to forbear, but that they were to proceed to a ſpeedy execution of Juſtice*; whereupon having taken my place, I ſpoke to them in Italian, as at other times, after this manner.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Harangue to the Senate of *Sienna*.

'Gentlemen, ſince the time that I have had the honor to Command in your City, by 'the appointment of the King my Maſter, you have never undertaken any thing, whe- 'ther as to matters of War, or as to the Government of your Corporation, without firſt 'communicating to me your intention, and asking my opinion and advice. Wherein, by 'God's good pleaſure, I have been ſo happy, that I have hitherto never adviſ'd you to 'any thing which has not ſucceeded to your advantage and honor; neither would I do 'it for the world, my own life and ſafety not being dearer to me, than your preſervation. 'Seeing then (Gentlemen) I have been ſo fortunate, as ever to have given you ſound 'and uſeful counſels; let me beſeech you to retain the ſame opinion of me now, and to 'give credit to me in an affair of ſo great importance, as this that preſents it ſelf before you, 'with which your judgements ſeem to be very much perplex'd. I beg of you with joyn'd 'hands, and in the name of God, that of all things you take heed of embruing your 'hands in the blood of your Citizens till the truth ſhall be fully known; neither can it 'poſſibly be long conceal'd: 'tis to much purpoſe to cover the fire, the ſmoak will how- 'ever iſſue out; in like manner they may endeavour to maſk and diſguiſe this practice, 'but the truth will infallibly appear. All the world (and I beſeech you be of my opini- 'on) cannot make me believe, that this is any other than an Artifice, and a trick of the 'Marquis, who having found that the Lyon's skin will do him no good, has therefore 'put on that of the Fox, the better to bring about his deſign. Which to do, he had no 'better, nor more ſubtile way, than by ſowing diviſion in the heart of your City. And 'which way could he better do it, than by making you believe there are Traytors among 'you, and within your own walls? Knowing very well that that would make you not on- 'ly to impriſon ſuch ſuſpected perſons, but alſo to put them to death, and by that execution 'to ſet diſcord in your City, for true blood cannot lye. The Parents and friends of the 'ſufferers will bear the death of their kindred, though it ſhould be juſt, with great ſorrow 'and diſcontent, and will endeavour to revenge them; by which means behold you have 'created ſo many domeſtick enemies, much more dangerous than thoſe without, and you 'will be perplexed about the death of your own people, at the time when you meditate 'that of your open and declared foes. See then (Gentlemen) what joy, what ſatisfaction 'and delight you will adminiſter to your enemies when they ſhall know that you buſie 'your ſelves about cutting off the heads of your own Citizens, and of thoſe, who I dare 'ſay and ſwear are innocent. However it may prove to be, the expectation of the truth 'can no ways be prejudicial to you, for you have them in ſure hold: you are ſecure 'of your priſoners, you have them under ſafe cuſtody. I will alſo be vigilant on my part, 'why then ſhould you make ſuch haſte to put them to death? For the honor of God be- 'lieve me, you will not repent your patience. I have no intereſt but yours, let us have 'recourſe to God in ſo great a neceſſity. Command that all your Clergy to morrow or- 'dein a general Proceſſion throughout the whole City, and let every one be enjoyn'd to be 'aſſiſting at it, and let them joyn in prayer, that it may pleaſe God to do us that grace 'as to diſcover to us the truth of this affair, the treaſon, if treaſon there be, and the in- 'nocency of the Priſoners, if there be none. I aſſure my ſelf that God will hear us, and 'you will ſoon be ſatisfied of the truth, after which you may proceed to juſtice againſt 'the guilty if cauſe require: but to do it before, and in heat to embrew your hands in 'the blood of your Citizens, without having maturely weighed every circumſtance, you 'would in my opinion do very ill, and bring a great miſchief upon your City. Gentle-

'men,

'men, the ſole affection I have to your ſervice, your ſafety, and conſervation has made 'me ſpeak thus freely to you without any other conſideration, and I once more moſt 'earneſtly beſeech you to grant me this favour, as for a few dayes to ſuperſede your ſen-'tence, which in the mean time we will employ in prayers and ſupplications, that God 'will pleaſe, by manifeſting to us the truth, to direct our juſtice.

I had no ſooner ended my Speech, but that a confuſed murmur aroſe throughout the whole Hall, ſome ſaying I, and others no, for there will be evermore ſome oppoſers; but in the end my advice was followed, and preſently intimation given to the Churches, and to all the people, to prepare themſelves againſt the next day for a general Proceſſion, to pray unto Almighty God; for as for faſting we had enough of that already. I was my ſelf aſſiſting at the Proceſſion, and all the Captains, together with all the Gentlemen and Ladies of the City, the Kindred of the Priſoners followed weeping; and to be ſhort, all the whole body of the City this day, and the day following were in humiliation and prayer, every one beſeeching of God, that he would pleaſe to afford us that grace, as to diſcover the truth of this treaſon. In the mean time I ſlept not, for all the night Signior *Cornelio* and I were in conſultation, which way this practice of the Marquis could be ſet on foot. I conſider'd with my ſelf, that the buſineſs being gone thus far, he who carried on the deſigne would not reſt there, and that the Council of the City would not be kept ſo ſecret, that the Marquis would not infallibly have intelligence of what had been concluded; there being evermore ſome tell-tales in theſe great Aſſemblies; and then very well knew that I had committed an error, in ſo openly declaring that I was aſſur'd it was a trick of the Marquis, it being to be feared that it would make him enter into ſome jealouſie of his Agent. Now becauſe it was likely he would by his Letters and Tickets give us ſome new alarm, I thought fit to cauſe certain men to walk up and down the ſtreets of the City by night, after the moſt private manner they could, to try if by that means ſomething might not be brought to light, and after this manner cauſed Centinel to be made two nights together. By day I cauſed the people to be taken up with Proceſſions in three reſpective Pariſhes, and when any of the Signiory came to tell me, that it was ſo much time loſt, and that they muſt proceed to Juſtice, I entreated them to have patience, aſſuring them that I began to diſcover ſome light into the buſineſs; for it was neceſſary to proceed after this manner, to reſtrain the fury of the people.

A General Proceſſion.

The prudence of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

Now it hapned that the third night about midnight this *Meſſer Pedro* was ſeen to paſs by, and ſtopping at a houſe, put his hand to a Caſement, which was low, and hapned to be ſhut, and one of the three Letters had been found to have been put into a low window as that was. He then kneel'd down, and under the door put in the Letter as far as he could thruſt his arm, which having done he went his way along the ſtreet. A Gentleman who lay at watch went preſently after him, and taking him by the arm ſaid, *che ſiete voi?* to whom the other replyed, *Io ſono Meſſer Piedro* (I cannot remember the ſir-name of this Raſcal) the Gentleman then knew him, and ſaid to him *dove andate?* who made anſwer *me ne vo á la guardia*, to which the Gentleman return'd, *adio adio*; which having done he knockt, and made them open the door; where he found the Letter of the ſame contents with the former. He then immediately went and carried it to the Magiſtracy, who ſent me two of their Council, to give me an account of the whole buſineſs, and thoſe two went and call'd up Signior *Cornelio*, who came along with them; where amongſt us it was concluded, that the Gates ſhould not be open'd in the morning, nor the Guards and Centinels reliev'd, till he was firſt taken; and in the morning Signior *Cornelio* went with a hundred men to beſet the houſe both before and behind. Signior *Cornelio* knew the man, and ſo ſoon as he had placed his Soldiers, knockt at the door, where he found him yet in bed, and preſently ſent the word of his being taken. Whereupon, the time of my Dictatorſhip being expir'd, I made uſe of entreaties, as before, requeſting the Senate that he might be forthwith put upon the Rack, for he both denied the Letter, and alſo that he had ſeen the Gentleman of all that night. As he was upon the Rack he begg'd that they would torment him no more, for he would confeſs the truth, which he did from point to point, together with the Marquis his practices to ſet diviſion in the City. Upon which confeſſion they would in the heat have preſently hang'd him at the windows of the Palace; but I entreated them not to do it yet, and ſo he was clapt up in a Dungeon. I then entreated the Captain of the people to deliver to me the three Gentlemen, who were priſoners, for that I had a deſire to talk with them at my Lodging; which he accordingly did.

The Traytor ſurpriz'd.

Miſſer Pedro confeſſes his treaſon.

They were brought by Signior *Cornelio* and *Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, and ſo ſoon as they were come to my Lodging I remonſtrated to them, "that they ought by no means to

"ſtomack

"ſtomach their impriſonment, nor to bear the Senate any ill will for ſeiſing of their per-
"ſons, affairs being reduced to ſuch terms, that the Father ought not to truſt his Son,
"nor the Son his Father, ſince it concern'd no leſs than their lives and fortunes, and that
"therefore I deſir'd they would go to the Magiſtracy to give them hearty thanks that they
"had not proceeded to ſpeedy execution, but had had patience till ſuch time as God had
"diſcover'd the truth. They return'd me anſwer, that I ſhould pardon them, that being a thing they would never do; neither was it they that had ſaved their lives, but that it was I, and that they would give God thanks and me; but that they had no obligation to them at all. We were all three above a long hour labouring to perſwade them, where I remonſtrated to them, that not to do the thing I requeſted of them was to accompliſh the Marquis his deſigne, and to give him his hearts deſire, which was, that they ſhould remain in diviſion and mortal hatred; and whatever elſe I could contrive to ſay, that might any way ſerve to perſwade them to go, I repreſented to their conſideration to pacifie and appeaſe them. In the end remembring how highly they ſtood obliged to me for the ſaving their lives, they promiſed me that they would do it, and Signior *Cornelio*, and *Meſſer Bartolomeo* at my requeſt went along with them, for I was afraid they might repent by the way; where ſo ſoon as they came before the Magiſtracy, one of them ſpake for the reſt, remonſtrating their innocency, and the wrong that had been done them; which nevertheleſs they would no more remember, conſidering the neceſſity of the time, and the Eſtate of the City, affectionately beſeeching them to eſteem them for their good Citizens and friends, and loyal to the Common-wealth; and that for the time to come neither they nor their poſterity might have any blemiſh upon their names upon this occaſion, they deſired they would pleaſe to grant them Patents ſeal'd with the broad Seal for their ſatisfaction. The Captain of the people then made them a very ample Remonſtrance, wherein he entreated they would excuſe them, if the publick ſafety being in queſtion, they had been conſtrain'd to ſhut their eyes to particular intereſts, and by the importance of the affair had been conſtrain'd to be ſo levere in their inquiſition: but that they did acknowledge and eſteem them to be good and loyal Citizens. Whereupon they all deſcended from their ſeats and embraced them, and as *Meſſer Bartolomeo* told me, the moſt of them with tears in their eyes: and ſo every one retired to his own houſe.

The Priſoners go to the Senate.

Now becauſe this one-ey'd Villain was of the Order of the People, which was the greateſt party in the Town, and wherein was moſt Soldiers, I was afraid that ſhould they put him to death, thoſe of his Order might make ſome ſtir in the Town, ſaying, that now it was well enough known of what Order the Traitors were, which might occaſion ſome mutiny or ſedition, and make them in the end betake themſelves to arms, which was the reaſon that I made a requeſt to the Senate to give me his life, and to baniſh him for ever, that all things might be huſht up, and that the Marquis might not ſay that any of his policies had ſucceeded any more than his attempts by arms. And thus were all things diſcovered and hudled up, for the Senate granted my requeſt.

The Sieur *de Montluc* begs the Traytor's life.

I have often ſince wondred how I came to be ſo diſcreet, and ſo moderate in an affair of this importance, conſidering how reaſonable it was, that an exemple ſhould be made; but it would peradventure haye done more hurt than good. We muſt not alwayes be ſo ſevere, and the ſeeing others ſo hot upon blood I do believe made me a little more temperate. And you (Gentlemen) who have the charge of places, do not ſuffer your ſelves to be tranſported at the firſt appearance of things, nor upon too light information; conſider and weigh the circumſtances, and hinder the violence of the people over whom you command by one pretence or another, as I did, amuſing them with Proceſſions; not that that was not nevertheleſs well done, but I would ſee if time would make any diſcovery; and had I ſuffered thoſe men to have been put to death, their kindred might perhaps have been prompted with ſome ſpirit of revenge. Above all things endeavour to preſerve union amongſt thoſe over whom you ſhall happen to command, as I did in this City, where all was accommodated and appeaſed. Conſider alſo with what enemy you have to do; for you may well imagine that he will leave no ſtone unremov'd, nor no artifice untri'd, to ſet diviſion in your City; as I have formerly read in *Livie*, the great Captain *Hannibal* did to ſow diſſenſion amongſt the *Romans*. Your wiſdom and prudence (Governors of places) muſt diſcern if there be appearance in the thing; whether or no the party accuſed be a man capable of practice, or have any means whereby to bring his purpoſe about, and whether or no he have done any thing any wayes tending to ſuch a deſign. If in apprehending him you diſcover any confuſion in his countenance, or variation in his anſwers. You ought in this to be very circumſpect and diſcreet, and to conſider that there is nothing more eaſie than to calumniate a man. God be praiſed,

Worthy conſiderations of a Governor.

all

all here paſſed with moderation, and the Priſoners with their friends came to give me thanks.

Now after the Marquis ſaw himſelf diſappointed of his expectation, and that all his plots and ſtratagems came to nothing, he ſuffer'd us to reſt in peace, not expecting to have us till we ſhould be reduced to the laſt morſel of bread; and we began to enter into the month of *March*, when we were in the greateſt neceſſity of all things; for of wine there had not been one drop in the whole City from the middle of *February*: We had eaten all the Horſes, Aſſes, Mules, Cats and Rats that were in the Town. Cats ſold for three and four Crowns a piece, and a Rat for a Crown. And in all the whole City there was onely remaining four old Mares, ſo lean as nothing more, which turned the Mills, two that I had, the Controller *la Moliere* his, the Treaſurer *l'Eſpine* another, Signior *Cornelio* a little Bay pad-Nag, that was blind with age, and *Miſſer Hieronimo Hiſpano* a Turk of above twenty years old. Theſe were all the Horſes and Mares that were left in the City in this extremity, which was greater than I can repreſent it, and I do believe there is not in nature ſo dreadful a thing as Famine. We had from *Rome* ſome hopes ſent us of ſuccours, and that the King was ſending away the Mareſchal *de Briſſac* to relieve us, which was the reaſon that we again leſſened our bread to twelve ounces, and the Soldiers and Citizens of the Town to nine: whilſt in the mean time by little and little we loſt ſeveral Inhabitants and Soldiers, who fell down dead as they walked the ſtreets, ſo that they died without ſickneſs. At laſt the Phyſicians found it out that it was the Mallows they fed upon, that being an herb that does relax the ſtomack, and obſtructs digeſtion. Now we had no other herbs all along the walls of the City, they having been all eaten before; neither could we come by theſe without ſallying out to skirmiſh, and then all the women and children of the Town went out to gather them. But I ſaw I loſt ſo many men in theſe skirmiſhes, that I would no more permit any one to ſally out. Now to hear any more news of the Mareſchal *de Briſſac* was henceforward impoſſible, for the Trenches were brought up to the very Gates of the City, which Trenches the Marquis had alſo redoubled for fear we ſhould ſally out upon him in deſpair, and give him Battail, as the *Siennois* in their antient wars had formerly done, as themſelves report.

This memorable ſally of the *Siennois* was in the year 1526.

In this condition we languiſhed on till the 8th of *April*, that we had loſt all manner of hopes of relief, and then it was that the Seigneury intreated me not to take it ill if they began to think of their preſervation. When ſeeing there was no other remedy, unleſs to eat one another? I could not deny them, curſing to the pit of hell all thoſe who engage men of honor in places, and then leave them in the lurch. Yet did I not herein intend to ſpeak of the King, my good Maſter, he lov'd me too well for that; but thoſe who gave him ill counſels to the prejudice of his affairs, and I have ever obſerv'd more evil than good Counſellors about Princes. They then ſent out one of their people to the Marquis to entreat of him a ſafe conduct for two of their Senate, whom they would ſend to him, which he granted, and they began to capitulate. The Marquis himſelf did very much facilitate the Treaty, and they began to enter into great confidence of him, for he very well ſaw, that to cauſe the City to be ſack'd and ruin'd would be no profit, neither to the Emperor, nor the Duke of *Florence*, and would only benefit the Soldier, and on the other ſide he fear'd leſt if the *Siennois* could obtain no good conditions, we ſhould ſally out upon him, *a la deſeſperade*, having already loſt above the third part of his men, who were either dead through the length of the Siege, or run away, ſo that he had almoſt no *Italians*, who were quarter'd at the Fort *St. Mark*; and the Marquis had remain'd for above a moneth with no more than ſix Enſigns for the Guard of his own perſon, all the reſt being in the Trenches; neither could he ever relieve them with more than ten Enſigns, and thoſe had only one night of intermiſſion, and ſome ſuch Guards there were that were not reliev'd in ſix days. To this condition was he reduc'd without, as well as we within; neither could he make any uſe of his horſe, no more than Monſieur *de Strozzy* could of the Cavalry he had, by reaſon that there was no manner of thing upon the ground, to give the horſes to eat from *Montalſin* to *Sienna*, and from *Sienna* to *Florence*.

The people of *Sienna* begin to capitulate.

The extremity of the Marquis.

I will now give an account of my ſelf after what manner I liv'd. I had no manner of advantage, no more than the meaneſt Soldier, and my bread weighed no more than twelve ounces, and of white bread there was never above ſeven or eight made, whereof three were brought to my Quarters, and the reſt were ſaved for ſome Captain that was ſick. Neither thoſe of the City, nor we from the end of *February* to the 22th of *April* ever eat above once a day; neither did I ever hear ſo much as any one Soldier complain, and I can aſſure you the Remonſtrances I often made to them ſerv'd to very good purpoſe; for if they would have gone over to the Enemies Camp, the Marquis would have treated them very well; for the Enemy very much eſteem'd our *Italian* and *French* Soldiers, and in the

skirmiſhes

skirmiſhes that had happened betwixt us had had very ſufficient tryal of their valour. I had bought thirty hens and a Cock to get me eggs, which Signior *Cornelio*, the Count *de Gayas*, and I eat, for we all three conſtantly eat together; at noon in one place, and in the evening at another; but towards the end of *March* all theſe were eaten, the Cock and all. 'Twas pitty we had no more: and ſo I remain'd without fleſh, and without eggs, and had nothing to eat but my little loaf, with a few peaſe boyl'd with a little Bacon and Mallows, and that but once a day only. The deſire I had to acquire honor, and to put this baffle upon the Emperor, ſo long to have held his Army in play, made me find this ſo ſweet that it was no trouble to me to faſt: and this pittiful ſupper with a bit of bread was a feaſt to me, when returning from ſome skirmiſh, I knew the Enemy to be well drub'd, or that I knew them to ſuffer under the ſame neceſſities we did.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* proviſions.

But to return to the Capitulation; the Marquis ſent to the Duke of *Florence*, and *Don Juan Manricon*, who was Embaſſador from the Emperor to the Pope, and reſided at *Florence* by reaſon of the Siege; whereupon the ſaid Duke ſending a ſafe conduct, the *Siennois* alſo ſent to the Pope (which was Pope *Julio*, who died two or three days after) from whom they received a very ſcurvey anſwer, he reproaching them with their obſtinacy, and commanding them to ſubmit to the Duke of *Florence* his mercy without any condition. He was a terrible Pope: but the Duke proceeded after a more modeſt and courteous manner, as a Prince ought to do, who would gain the hearts of a people, and indeed he was one of the greateſt Polititians of our times. It behooved him ſo to be to eſtabliſh his Principality, in the time of two of the greateſt and moſt ambitious Princes that ever were, who had both of them a great mind to get footing in *Italy*. But the *Spaniard* was more ſubtle than we, and this Duke manag'd his buſineſs very well; his name was *Coſmo*, and I believe he is yet living. In the mean time Commiſſioners for eight daies together went, and came betwixt *Florence* and the Camp, and upon Monday night the Capitulation was brought to *Sienna*, and the morning before the Marquis had ſent a Trumpet to me, entreating I would ſend two Gentlemen out to him in whom I might confide, he having ſomething to ſay to them that he deſired I ſhould know, and that he was come to *St. Lazare* to that effect. I thereupon ſent out to him Signior *Cornelio*, and Captain *Charry*, who being come to him, he there acquainted them with the terms of the "Capitulation, which would that night be brought to the City, and that amongſt other "things there was one Article which expreſt, that the Sieur *de Montluc* with his Italian "and French Companies, and all the Officers of the King, ſhould march out with Bag "and Baggage, Colours flying, Drums beating, with match lighted, and Bullet in mouth: "but that this Article would do me no good, foraſmuch as we did not belong to the *Sien-* "*nois*, but to the King of *France*; and being we did not belong to them, they conſe- "quently had no power to capitulate for us; that therefore I was my ſelf to capitulate "in the name of the King my Maſter, which if I thought fit to do, he aſſur'd me I "ſhould have what conditions ſoever I would demand, and that his ſervice to the Em- "peror excepted, he would do as much for me as for the Cardinal his Brother: that he and "I were two poor Gentlemen, who by our Arms were arrived to ſuch degrees of honor, "that the greateſt both of *France* and *Italy* would be glad to have our places, telling them "withal he would there ſtay to expect my anſwer. They found me at *Porto Novo* walking with *Meſſer Hieronimo Eſpanos*, where after I had received his Meſſage, I bad them go back and tell him, "that I very well knew he had read the Roman Hiſtory, wherein "he might have taken notice, that in the times of the antient warlike *Romans* they had "ſent one of their Colonies to inhabit *Gaſcony*, near to the *Pyrhenean* Mountains, of which "Province I was a Native, and that if he would not content himſelf, that the *Siennois* "had comprized me in their Capitulation, I would at my coming out let him ſee, that "I was deſcended from thoſe warlike *Romans*, who would rather have loſt a thouſand "lives, could they have had ſo many to loſe, than an inch of their honor: that I had ra- "ther the *Siennois* ſhould capitulate for me, than I for them, and that for my part the "name of *Montluc* ſhould never be found ſubſcrib'd to a Capitulation. They then re- turn'd to him, to whom having repeated my anſwer, he ſaid to them in Italian. *Che vol dir queſto? mi pare che vol jocar a la deſperata. Altre volte io roſe due fortereſſe con ragione, ne per queſto ne fui maj repreſo de l'Imperatore, & no reſta ſu Majeſty a ſervir ſi di me.* Signior *Cornelio* then told him, that I was poſitive in this determination, and would rather put all to the hazard of the ſword, than to the hazard of a Capitulation. Well then ſaid he, *recommend me to him, and tell him I will let him ſee that I am his friend, and that he may march out in all aſſurance upon the Capitulation of the Siennois, or after what manner he pleaſes himſelf*; and ſo they return'd.

Pope *Julio.*

The wiſdom of the Duke of *Florence.*

A Propoſition of the Marquis *de Marignano* to the Sieur *de Montluc.*

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Anſwer.

Oh Camrades, you have here a fair exemple before you, when you ſhall find your

ſelves in ſuch an affair, never to diſcover any fear, for nothing in the world ſo much ſtartles an Enemy, as to ſee the Chief with whom he has to do to be undaunted in all extremities, and that he gives him to underſtand he will rather run the hazard of a Fight than a Capitulation; nothing ſo much puzzels him as that, beſides the encouragement it gives to your own people. I was as much afraid as another, ſeeing my ſelf ſo deſperately engag'd, and no news of any relief, neither of victuals nor men: but ask any one who is yet living, whether they ever ſaw me any more dejected than the firſt day I came into the City. And at the laſt of all, when we were reduc't to the extremeſt neceſſity of all things, I was more reſolute to fight than before, which I believe conduced much to the obtaining of ſo good conditions both for the *Siennois* and for us, as we could have had, had we capitulated the firſt day the Enemy ſat down before us.

Late at night came the Capitulation, and upon Tueſday morning four of the *Senate* brought it to me, wherein I found an Article, that every one of what mean condition ſoever ſhould go out with Bag and Baggage, their Wives and Children, who had a mind to depart the City, except the Exiles and Rebels to the State of the Emperor, the King of *England* (which was King *Philip*) and the Duke of *Florence*. I then very well underſtood that this Article would fall heavy upon the poor *Florentines* who were with us in the City, and who had been baniſht upon Monſieur *de Strozzy*'s account. There were alſo *Neapolitans*, and *Millanois*; ſo that I there clearly ſaw above a hundred men thrown away, and their heads ſurrendred to the Scaffold, which made me deſire the Senators to return, and that in an hour I would come to them to the Palace, and ſhew them the deceit that was couched in their Capitulation; entreating them in the mean time ſpeedily there to aſſemble all the principal members of the City, which they did, and I took along with me Signior *Cornelio*, and *Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, who was ready to die for fear when he underſtood my propoſition; for he was a *Florentine*; where being come I made to them this Remonſtrance.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s Speech to the Senate upon the Capitulation.

"Gentlemen, I have ſeen your Capitulation, which tends rather to the cutting off of "your heads, than to any indemnity for your Lives and Eſtates. You have there one "Article, that every one generally ſhall enjoy the benefit of the Capitulation, their "Lives and Eſtates ſaved, excepting ſuch as are Rebels to the Emperor, the King of *En*"*gland*, and the Duke of *Florence*. Now you know very well that the Emperor has "cauſed you all to be declared Rebels in his Imperial Chamber, as Subjects of the Empire, "for having rebelled againſt him. By which you ſee you are declared Subjects, and your "ſay you are not Subjects, but only ſtand in recommendation to the Empire. The diſpute "is not yet determined, whether you are Subjects or recommended, and when the Ene"my ſhall once be got within your walls, and that you are in their power, what Judges "will you have to determine of the Queſtion, except the Hangman, and with your heads, "for it will certainly be by that way that they will go about to aſſert their title. Behold "then you will all be put to death, your Eſtates confiſcate, and your Wives and Children "a prey to the Conqueror. As for me, and the Soldiers they will permit us ſafely to depart, "for Soldiers paſs in all places, and ever better cheap than other ſorts of men. They know "we have nothing to loſe but our Arms, and that we are bound to obey our Prince; ſhould "they offer any outrage to us, we ſhall have our revenge in turn at one time or another, "for men do ſooner meet than mountains: But all the miſchief will fall upon you, con"ſidering the hatred the Emperor and the Duke have conceiv'd againſt you. A Prince "rarely pardons Subjects who have once rebelled againſt him; but if ever he can pick a "hole in their coats, he will be ſure to take hold of the occaſion. Since then we have ſo "long liv'd together, without ever having ſo much as one unkind word paſs betwixt us, "and that I have receiv'd ſo many honors at your hands, if you will take my advice, we "will make the Marquis think of ſomething he never thought of yet, that is we will ſally "out with our weapons in our hands to the fight, and give him battail, and we ought "to believe, that God will be on our ſide, and aſſiſt us, conſidering the cruelty they would "exerciſe upon you. For my own part, I freely offer you my life, and thoſe of all my "Captains and Soldiers to die with you, that as we have liv'd, ſo we may die together, "rather than to ſee you ſo baſely betray'd and ſold to ſlaughter. *Credete à me, à me dico che ſon vechio, & à cui ſono paſſate molte coſe inanti li occhi.*

Soldiers paſs every where.

Now I knew very well, that this exception did not point at the *Siennois*, but only at thoſe I nam'd before, ſo that this was only a device of mine, to make the *Siennois* engage with us in the fight, for I had rather have put all to the hazard of the ſword, than that any one of thoſe who were within with us, and who upon my account had been obſtinate in the defence

defence of the City ſhould be loſt. They took it however for current pay, and after I was departed from them, all of them reſolv'd to fight it out to the laſt man. I then preſently ſent them word what they were to do, which was, that the Standard-bearer ſhould command all their Powder to be refined, their Swords, Halberts and Pike-heads to be ſcowr'd and ground: that upon pain of Death, every one who was able to bear arms, ſhould be ready in two days, and that the Prieſts and Religieux, who had taken arms for the defence of the Town at the Battery, ſhould now take them again under the ſame Captains they did before; inſomuch that I do believe that for two or three days ſo great a buſtle in the City had never been ſeen. The two Deputies hereupon of the Duke of *Florence* and the Marquis, who had ſafe conduct into the City, return'd about three of the clock in the afternoon back to the Marquis, where they ſhew'd him this Article, which had put not only the whole City, but alſo the Soldiers, into deſpair of fair Quarter, telling him how we were all reſolv'd and by what means they came to underſtand the hubub, and preparation that was making in the City to give him Battel, which was the reaſon that he ſent all night to the Duke of *Florence* and Don *Juan Manricon*, whom I ſince ſaw with the Queen of *Spain* at *Bayonne*, giving them an account how all things ſtood, and entreating them withal, that ſince he was now upon the point to have the Town ſurrendred to him, they would not for this one Article put him in danger of loſing all; but conſider, that he had to do with a great Captain, and an old Souldier, commending me more than I deſerv'd: that as themſelves very well knew, he had loſt near upon the one half of his Army, and had a great many ſick of thoſe he had left, and that he had not twenty Horſe, there being nothing upon the place to ſupport them, nor any means by which to bring them any from other places; and that they would do well to weigh and conſider of this affair, for as for his part, he muſt diſcharge himſelf upon them, if any thing fell out amiſs. So ſoon then as the Duke of *Florence* and Don *Juan* ſaw the *Siennois* reſolution, they diſpatch'd to him *le Conſignon* the Duke's chief Secretary, with a Blank to put in whatever he would demand, for he ſtood upon thorns, till he was Maſter of the City. It was upon *Wedneſday* morning that the *Conſignon* came to the Camp, when the ſaid Marquis ſent for the two Deputies, who had been on *Tueſday* night return'd into the City, where they inſerted in the Articles, that all thoſe who had been baniſh'd, and Rebels of the State of the Emperor, Empire and Duke of *Florence*, ſhould go out in all ſecurity, as well as the reſt, and in this poſture we remain'd till *Sunday* morning the 22 of *April*, that we went out in the order following:

The Siennois reſolve to fight.

The Capitulation again concluded.

Before any one of us ſtirr'd out of the Town, I reſtor'd the Citadel and the Fort *Camoglia* into the hands of the *Siennois*, where they put an Enſign of the City into each, as I alſo made them to place an Enſign at every Gate of the City that ſtood open, which being done, I return'd to *Porto Novo*. The Marquis had planted all his Spaniſh foot all along the ſtreet that leads to S. *Lazaro*, on both ſides the ſtreet, his Germans were drawn up in Battalia, a little on the right hand in a Camp; and at S. *Lazaro* was Signior *Cabry* his Nephew with fifty or threeſcore horſe, which was all they could make (as I have ſaid before) and three hundred Italian Harquebuzeers, which they had drawn out of the Forts of *Camolia* and S. *Mark*, and was the Convoy the Marquis had appointed to conduct us. Signior *Cornelio* then, and the Coant *de Gayas*, arm'd at all points, with their Pikes ſhouldred went out ſide by ſide, with a Company of Harquebuzeers at their heels, after them went out two Captains at the head of the Pikes, amongſt whom were a great Company of Corſlets, and in the middle of the Pikes, the Enſigns diſplay'd and advanc'd, and in the reer of them the reſt of the Harquebuzeers, with two Captains in their reer. I had overnight ſent to the Marquis, that he would be ſo civil to the ancient women and children, who were to go out with us, as to lend them forty or fifty of his carriage Mules; which he did, and which before I went out, I diſtributed amongſt the *Siennois*, who put upon them the ancient women, and ſome children in their laps. All the reſt were on foot, where there were above an hundred Virgins following their Fathers and Mothers, and women who carried cradles with Infants in them upon their heads, and you might have ſeen ſeveral men leading their daughter in one hand, and their wife in the other, and they were numbred to above eight hundred men, women and children. I had ſeen a ſad parting at the turning out the uſeleſs mouths; but I ſaw as ſad a one at the ſeparation of thoſe who went out with us, and who remain'd behind. In my life I never ſaw ſo ſad a farwel; ſo that although our Soldiors had in their own perſons ſuffer'd to the laſt extremes, yet did they infinitely regret this woful parting, and that they had not the power to defend the liberty of theſe people, and I more than all the reſt, who could not without tears behold this miſery and deſolation of a people, who had manifeſted themſelves ſo devout for the conſervation of their liberty and honor. So ſoon as Signior *Cornelio* was gone out,

The manner of the Surrender of Sienna.

The Surrender of Sienna was upon the ſecond of April, 1555.

The courteſie of the Marquis of Marignano.

The French march out of *Sienna*.

all the Italians follow'd, and the Citizens in the rear of the Italians. Then at the head of our French went out S. *Auban* and *Luſſan* arm'd, with pikes upon their ſhoulders, and a Company of Harquebuzeers after them, two Captains at the head of the Pikes, with another company of Harquebuzeers led by *Charry* and *Blacon*, having each of them a Halbert in his hand, and the Enſigns in the middle of the Pikes, after the ſame manner the Italians had paſt before. After theſe I went out arm'd, and Meſſer *Hieronimo Eſpanoi* ſide by ſide with me, for I was afraid they would have ſeiz'd upon him, he having been a principal Actor in the revolt of the City. He was mounted upon an old Turk, and I upon another miſerably lean and haggled out, notwithſtanding which I ſet a good face on the matter, and made the beſt meen I could. I left two *Siennois* Enſigns at the Gate, entreating them to clap to the Gate immediately after me, and not to open it till the Marquis himſelf came. The ſaid Marquis rid up and down, and Signior *Chiapino Vitelli* with him through all the files, to take care that no one meddled with the *Siennois*, for as to our Baggage, it was ſo little, as it made no number. The Spaniſh Camp-Maſters then came to ſalute me, and all their Captains. The Camp-Maſters alighted not, but all the Captains did, and came to embrace my knee, after which they again mounted on horſeback, and accompanied me till we came to the Marquis and Signior *Chiapino*, which might be about 300 paces from the Gate, where we embrac'd, and they plac'd me betwixt them. After this manner we paſs'd on diſcourſing all the way of the ſiege, and the particularities had happened upon it, attributing much honor to us, the Marquis particularly ſaying, *that he had great obligation to me, for that beſides he had learn'd ſeveral ſtratagems of War, I was the cauſe he had been cur'd of his Gout; telling me the fear, that both he and the Emperor's Gentleman had been in*, which did not paſs without much laughter: Whereupon I told him, *that he had put me into a much greater fright the night of the Scalado, and yet that I was not for all that cur'd of my feaver*; adding moreover, *that he had done very ill to come upon me, as the Jews did to take our Lord, for he brought along with him Lanthorns and Torches, which gave me a great advantage*: to which he reply'd bowing his head (for he was a very courteous Gentleman) *Signior, un altre volte ſero piu ſavio*. I then told him, *that had he continued his Battery, he would have had no very good bargain of us; for the Gaſcons were an obſtinate people, but that they were fleſh and bone as other men were, and muſt eat.* With this, and other diſcourſe of the ſame nature we entertain'd our ſelves, till we were got a mile beyond S. *Lazaro*, and there the Marquis bad Signior *Chiapino Vitelli* go to the head of our people, and ſpeak to Signior *Cabry*, to take care there ſhould be no diſorder, and that if any one offer'd to take any thing from us, he ſhould kill all ſuch as ſhould attempt it, and that he ſhould give the ſame command to the Captain of the three hundred Harquebuzeers. So ſoon as Signior *Chiapino* was gone from us, the Marquis embracing me in his arms ſaid theſe words, in as good French as I could have ſpoke my ſelf. *Adieu Monſieur* de Montluc, *I pray preſent my moſt humble ſervice to the King, and aſſure him, that I am his moſt humble and affectionate ſervant, as much (my honour ſafe) as any Gentleman in* Italy. *I then return'd him thanks for the good inclination he had towards the King, and the courteſies I had receiv'd at his hands, which I would proclaim in all places wherever I ſhould come, and when it ſhould ever lie in my power to do him ſervice, would requite.* He offer'd me the ſame, and ſo we fell to embrace again. He had then no more than four or five horſe with him, they being all behind in the ſame order he had left them, and ſo he return'd back towards the City, and ſoon after Signior *Chiapino Vitelli* return'd, where we alſo embrac'd and parted.

Diſcourſe betwixt the Marquis of *Marignano*, and the Sieur *de Montluc*.

We then went to *Arbierroute*, a little Village upon the *Treſſe*, or elſe the River it ſelf is call'd *Arbie*, and there we found eighteen Aſſes loaden with bread, which the Marquis had ſent thither to diſtribute amongſt us upon the way; of which one part I gave to the *Siennois*, another to the *Italians*, and the third to the *French*. To do which, as I paſs'd through the *Spaniards*, I ſaw that the Soldiers had alſo purpoſely brought bread along with them to give to our people. I dare boldly ſay, and that by the teſtimony of thoſe who were then with me, that this bread ſav'd the lives of two hundred perſons, and there are many who will affirm, that it ſav'd the lives of four hundred, and yet could it not go ſo far, that there was not above fifty who dy'd that very day; for we had been from *Wedneſday* till *Sunday* without eating any more than ſix ounces of Biſcuit a day a man; and upon the *Thurſday* of two horſes I had, I kill'd one, that would now be worth 900 Crowns, he was then indeed very lean, which I divided amongſt the *Italian* and *French* Companies, cauſing all the oyl to be taken out of the Lamps in the Churches, which I likewiſe divided amongſt the Souldiers, who with Mallows and Nettles boil'd this fleſh and oyl, and ſo ſuſtein'd themſelves till *Sunday* morning, when not a man amongſt us at our going out, had eaten one bit of any thing in the world? The Marquis alſo caus'd

Courteſie betwixt the Souldiers.

Great famine in *Sienna*.

four

four Borachio's of wine to be brought for me, together with five or ſix loaves of white bread, and ſo ſoon as we came to *Arbierroute*, we halted, and under ſome Sallows that were by the River ſide, eat our bread. I gave two of my Bottles of Wine to the *Sienois*, the other two we drank our ſelves, each one a little, and afterwards went on our way directly towards *Montalſin*, when ſo ſoon as we came to *Boncovent*, Signior *Cabry* made the foot Convoy to return: but till he ſaw Monſieur *de Strozzy*, who came out with a party of horſe to meet us, would himſelf never leave us; and then he bade me farwel, taking me in his arms, as he did Signior *Cornelio*, the Count *de Gayas*, and all our Captains, for he was a very worthy Gentleman, and a brave Soldier, as any they had in their Camp. So ſoon as we came up to Monſieur *de Strozzy*, we embrac'd, without being able either of us to utter one word; neither am I able to ſay which of us had his heart the moſt full of the remembrance of our fortunes. In this manner then, nothing but skin and bone, and more like Ghoſts than men, we arriv'd at *Montalſin*, which was upon *Sunday*, and all *Monday* and *Tueſday* we were ſhut up with the Treaſurers and Comptrollers, to examine and ſtate our accompts, and to ſee what I had borrow'd to lend the Souldiers, where we found that the King was four months to us in arrear, and Monſieur *de Strozzy* gave me 500 Crowns of his own money to carry me into *France*. I dare ſware he had not half ſo much more left; for Signior *Cornelio* and I had been conſtrain'd to borrow 400 Crowns to diſengage his great Order, which he had pawn'd to a Jew at the beginning when he came to *Sienna*. I would afterwards have reſtor'd it to him, and namely at *Thionville*, though he would never receive it, but laugh'd at me; and this was the end of the Siege.

Signior *Cabry* his Character.

O Camrades, you who ſhall do me the honor to read my Book, will you not grant me what I have ſaid before, that God did ever as much go along with my fortune, as with that of any other Captain of my time? You have obſerv'd the great adverſities I ſuſtein'd in this Siege, and the little helps I had, nothing being to be expected from without, his Majeſty having his hands ſo full on every ſide. You have heard that no art nor force was ſpar'd to reduce me, you have alſo ſeen the great famine I endur'd, the traverſes the Marquis perplext me withal, and the extremities to which I was at laſt reduc'd, which if you pleaſe maturely to conſider, you will find that I have been as much aſſiſted by Almighty God, as any man that has born Arms theſe hundred years. I cannot lye in my Book if I would, there are too many witneſſes alive for that. Do you not then ſee, that I ſpoke the truth, when I ſaid before, that we are to employ all that God has given to men, before we give our ſelves for overcome? Pray conſider, whether or no any thing was here to be omitted, or whether I ever omitted or forgot any thing in what condition ſoever I was, but put this poor City, and moreover the Kings honour and reputation in diſpute throughout the whole world. I never call it to mind, but it makes me ſad to think what a folly I committed in expoſing this City, together with his Majeſtities reputation, and all the reſt of us, to the Enemies diſcretion, at the laſt morſel of bread. For the King would by no means have had me reduc'd to that; and let any one ask Monſieur *la Chappelle*, whom his Majeſty expreſly diſpatch'd away to me, to give me advice, that I ſhould not ſuffer my ſelf to be reduc'd to that extremity, as to come off to his diſhonor. Princes are proud, and fight more for glory than for purchaſe; and I muſt needs ſay, that it was not the work of man, but of God, that we came off ſo good cheap, as we did.

The good fortune of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

Two days before we came out of *Sienna*, the Senate gave me my diſcharge in Patent, ſigned with their broad Seal, acknowledging therein, that I would neither Capitulate for the City, nor for our ſelves: but that conſidering the extremity to which they were reduc'd, I would not hinder them from doing it, calling me to witneſs of the loyalty and fidelity they had manifeſted to his Majeſties ſervice, wherein they had in nothing fail'd of the Oath they had made to him, and that I went out upon their Capitulation, and not they upon mine. Now where will you find in any Hiſtory, that ever man went out of a place without capitulation, if he did not ſteal away by night, but not after the manner I went out. For every one will confeſs that I did not belong to the *Siennois* and that conſequently they could not capitulate for me; as the Marquis told Signior *Cornelio*, and Captain *Charry*. So it was, that by the good will of God, I came out after this manner, and the Patent is to be ſeen in the King's Treaſury, as I ſhall ſay hereafter.

The Declaration of the *Siennois* in honor of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

I know very well (Gentlemen) that many of you will take delight in what I have to ſay to you, concerning the Government and Conſervation of places, and that others will make little account of it, foraſmuch as there are a ſort of people ſo good natur'd, as to think they know all things of themſelves, and nothing value the knowledge and experience of other men, as if God had ſent them into the world like S. *John Baptiſt*, inſpir'd

inſpir'd from their Mothers wombs. Which is the reaſon we are not to wonder, that ſo many fall into miſhaps; for their own arrogancy and ſelf conceit, leads them by the hand till they come to a Precipice, from whence they tumble headlong from the top to the bottom, with ſo great a fall, that they are never able to riſe again. Yet was this nothing, if the fall hurt no body but themſelves; but the King and his people ſuffer alſo by it. Do not then diſdain to learn, and although you may have great experience of your own, yet can it do you no great harm to hear and read the diſcourſes of old Captains. When I was but five and twenty years-old, I took more pleaſure in hearing an old Soldier talk, than ever I did to ſit and chat with the fineſt woman that ever I was in love with in my life; therefore I beſeech you take a little notice of what I am going to ſay.

When your Prince ſhall give you a place to keep, you are to conſider three things; firſt the honor he does you in repoſing ſo much confidence in your valour and wiſdom, as amongſt others to make choice of you, to entruſt with a Command of that importance. Wherein the honor he does you, is no little one, foraſmuch as he does not only honor you in your own perſon, but moreover ſets a mark of reputation upon your whole race, by entruſting in your hands a Key of his Kingdom, or ſome City of very great importance to him as this was, the Siege whereof I have related to you. This honor, I ſay, that he does you, draws ſo long a train after it, that your renown does not only ſpread it ſelf through the whole Kingdom from whence you come, and the Countreys adjoyning to the place you defend, but moreover throughout the whole world. Every body is curious to enquire who does well or ill, and who is a good or bad Commander; nay, although we have no concern in the affair, yet are we evermore inquiſitive after news, for ſuch is the nature of man: by which means thorow all Forreign Nations your name will be for ever known, either to honour or infamy. For whatever is done, is committed to Hiſtory; without which the greateſt part of men of Honor, would not care for acquiring renown, it coſts ſo very dear. Never did any man ever purchaſe it upon harder terms than I; but the laudable deſire we have to perpetuate our names, makes the pain ſeem eaſie to him who has a generous heart. Methought all the time when I read *Titus Livie*, that I ſaw all the brave *Scipio's*, *Cato's*, and *Cæſar's* alive, and when I was at *Rome*, and ſaw the Capitol, calling to mind the things I had heard (for I for my own part was ever a bad Reader) methought I ought to find thoſe ancient Romans there. The Hiſtorians then, who omit nothing of any kind in their writings, will mark your name in white or black, with glory or with ſhame, according to your deſert, as you ſee they have done by ſo many Captains who have gone before us.

The deſire of eternizing a mans name.

The ſecond thing that you ought to ſet before your eyes, is to conſider if you loſe the place committed to you, firſt what a loſs it will be to the King, it being part of his eſtate, and his houſe, there being no Garriſon, that is not properly the Kings own houſe, beſides that the revenue is his, of which you deprive him in loſing the place, enrich his Enemy, and augment his reputation, whilſt you diſhonor your own Maſter, who ſhall read in the Hiſtories dedicated to Eternity, that in his Reign ſuch a Town, ſuch a Caſtle, ſuch a Fortreſs was loſt. You ought then to reflect upon the miſeries you bring upon his poor Subjects, how many curſes will they load you with, who ſhall be neighbours to the place you have loſt; for they will certainly be deſtroy'd, and by your careleſsneſs or cowardize ruin'd and undone. They will curſe the hour that ever you was born, and eſpecially the poor Inhabitants, who through your fault, muſt either change their King and Maſter, or taking their children upon their backs, be conſtrain'd to ſeek another habitation. O that the poor Engliſh who had above three hundred years been ſettled in the Town of *Calice*, have reaſon to curſe the cowardize and treachery of him, who ſo infamouſly loſt ſo ſtrong a place! How can you ever have the confidence to look up, ſhould you once fall into ſuch a misfortune as this? Before you were honor'd and eſteem'd, and every one rejoyc'd at your coming, praying to God to preſerve and bleſs you; but ſhould you once fall into a misfortune like this, inſtead of prayers and acclamations, you ſhall meet with affronts and injuries; for prayers, maledictions, and they will curſe you to all the Devils in Hell. Inſtead of careſſing, they will turn their backs upon you, every one will point at you, ſo that a hundred times a day, you will curſe the hour that you were not kill'd upon a platform, or in a breach in the defence of your Garriſon, rather than ſo ſhamefully to have given it up to your Enemy.

And not only your Maſter, the Princes and Lords will look upon you with an eye of contempt, but the very women and children; nay, I will ſay more, your own Wife; though ſhe make a ſhew of love, will hate and deſpiſe you in her heart; for the nature of all women is ſuch, that they hate all Poltrons, let them be never ſo proper men, or never

Women hate Cowards.

never ſo handſomely dreſs'd, and love the bold and couragious, let them be never ſo ſlovenly or deform'd. They participate of your ſhame, and although being in your arms in bed, they may pretend to be glad of your return, they wiſh in their hearts you had been ſmother'd, or carried away by a Canon ſhot: for as we conceive it to be the greateſt diſgrace to a man to have a Whore to his Wife, the women alſo think that the greateſt ſhame can befal them is to have a Coward to their husband: and thus *Monſieur le Governor*, you who have loſt your place, you will be in a marvellous happy condition, when you ſhall be curſs'd in your own bed.

But what ſhall we ſay of your Children? people will not only reproach them, that they are the ſons of a Cowardly father; but they will moreover themſelves ſee his name in Print, and the miſchiefs of which his Cowardize has been the cauſe. For a Town is never loſt, let it be never ſo conſiderable, that it does not draw a great deal of inconvenience along with it. It brings ſo mighty an inconvenience upon your children, that to extinguiſh your ill repute, and to raiſe their own to ſome tollerable degree of eſteem, they muſt hazard their lives upon all occaſions, without either fear or wit, and few eſcape being kill'd, who by this means to wipe off the ſtain from their family, would ſignalize themſelves. How many have I ſeen in my time, who by endeavouring to repair ſome notorious fault, have loſt themſelves and expoſ'd themſelves to death upon the firſt occaſion has preſented it ſelf, being aſham'd to live. And though your children ſhould eſcape theſe dangers, yet will the King be afraid (what great reputation ſoever they may have acquir'd) to truſt a Town to their cuſtody, leſt the Son ſhould take after the Father, as it ordinarily comes to paſs. Thus ſhall you not only ruine your ſelves, but your whole Family. Children defam'd by the Father.

To avoid and to break the neck of your ill fortune, and of all theſe miſhaps, there is a good remedy, which I have learn'd my ſelf, and am willing to teach it you, if you know it not already. Firſt you ought to conſider all this that I have told you, and ſet on the one ſide the ſhame, and on the other the honor you will obtain, if you bravely defend your place, remaining victorious; or at the leaſt having done all that a man of Honour could do, to come off Triumphant, and like a Conqueror, though you be overcome, as you ſee I did in this Siege. Imagine ſtill that you ſee your Prince and Maſter before you, and what countenance you ought to hope for, if by your Cowardize you loſe his place. And ſeeing nothing ever had a beginning, but that it had likewiſe an end, conſider from the beginning what the end is like to be, and remember that your Maſter has not entruſted this place in your hands to deliver it up, but to defend it; that he has put you into it, not to live there only, but to dye there alſo bravely fighting, if occaſion be. If you ask him at your going away to your Command, Sir, muſt I dye before I ſurrender the place you have given me in truſt? he will tell you, that you are to fight to the laſt moment of your life; for being you are his Subject, your life is his. The Seigneur *de Jarnac* one day told the King, that it was the greateſt craft and Policy, that ever Kings found out, to make their Subjects believe, that their lives were theirs, and that it was the greateſt honor they could have to dye for their ſervice: but that it was a great ſimplicity in us to believe it, and to keep ſuch a clutter with this fine bed of honor. It is nevertheleſs true, that our lives and eſtates are the Kings, our ſouls belong to God, and our honour is our own, for over my honor the King has no power at all. A Saying of the Sieur *de Jarnac* to the King.

To return to what I was ſaying before, if in accepting the charge committed to you, you have not this reſolution within your ſelves, you would do a great deal better to make an excuſe. There are ways enow to put it off, and there will be enow, who will be glad to accept of what you refuſe. If you accept it with a reſolution to bring it to a handſome iſſue, do one thing, never think of dying. 'Tis for a Coxcomb to fear death, till he ſee it within three inches of him, and yet cannot he forbear repreſenting it to his imagination, though it be a hundred Leagues off. On the contrary, meditate how to kill your Enemy; for if you once enter into an apprehenſion and fear of death, you may aſſuredly give your place for loſt; for that is to take away your underſtanding and your judgement, which is the beſt piece in your harneſs. 'Tis to much purpoſe to be valiant, if this fail you at need; which if you intend to preſerve, you muſt by no means enter into this fear of dying; for fear is of it ſelf, and by the frailty of our own nature too apt to intrude upon us, without our needing to aſſiſt it with our own imagination. If then it preſent it ſelf before you, you muſt reject it, and have ſudden recourſe to the intention of the King, and to what end he plac'd you there. Think of the ſhame and diſhonor you are running into. Read often, or cauſe to be read to you, Books that ſpeak of the honor of great Captains, principally thoſe of our own times; as for example, *Langey* and another, who has writ in Italian (I cannot think of his name) who has writ ſo A Captain muſt never fear death.

well

well ſince King *Charles* the eight. I have often read him, and he is a very good Author. Would to God that all of us who bear arms would take up a cuſtom to write the things we ſee and do; for I am of opinion it would be better done by our own hands (I mean as to feats of war) than by thoſe letter'd men, for they too much diſguiſe the truth, and this reliſhes of the Clerk. Read then theſe Books, and meditate with your ſelves, if I do like *Antonio de Leva* at *Pavie*, the Sieur *de Lude* at *Fontarabie*, the Signeur *de Bouillon* at *Peronne*, the Signior *de Sanſac* at *Miranda*, and *Montluc* at *Sienna*, what will they ſay of me? what honor ſhall I carry back to my own houſe? and on the contrary, if I ſurrender, what ſhame and infamy for me and mine? Then apply your ſelves to Almighty God, and beg of him that he will defend you from falling into theſe misfortunes, reſigning up all things into his hands. After this aſſiſt your ſelves with all that he has put into the power of men, as you ſee I did in this Siege, and above all things be always diligent and vigilant, evermore mindful of your charge, if you do this (forgetting withal death and danger) you will find means to defend your place, though it were but a Dove-Coat; and though it ſhould be loſt, you having perform'd your duty, you muſt conclude it to be by the hand of God. We muſt however always trie; for I have ſeen a place loſt that was never ſuſpected to be in danger, and ſuch a one ſav'd as has been given over for gone. If you there die in your defence, you will neither diſhonor your ſelves nor your poſterity, but ſhall be laid in your grave with an immortal renown, which is all that a man of arms ought to deſire. For a man that fears to die ought never to go to the wars, there being in the world ſo many other employments to which he may apply himſelf, eſpecially in this Kingdom of *France*, where there are ſo many orders, what of Juſtice, and what of the Finances; too many indeed for the good of the King and of his Kingdom, ſuch a brave and numerous youth living idle, who would be fit to bear arms. As I have entred ſometimes into the Parliaments of *Tholouze* and *Bordeaux*, ſince my being the King's Lieutenant in *Guienne*, I have a hundred times wondred how it was poſſible ſo many young men ſhould eternally amuſe themſelves in a * Palace, conſidering that the blood ordinarily boyls in young men; I believe it is nothing but cuſtome, and the King could not do better, than to drive away theſe people, and to enure them to arms. But to return to you who have the Government of places, and you who have a mind to put your ſelves into a Town to defend it, if you ſo much fear death, never go, though it be but a folly to fear it, for thoſe that blow the fire at home in their own houſes are no more exempt than the others, and I do not know what choice there is betwixt dying of a Stone in the kidneys, and being knocked o'th' head with a Musket bullet, though, if God would give me my choice, I ſhould not be long in chooſing.

Captains that have well defended places.

A man that fears dying muſt never go to wars.

* Or Hall, or Court of Juſtice, or Law.

Above all things (Camrades) you muſt be ſure to be evermore intent upon your Enemy, and have your Judgment Centinel to ſpy what he can do againſt you; and play two parts, ſaing to your ſelf, If I was the Aſſailant, what would I do? on which ſide ſhould I make my attaque? for you ought to believe that your opinion, and that of your Enemy do very often jump. Communicate then what you have thought of to ſuch as you know to be of underſtanding, ſometimes in common, that you may give no diſtaſte to the reſt; but moſt frequently in private. When you ſhall find your ſelves engaged with a people, where you are to piſs ſmall, and have not the ruling power, apply your ſelves to their humours, and bite your tongues rather than ſpeak too much. Reduce them by ſweetneſs and obligation, and above all things, when you are to ſuffer, your ſelves ſhew the way. For if you (*Monſieur le Governor*) will keep open houſe, and in the mean time cut others ſhort of their bread, you will draw upon you the hatred of all your Captains and Soldiers, and it is but reaſonable that you who have the greateſt ſhare of honor, ſhould likewiſe have the greateſt ſhare of ſuffering.

A Governor ought frequently to ſhew himſelf to the people.

I will put you in mind of another thing, which is, that when extraordinary want preſſes upon you, you ſeldom remain ſhut up in your Cabinet, but ſhew your ſelves to the Captains and Soldiers, and appear to the people with a chearful and aſſured countenance, Your ſingle preſence will redouble their courage. I have in my time known ſeveral of the King's Lieutenants, who have driven away the Gentlemen, by making them ſometimes wait too long in their Halls, without vouchſafing to ſpeak to them. A Gentleman will be civilly uſed, eſpecially a Gaſcon, and in the mean time they pretend to be wonderfully buſie. I have known one once in my life (whom nevertheleſs, becauſe he was Maſter of a great many very good qualities, I ſhall forbear to name, for no man is perfect) who two hours in a day would conſtantly lock himſelf up in his Cloſet, pretending to be buſie about ſome diſpatch of importance, but it was to read *Orlando Furioſo* in *Italian*, as his own Secretary told us, which we took highly ill from him, we being in the mean time left to meaſure his Hall, or to take a ſurvey of his Court. Do not uſe men of condition,

dition ſo. Your hours of vacancy and pleaſure ought to be ſpent in walking upon the Rampires, and viſiting the Magazines, to ſee that nothing be wanting.

If you happen to be in a place where you ſhall be reduced to great ſcarcity, forget not to ſerve your ſelves with the means I uſed to rid my ſelf of the *Germans*, and take example by my Error; for I deferred it too long: but it was becauſe I thought the Marquis would force me by the ſword, and not by famine; but he was as ſubtle as I. If you ſuſpect any treaſon, and cannot diſcover the bottom of it, cauſe ſome counterfeit information to be given you, and without naming the perſon, ſay you are inform'd that there is treaſon plotted againſt you, and that you are upon the point to diſcover it; pretend alſo to have ſome intelligence in your Enemies Camp, though you have none, for this will be a Countermine. I will ſay but this one word to you more, which is, that you ſet at once before your eyes the favour and diſpleaſure of your Prince, for you have your choice. A King's indignation does not cool like that of another man. They ſeldom forgive a man that makes them loſe any thing, for they would alwayes win. How was that brave Monſieur *de Lautrec* received at his return from *Millan*, and yet God knows he was not in fault. He was wont to ſay, it was the greateſt affliction of his whole life. Suffer then all ſorts of extremities, and omit nothing that men of honor ought to do. I know very well that men muſt loſe and win, and that no place is impregnable; but chooſe rather a hundred thouſand times to die, if all other means fail, than to pronounce that infamous and hateful, I yield.

Error of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

Artifices of a Governor.

Monſieur *de Strozzy* lent me a Galley to carry me back into *France*, and ſent a Kinſman of his, a young man of twenty years of age, and a Knight of *Malta* to *Civita Vechia* to make it ready, and would that the Knight ſhould himſelf conduct me to *Marſeilles*: On Wedneſday morning then I took poſt, and went to *Rome*, where I arriv'd about four of the clock in the afternoon, having ſent the Captains *Luſſan*, *Blacon*, and *St. Auban* to ſtay for me at *Civita Vechia*; Monſieur *de Strozzy* having given them leave for four months, the reſt remain'd with the ſaid Signeur. The Cardinal of *Armagnac* lodg'd me in his own Palace, and I was receiv'd with as much honor by all the Kings Miniſters, as any Gentleman could be. They had already heard of my coming out of *Sienna*, the Marquis having ſent word of it by an expreſs Courrier to the Cardinal his Brother. I there found Monſieur *le* Cardinal of *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Father of this that now is, being yet there ſince the creation of Pope *Marcellinus*. His Holineſs asked the Cardinal of *Guiſe* if I was arriv'd, as he had been told, to which the Cardinal making anſwer, that I was, he entreated him to bring me to him, for he had a great deſire to ſee me. The Cardinal found me at the Ambaſſadors Monſieur d'*Avanſon*, where he told me that I muſt go to his Holineſs, who had a deſire to ſee me, and Monſieur d'*Avanſon* lent me his own Coach. I found the Pope newly got up, and ſet in a Chair by his Bed ſide, ſo ill that he had much ado to ſpeak: but nevertheleſs he entertained me with very great favour. I told him that I would not now trouble his Holineſs with diſcourſe, but that I hoped God would in two or three daies reſtore him to his health, and that then I would come and give him an account how all things had paſſed at *Sienna*. He then told me that he had already been informed of me, but that he ſhould be glad to hear it again from my own mouth; adding theſe words, *That I might ſay never any man, of what Nation ſoever, had ever had ſo much intereſt, love, and eſteem among the Siennois as I.* I then took my leave that I might not be a trouble to him, and returning back found the Cardinal *de Guiſe* ſtill at the Ambaſſadors, to whom I ſaid, that they might again go enter the Conclave to chooſe another Pope, for that this by to-morrow night would not be alive, and my words prov'd true; for the next day about Veſpers he died, and the day after I took leave of all my friends, and went to *Civita Vechia*, which was on Friday, and upon Saturday morning by break of day I went aboard. The pomps, pleaſures, delights and curioſities of this City could not detein me a day longer, conceiving I might elſewhere be ſerviceable to the King my Maſter. One thing I muſt needs ſay, though it be in my own commendation, that as I paſſed along the ſtreets, and going to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, every one ran to the windows, and to their doors to ſee the man that had ſo long defended *Sienna*. Which only ſerv'd to enflame my courage the more to acquire more honor; and though I had ſcarce money to carry me home, I fancied my ſelf as rich as the greateſt man in *France*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* at *Rome*.

The death of Pope *Marcellinus*.

About break of day we ſet ſail, with as good a wind as we could deſire, and in the cloſe of the evening came to *Capocorſo*, where came to an Anchor, and two hours before day paſſed the ſtraight betwixt *Sardignia* and *Corſica*, and about nine of the clock in the morning came to *Bonifacio*, where was Monſieur *de la Molle*. I had heard at *Civita Vechia*, that Prince *Auria* was gone towards *Piombino* with three or four thouſand Soldiers,

Monſieur *de Termes* before *Calvy*.

which he had embarked in two and fifty Galleys, and that he went to fight Monſieur *de Termes*, who was battring *Calvy*. This intelligence was the reaſon that I went to *Boniface*, to give notice of it to the ſaid Sieur *de la Molle*, who immediately thereupon ſent away to the ſaid Sieur *de Termes*, and ſo ſeaſonably, that he was ſcarce riſen in time to avoid being ſurpriz'd, and was conſtrain'd, as he himſelf told me ſince, to tumble three pieces of Canon into the Sea, which he afterwards went to fiſh out again. I there did him a good turn, and a good piece of ſervice for the King my Maſter. You who bear arms, and have a deſire to ſerve your Princes well, have evermore an eye to every thing that concerns them, to give notice of every thing that you conceive conducing to their ſervice. I have known ſome ſuch good friends, as have rejoyced at the miſcarriage of their Companions, thinking to augment their own glory by their diſgrace: I never did ſo, nor would I do it to the greateſt Enemy I had in the world. Of this I could produce great and notable exemples; but I paſs them by to return to my buſineſs. The Baron *de la Garde* lay alſo in a Sea-port near unto the place where Monſieur *de Termes* was, and had ſpeedy intelligence, that prince *Auria's* Fleet was out at ſea, but he knew not where, however ſuſpecting the worſt, he ſpeedily hoiſt ſail, making directly for *Marſeilles*, which was the cauſe of Monſieur *de Termes* his ſafety; for as Prince *Auria* thought to have ſurpriz'd the *Baron de la Garde* in this Haven where he lay, he had intelligence that he was gone away not above five or ſix hours before, which made him to follow after, ſteering the ſame courſe (which was upon the ſame Saturday, that I had the good gale of wind) and purſued him as far as the Iſles *Dieres*. The Baron without ſtaying held on his courſe towards *Marſeilles*, and it was well he did ſo, for had he ſtayed at the Iſlands he had been truſſed, foraſmuch as he had no more than fourteen or fifteen Gallies. I departed from Monſieur *de la Molle* upon Sunday about ten of the clock, and of all day could make no way, the wind being contrary: but about two hours before day the ſame wind we had upon Saturday before return'd, and we ſet forward, it being Monday morning.

About break of day I asked the Knight, if they had no bigger ſails, who told me, theſe were the largeſt they had, enquiring of me why I asked that queſtion, and whether I had a mind to make more haſte, to which I made anſwer that I had, whereupon he preſently clapt a ſail upon the Miſſen, and about break of day there fell a great miſt, which continued till the Sun grew pretty high, that it began to diſperſe: the Watch then from the Main-top began to cry out *a ſail, a ſail*, and preſently after *a Galley, a Galley*, at which the Knight told me, that they could be no other than either Prince *Auria*, or the Baron *de la Garde*. : When the miſt ſuddenly clearing up we ſaw our ſelves in the middle of two and fifty Galleys, whereof fourteen that were ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet ſteered their courſe toward *Sardignia*, and we were between them. Every one in the Galley then began to deſpair; the Pilots would make for the Coaſts of *Barbary* to eſcape; the Maſter was not of this opinion, but rather that we ſhould make forwards by force of Oars and Sails: *St. Auban* and the other Captains were in the greateſt fright that poſſibly could be, ſaying, that being newly come out of ſo great an extremity as the Siege of *Sienna*, they were upon the point to be reduc'd to that misfortune, as to ſee themſelves chain'd to the Oar, which rather than to undergo, they had far better die with their ſwords in their hands. What face ſoever I might ſet upon the matter, I was in no much better heart than they, and would have been glad to have been planting Cabages. On a ſudden four of the fourteen began to turn their prows to fall upon us, whilſt the others in the mean time ſtroke ſayl to ſtay for them; and as the other had made all the ſail they could to come upon us with all their Oars amain, the heads of their Galleys were juſt over againſt our Cook-room. Now the Knight all this while not ſpeaking one word, whilſt every body in the Galley was crying out in a miſerable confuſion, I ſaid to him, *O Knight, you ſeem to loſe your ſelf; you have been bred with one of the braveſt men that ever went to Sea, which was the Prior of Capua*; to which he made anſwer, *No me perde, no me perde per Dio: mas io gardo la mie*. The Enemies Gallies in the mean time came within a Harquebuz ſhot to encloſe us, and then the Knight running from Poop to Prow, encouraged every one, making them to row amain, inſomuch that when they thought to have hemm'd us in, we were got above fifty paces before them, and began to beſtow upon them ſome Harquebuz ſhot. They purſued us about half a league; but by reaſon of our three ſails, together with our fear that lent us wings, it ſeem'd as if our Galley flew before them, ſo that they preſently gave us over, and rack'd about, and our Seamen plyed them with their courteous kind of language, every one ſtriving who ſhould pay them moſt with railing; and thus by the great diligence of our Seamen, we in deſpite of them eſcap'd. Towards night the wind began ſo to ſlacken, and change upon us, that we could not get to *Marſeilles* till Tueſday ſupper time, where we found the Count *de Tande*, the Counteſs, and the Baron *de*

Two and fifty Galleys of Prince *Auria*.

la

la Garde at ſupper in the Garden of Monſieur *Blancart*; who were all aſtoniſh'd to ſee me, having made account that I was dead, and *Sienna* ſack'd and burnt down to the ground; for they being in *Corſica* had heard news day by day from *Romania*, that I was at the laſt extremity without any hopes of compoſition; the Baron *de la Garde* had been confident in this belief all the while he was with Monſieur *de Termes* in *Corſica*, and alſo after he was come back to *Marſeilles*, and that I would play a deſperate game at my coming out, in caſe the Marquis would not give me ſuch conditions as I would have. Others ſaid that I had loſt my underſtanding, and that God would puniſh me for my great temerity and folly. They were talking of me juſt as I entred into the Garden, but they would not let me tell them any thing till I had ſupp'd, for they had almoſt done. I had ſoon diſpatch'd, for I was forbid to eat much after I had faſted ſo long, which I think was the death of very many after they came out; for nature muſt by little and little be compoſed, and reſtor'd to her uſual habit. I afterwards gave them an account from point to point of all that I had done, which they thought very ſtrange. The Baron was very much aſtoniſh'd when I told him, that Prince *Auria* had purſued him as far as the Iſles *Dieres*, giving God thanks that he had not yielded to the importunity of thoſe he had with him, who would have perſwaded him to caſt Anchor at the Iſlands, and gave Monſieur *de Termes* for loſt, or at leaſt all his Artillery: but I told him, that upon my intelligence Monſieur *de Molle* had diſpatch'd away to him in all diligence to give him notice. The next day I diſpatch'd away the Sieur *de Lecuſſan* to the King, to give his Majeſty notice of my arrival, for the Count had told me, that the King was very much diſſatisfied with me, for ſuffering my ſelf to be reduc'd to the laſt morſel, by reaſon whereof he could expect no other than the loſs of me, and the ruine of the City, upon which depended all his reputation in *Italy*. See what hazards we run to ſerve theſe Princes! but there is no remedy, they are born to command, and we to ſerve and obey; and God knows if I had not cauſe to complain to be ſo abandon'd, and left a prey; but 'tis all one they think it yet too much honor for us to die in their Quarrels. The Baron mightily preſſed me to ſend thither, and moreover made *Lecuſſan* promiſe him to ride night and day, which he did. I ſtayd with them until Friday morning, that I took poſt and came to St. *Mathurin* the 9th or the 10th of *May*, where I found the ſaid Sieur *de Lecuſſan*, who ſtaid there to tell me the great joy the King was in when he heard the whole ſtory, his Majeſty wondring at my fortune, and ſaying to every one, that he thought me the moſt fortunate man upon earth, after ſuch and ſo long a Siege, and without hopes of relief, to come ſo honorably away, eſpecially having to do not only with the Emperor, but alſo with the Duke of *Florence*, who deſir'd to be reveng'd of the *Siennois*. He looked alſo upon the eſcape I had by Sea, out of the clutches of Prince *Auria*, for a ſingular good fortune. The next morning I was at the riſing of Monſieur *de Guiſe*, who could never have his fill of embracing me, and led me to the Kings Bed-chamber, who was yet in Bed, but awake. At his entring into the Chamber he began to cry out aloud, leading me in by the hand, *Sir, here is your loſt man*, and I then drew near to kiſs his Majeſtie's hands, who embrac'd me with both his arms, holding my head to his boſom, almoſt as long as one might be ſaying a *Pater noſter*, ſaying to me twice whilſt he held me in this poſture. *O Monſieur de Montluc, you are infinitely welcome, I never thought to have ſeen you more*; to which I made anſwer, *that God had preſerv'd me to do his Majeſty yet once in my life one good piece of ſervice.* He ſaid he believ'd it, and was aſſur'd that I would not ſpare my life to do it; whereupon he again embrac'd me, and then ſtart out of his bed. I then retired my ſelf to the appartment the Vice-Chamberlain by his Majeſtie's order had appointed for me, as well ſatisfied with the gracious countenance of my Maſter, as if he had given me the nobleſt Preſent; for I have ever been proud, and 'tis natural for me to be ſo, being a Gaſcon. This alone had been ſufficient to have made me have gone through impoſſibilities. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Conſtable were at this time at *Ardres*, treating a Peace betwixt the Emperor and the King.

The King diſſatisfied with the Sieur *de Montluc*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* arrives at Court.

The Gaſcon proud.

After, when his Majeſty had din'd, about one of the clock he retir'd into the Gallery, Monſieur *de Guiſe* only being with him, where he was pleaſed to call for me, and ſo ſoon as I was enter'd Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſhut to the door. After which his Majeſty would have me to give him an account at large of all the particularities of this Siege, from the firſt day I enter'd into *Sienna*, to the laſt, which made the ſtory continue ſo long, that the Captains who were come along with me, and waited without upon the Terrais, told me, that they heard the clock ſtrike five times whilſt I was in the Gallery with the King. He was very much delighted with the order I took about the retrenchment of the bread, and the manner after which I did it, together with the Remonſtrances I made to the Captains, and to the Senate. He was alſo mightily pleaſed with the reſolution I had taken

The Sieur *de Montluc* makes a Narrative to the King of the Siege of *Sienna*.

to give the Marquis battail in the City, and above all things with the order I had drawn in reference to it, which was at that time much freſher in my memory than it is now, and was printed in *Italy*; and I remember the laſt time I return'd out of *Tuſcany* the Duke of *Urbin* told me at *Peſero*, that he had it by him, and had never in his life read any thing that pleaſed him ſo much as that. His Majeſty would alſo that I ſhould make a Narrative of it in writing, which I did, and whereof he diſtributed ſeveral Copies to divers Governors, and one I remember he cauſed to be ſent to *Mariambourg*, where the Mareſchal *de Coſſee* commanded, or elſe Monſieur *de Fumel*. He expreſſed a great ſenſe of pity when he heard the buſineſs of turning out the uſeleſs mouths, and in concluſion was pleaſed to ask me two queſtions. The firſt was, how I could make the four Nations, mortal enemies to one another, agree ſo well together; for all of them in general, as he had been told, had behav'd themſelves ſo exceedingly well to one another, without the leaſt diſorder, that they could not poſſibly have done it better: A thing that every one looked upon as a miracle, ſo much as the Emperor himſelf, wondring I could compoſe theſe people after this manner (the *Italians* themſelves, who came out of *Italy* reporting it to him) as an unheard of thing. To which I made anſwer, that I had found it a very eaſie matter, and (being I ſaw he had a mind to hear it, and that I ſaw he took a delight in my Narration) I told him, that I went one Saturday into the Market, where in the ſight of all the people I bought a Sack, and a little Cord to tye it with, together with a Fagot, all which having before them all laid upon my Shoulder, when I came to my Chamber I call'd for fire to light my Fagot, and after took the Sack, and there put into it all my ambition, all my avarice, my particular hatreds, my lechery, my gluttony, my ſloth, my partiality, my envy, my particularities, and all my Gaſcon humours, and to be ſhort, all that I conceiv'd might hinder me from conſidering every thing I was to do in order to his Majeſties ſervice; and told him moreover, that if all his Miniſters to whom he entruſted the commands of men and places would do the ſame, his Majeſties affais could not but proſper; for my mind was ever free and undiſturbed with any thing that might hinder me from conſidering what I had to do, and bring about my deſign, which was never to go out of that place but with the laſt morſel in my mouth; and I will ſay moreover, that whoever ſhall ſtrip themſelves of the forementioned vices, and burn them, God will ever be aſſiſting to them, who favouring our deſigns, we cannot fail to effect whatever we have a mind to undertake. For God ever goes along with ſuch people, and on the contrary abandons thoſe who do not ſerve their Maſters after this manner, becauſe they forfeit the Oath they have taken, having ſworn loyally and faithfully to ſerve him, which no man can poſſibly do retaining theſe vices. His Majeſty laughed at my diſcourſe, commanding me to tell him one thing, and to tell him true, to which I made anſwer, that I would no more lye to him than I would to God Almighty. He then asked me whether Monſieur *de Strozzy* could not have reliev'd me if he would; for his Miniſters at *Rome* had ſeveral times ſent him word, that he was in a capacity to do it, and that it only ſtuck at him that I was not reliev'd? To which I anſwer'd, that his Majeſty asked me a thing himſelf was better able to reſolve than I. How can that be ſaid he, ſeeing I have not been upon the place? Sir, ſaid I, you Kings and Princes have ſo long ears, that you hear every thing that is done, though you be a hundred leagues off: notwithſtanding I told him that his Majeſty being engaged in *Scotland*, at *Calice*, at *Mariambourg*, and other neighbouring Caſtles; at *Metz*, and *Piedmont*, and in *Corſica*, he ought better to know than I, whether after having provided all things neceſſary for all theſe places, wherein his honor was engaged, he had been in a condition to ſend money to the ſaid Sieur *de Strozzy* wherewith to raiſe a ſufficient Army of horſe and foot to fight ſo great forces as the Marquis had before *Sienna*; which if his Majeſty had not been able to do, how could he imagine Monſieur *de Strozzy* ſhould relieve me, who had not a man to make head againſt the *Spaniards* and *Germans*? That of *Italians* it was true, he might have had but too many: but that had been no equal match: that Monſieur *de Strozzy* was full of courage, and very affectionate to his ſervice; but that no one could flye without wings; and that three ſeveral times he had run very great hazards for his ſervice, of which I alſo gave him a particular account. His Majeſty then told me, that he was ſatisfied with my anſwer, and that he believ'd Monſieur *de Strozzy* to be his ſervant; and too much a man of honor to be any way in fault; making me thereupon very many excuſes, for that having been engaged in ſo many places at once, it had not been poſſible for him to ſend an Army into *Italy* to the ſaid Sieur *de Strozzy* ſtrong enough to raiſe the Siege, and to give the Marquis battail. Why then Sir, ſaid I, you are neither to blame Monſieur *de Strozzy*, nor your ſelf, both of you having done all that lay in your power, but this will teach you another time to look better to your affairs. This was a charity had been done the ſaid Monſieur *de Strozzy*, who was as much concern'd

A queſtion of the King's to the Sieur de *Montluc*.

His pleaſant Anſwer.

Another queſtion of the King's to the Sieur *de Montluc*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* juſtifies Monſieur *de Strozzy* to the King.

cern'd as the King, and more about the loſs of *Sienna*, for the hatred he bore to the Duke of *Florence*. After we had ended our diſcourſe, his Majeſty went out to look the Queen, and Madam *de Savoy* that now is, to whom he repeated all that I had ſaid to him, eſpecially that about Monſieur *de Strozzy*, which the Queen was very glad of, and the next day did me the honor to give me thanks for the office of friendſhip I had done Monſieur *de Strozzy*, who was a concern of hers. I had no reaſon to do otherwiſe, for beſides that I had lied, I had a particular honor for him, and it was juſt I ſhould have ſo, foraſmuch as he lov'd and eſteem'd me more than any Gentleman that ever came out of *Gaſcony*.

This was upon *Monday* and upon *Tueſday*, Madam *de Valentinois* told me, that ſhe had never known any man return from an employment with whom the King was better ſatisfied than he was with me, and that he did highly commend me. Which whether or no ſhe ſaid to flatter me, I cannot ſay: but ſhe better knew then any other, for ſhe had very much gain'd the King's heart, and told me that I was very happy. As I was talking with her, the King came, and put me again upon ſome paſſages of my voyage. Now I had there the Patent and Declaration the Senate had given me under their broad Seal; wherein was declar'd, that I would never conſent to the Surrender of *Sienna*, nor Capitulate in the name of the King: but alſo that they call'd me to witneſs, whether they would ever hear of any Capitulation, till they were reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity, and the laſt morſel of bread. His Majeſty took the Patent, and read it; after which he ask'd me, Why I would not Capitulate for my ſelf and the Souldiers, telling me that he wondred the Marquis did not defeat me at my coming out. To which I made anſwer, That it was for two Reaſons, whereof one was, that I had made a reſolution never to ſurrender any place; but rather to dye, and that the name of *Montluc* ſhould never be found to a Surrender or a Capitulation, having never put my ſelf into a Town to deliver it up, but to defend it to the laſt moment of my life, as I had ſent word to the Marquis by Signior *Cornelio* and Captain *Charry*. The other Reaſon why I would not Capitulate was, that in caſe either His Majeſty, or any of his Succeſſors, ſhould hereafter reconquer *Sienna*, and that the *Siennois* ſhould fortifie themſelves with his protection, as they had done before, he might herein be left free to his own liberty and diſcretion. For they could not ſay, that his Lieutenant *Montluc* had conſented to their Surrender, and that His Majeſty ought not to quit his own intereſt; nor that of thoſe who were to ſucceed him to the Crown of *France*. The chances of War, Sir, ſaid I, are divers and variable. *Millan* and *Naples* have been the one twice, the other three times in our poſſeſſion, and *Sienna* may be ours again. I have done nothing to prejudice your title, His Majeſty lik'd my Reaſon ſo well, that he remain'd very well ſatisfied, commanding me to lay up the Patents mongſt the Records of my Family, that it might be preſerv'd for ever. Madam *de Valentinois* then put in, and ſaid, that the Archives of a private Gentleman, was not ſo ſecure, as the Treaſury of a King, and that if this Patent was of ſo great importance, his Majeſtie might do well to cauſe it to be laid up in his. He then took it out of my hand, and gave it to one of his Gentlemen, or elſe to Madam *de Valentinois* to deliver it to Monſieur *le Garde de Sceaux*, who ſince was Cardinal of *Sens*, commanding him to lay it up in his Treaſury, amongſt the Evidences of the Crown. This cannot be above ſixteen or ſeventeen years ago: So that if it would pleaſe the King his Son, who now reigns, to command Monſieur *de Fizes*, who was at that time Secretary to the Cardinal, to ſearch for the Patent, I am confident it would be found. I would I had given 500 Crowns for a Duplicate of it, that I might have ſuch a Record of my ſelf, and inſert it in my Book. For that will teſtifie that I came out of *Sienna* with Colours flying, Arms ſhoulder'd, and Drums beating, without any Capitulation at all. A thing not to be found in any Hiſtory, that ever any man did the like. So that no one ought to think it ſtrange, that I ſo much deſire a Copy of that Patent; neither ought the King ſo much to deſpiſe it, as to be out of hopes one day to make it uſeful to him, and His Majeſty ought rather to be curious than I to have it ſought out; for he is the moſt concern'd.

Madam *de Valentinois*.

The reſolution of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

The day following being *Wedneſday*, Monſieur *de Guiſe* in the evening told me, that His Majeſty was the next day reſolv'd to give me the Order; which in thoſe times was ſo noble a thing, and ſo much ſought for, that the greateſt Prince in *France* would not have been ſatisfied without it, and would rather the King ſhould never confer any honor upon him, than deny him that; for it was then a mark of honor, that was not ſo profan'd as it is now adays. The next day then, being *Thurſday* in the morning, the King was pleas'd to honour me with it, and after dinner I begg'd leave of him, that I might go to *Paris*, to put my ſelf into ſome tollerable Equipage, for that I was too torn and tatter'd for a new Knight of the Order. He was pleas'd at the firſt word to grant me leave, and

The Sieur *de Montluc* made Knight of the Order.

and before I went gave me an allowance of three thouſand Francs in Penſion out of the Exchequer, and three thouſand Livers Revenue out of his Demeaſn, wherein the County of *Guyenne*, where part of my own eſtate lies, was compriz'd, and *Bregeyrac* made up the reſt. I two years enjoy'd the County, but not *Bregeyrac*, foraſmuch as it was mortgag'd before. I very much deſir'd to diſengage it, becauſe Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother had a Priory there, and had rather have ſettled himſelf in *Perigort*, than any other part of *France*. If I could have done it, I ſhould very well have prevented the Roguery that has been hatch there ſince. His Majeſty alſo gave me two thouſand Crowns in ready money, bidding me moreover ask him any thing elſe that I wanted. I then asked him two Councellors places in the Parliament of *Thoulouze*, to help to raiſe my daughter's Portion, whom I married to Monſieur de *Fontenilles*, Monſieur *de Valence* having ſent me inſtructions from *Paris* to ask that of the King, of which I ſhould ſooner raiſe money than of any other thing. His Majeſty was pleaſed at the firſt word to give me this alſo, and with this money I married my ſaid daughter, together with ſome little more that my wife had. His Majeſty moreover promiſed me the firſt Company of *Gens d'Arms* that ſhould become vacant. I had not the firſt, nor the ſecond, but I had the third; for Kings promiſe ſo much, that it is not poſſible for them to keep their words with all. This vacancy hapned after my return from *Montalſin*, the ſecond time his Majeſty had ſent me beyond the Mountains, and was the Company of Monſieur *de la Guiſh*. Theſe were the benefits I receiv'd from the King at that time, which were no ſmall ones, and in brief I had whatever I deſir'd. I am ſure ſince the death of this good Prince my Maſter I have a hundred times wiſh'd my own, conſidering the traverſes have been given me, and the croſſes I have had. It had not been in the power of mankind to have done me wrong if he had liv'd, for he never forgot any ſervices, let them be never ſo inconſiderable; neither was it in the power of calumny to take away his good opinion from any one that did him good ſervice. And on the contrary when any one fail'd in his duty, what good countenance ſoever he might ſhew them, out of complacency to ſuch as would diſpoſeſs him of the ill opinion he had conceiv'd, it never came from his heart, as the Mareſchal *de St. André* has often aſſur'd me, who told me his humour. He was very familiar with him, and underſtood him very well. Five or ſix daies after, his Majeſty came to *Paris*, where I ask'd leave of him to go home to my own houſe, to ſee my family, which he freely granted. I ſhall never conceal the benefits, and the honor my Maſters have conferr'd upon me, that being only worthy, and becomming a mean and dirty nature, and an ungrateful heart.

Recompences given by the King to the Sieur *de Montluc.*

The good nature of King *Henry* the ſecond.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE COMMENTARIES OF *Meßire Blaize de Montluc,* MARESCHAL of FRANCE.

The Fourth Book.

I Had ſcarce been three weeks at my own houſe, when His Majeſty diſpatch'd a Courrier to me, commanding me forthwith to repair to him wherever he was, without reply, or ſtaying for any other command: which I preſently did, having ſcarce ſeen my houſe and my friends: But *Glory is a notable ſpur.* At my arrival His Majeſty told me, that I muſt of neceſſity go into *Piedmont* to Monſieur *de Briſſac*, who had ſent to demand me to command the Foot, making account that to relieve S. *Jago*, where Monſieur *de Bonnivet* was ſhut up, he muſt be forc'd to come to a Battel. Two days after I had my diſpatch, the King manifeſting great tokens of Friendſhip to me, and to be very well ſatisfied with my ſervice. I found Monſieur *de Briſſac* at *Turin* very ill of the Gout; and the next day went to ſeek out Monſieur *d' Aumale*, who commanded the Army at S. *Valant* near *Ulpian*, which conſiſted of five thouſand foot, a thouſand men at Arms, and twelve hundred Light-Horſe. The King at my going away, gave me a Courſer of his own, which was an exceeding good one, and which I ordered with my Train to follow after me, for I went poſt. The ſame day that I came to Monſieur *d' Aumale*, I would go to take a view of *Ulpian*, in order to a ſiege; for the Duke of *Alva* had made a fool of the work, and quitted S. *Jago*; and the ſaid Sieur *d' Aumale* lent me a little grey Nag. I went then in open day to diſcover the place, within leſs then fifty paces of the wall; for I would let them ſee, that for having been lately with my Wife, I had forgot nothing of what I was wont to do. This diſcovery was made in the ſight of Monſieur *d' Aumale*, and ſeveral others; where at my return I gave him ſo good an account, that he found I had told him the truth of all. The next day he drew part of the Army toward the Caſtle, where the Enemy had caſt up a great Platform, environed with a large ditch, with a * Tenaille that covered the Caſtle, and betwixt the Tenaille and the Caſtle, there was fourſcore paces or more; in which ſpace they had moreover caſt up a Trench in the middle; to the end, that in caſe they ſhould loſe the head of this great Baſtion and Tenaille, before they could get to the Caſtle, they might retire to this Trench. Monſieur *d' Aumale* had at this time for Engineers *Duno* and *Balaſergues*, who began their Trenches above five hundred paces from the Town, where they found the earth ſo full of little flints, that five hundred men could not caſt up twenty paces of Trench in a day, and the ſaid Monſieur *d' Aumale* ſpent two days in this kind of work. I was very much diſcontented that they would not do as I would have them; but in the end Monſieur *d' Aumale* was reſolved himſelf to ſee what I would counſel him to do, ſo that an hour after day-light, we went on that ſide by the corner of the Town on the left hand, and behind a little Chappel, which was within fifteen or twenty paces of the Counterſcarp. He took no ſoul living with him but

The King's command to the Sieur de *Montluc.*

Monſieur *d' Aumale* commands the Army.

* A Tenaille is a kind of Fortification of the ſhape of a pair of Pincers.

The Siege in *Sept.* 1544.

but me and *Fequieres*, who as I have been told, has ſince fac'd about to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, though the ſaid Seigneur ſhewed him as much favour and reſpect, as any Gentleman about him. Monſieur *d' Aumale* and I went upon the Counterſcarpe, and *Fequieres* went underneath, where we meaſured how much of the Counterſcarpe we were to cut, to plant the Artillery upon the brink of the Ditch; and to diſcover alſo if the Enemies Harquebuzeers might not ſee into the Recoil of the Canon, and us alſo, ſhould we lodge on the other ſide of the Counterſcarp. We went upon it, and all along by the Ditches above ſixſcore paces, and whiſpering to one another, paſt by two of their Centinels, without being queſtioned by them: ſo that had we brought two Ladders with us, Monſieur *d' Aumale* would have tempted Fortune, to have ſeen what would have been the iſſue (for ſhe often preſents her ſelf, when we leaſt dream of any ſuch matter) and when we came to the third Centinel, he call'd out and wak'd the reſt, who as I believe were certainly aſleep, which made the ſaid Seigneur and me retire towards the little Chappel, much better accompanied at our return, than when we went, but it was with good round volleys of Harquebuze ſhot, ſo that we were conſtrained to run into the Chappel, the backſide of which *Fequieres* recover'd. Now this Chappel was open towards the Town, and that part to which the door had been hung, when it had one, was a ſquare pillar of ſtone, about the thickneſs of a man that was not very groſs, and the Harquebuze ſhot put us in ſuch haſte, that Monſieur *d' Aumale* was forc'd on a ſudden to clap behind this pillar bolt upright, and I behind him, for all the Chappel beſides was open. In my life I never heard ſo great Harquebuze ſhots; I know not whether it was not our fear, that made them ſeem ſo, but I am ſure there was good cauſe to be afraid, for the Bullets almoſt continually ſlapt againſt the pillar with which Monſieur *d' Aumale* ſhelter'd himſelf: He ſerv'd me for a ſhield, and I held my head and my body cloſe to him. They kept us there above a long half hour beſieg'd, and it is moſt certain they had heard us; for when we were enter'd into the Chappel, we heard them in Spaniſh cry out, *Iuro a Dios ellos ſon en la Capilla, todos è entendidos.* Monſieur *d' Aumale* has often ſince talkt to me of the frights we were in; for I do verily believe that above a hundred Harquebuzeers came to take aim at us, they alſo threw wiſps of flaming ſtraw into the ditch, that they might aim the better. *We were in a fine caſe*, ſaid Monſieur *d' Aumale*, *ſhould they ſally out upon us.* *Sir*, ſaid I, *thoſe of the houſe of* Lorrain *were never ſo unhappy as to be taken skulking: neither will the rule of War permit them to ſally out, without knowing what we are: We have here a good Buckler of* Barcellona: All this while the bullets clatter'd againſt the ſtones, and it was convenient for us to tweak in our buttocks. *Fequieres* play'd here one very ſenſeleſs trick; for not knowing where we were, he whiſtled to call to us, which I believe was the reaſon they ſhot ſo very long. In the mean time the Alarm run quite thorow the Town, and in the end they grew as weary of ſhooting, as we were of being ſhot at, and ſo we walk'd out and found *Fequieres* behind the Chappel, who had made a cunninger choice of his retreat then we, and there Monſieur *d' Aumale* concluded the night following to bring the Artillery to the edge of the graff, and all our Enſigns. And there I got the victory of the Engineers, who ſaid, that all our men would be kill'd there, and that we ſhould be forc'd to quit the Canon; and hereupon by good fortune arriv'd Monſieur *de Caillac*. In the morning Monſieur *d' Aumale* in my preſence told him all we had ſeen over night, and ſent *Fequieres* along with him, to go to diſcover behind the Chappel: for the ſame night the ſaid Seigneur had appointed two Enſigns, that lay a great way from the Chappel, to go and immediately to encamp themſelves juſt behind it. The beſieg'd committed there a great incongruity, for they ought not to have contented themſelves with laying the Chappel open only, but they ought moreover to have raz'd it to the ground. Monſieur *de Caillac* at his return was of our opinion; whereupon Monſieur *d' Aumale* permitted Monſieur *de Caillac* and me to go and carry along with us the Pioneers to cut the Counterſcarpe, ordering *Duno* and *Balaſergues* to bring the Canon after, and caus'd a Gabionnade alſo to be made in the Meadow, ſome forty or fifty paces from the Counterſcarp, wherein to lodge the powder: ſo that by break of day we had cut the Counterſcarpe, and the Artillery was planted in Battery ſo near, that the very muſſel of the Canon hung over the Graff. Beginning to batter, Monſieur *de Bonnivete* went to and fro in the very face of the Baſtion, betwixt the Battery and the place where Monſieur *d' Aumale* was, and the Mareſchal *de Coſſe* did the ſame. Two nights before we had caſt up the Trenches at the head of the Baſtion, which cover'd the Caſtle to approach to the Ditch, the Baron *de Chipi*, who was Camp-Maſter, put his Soldiers into Camiſado, and threw himſelf headlong into the Ditch pel-mel amongſt them, and gain'd two Cazamatts that flank'd the Ditch, killing thoſe that were within them, for they could not retire:

Monſieur *d' Aumale* goes himſelf to diſcover.

The danger of Monſieur *d' Aumale* and the Sieur *de Montluc*.

Chipi Camp-

and

and at the ſame inſtant Monſieur *d'Aumale* commanded the Engineers to mine at the head of the Baſtion, which they did, and made three. Monſieur *de Coſſé* then ran to the Baſtion to ſee if the Mines were ready, and ſo return'd to Monſieur *d'Aumale* to the Battery we were making. Hitherto I could make no mention of Monſieur *d'Anguien*, the Prince of *Condé* his Brother, and Monſieur *de Nemours*, they being only there for their pleaſure, and without any command, being come poſt from Court, upon the report of a Battail ſpeedily to be fought; no one believing that the Duke of *Alva* would have return'd without ſtriking a blow: However they were never abſent from the work, and at the Aſſault went on together, and Monſieur *de Bonnivet* with them. There came along with them ſeveral other Lords, and amongſt others Monſieur *de Ventadour*, *de Lude*, *de l'Auſun*, *de Malicorne*, and *de la Chaſtaigneray*. Now two of the Mines wrought a very great effect; for they overturn'd almoſt all the top of the Baſtion into the ditch, and in the cloud of duſt that was raiſed, the Baron *de Chipy*, and the Captain with him upon the ruine came to blows with fourſcore or a hundred *Spaniards* (that were entred but four or five dayes before, but not without the loſs of a great many of their men at their entry) and two or three hundred more, all choice men, and call'd out of all the Spaniſh Companies; and there died there above fourſcore; and our people moreover won from them the Trench they had caſt up in the ſpace betwixt the Baſtion and the Caſtle, for they would have retir'd to their Trench, and ours followed ſo cloſe, that they entred with them. They then attempted full ſpeed to recover the Caſtle, but he who commanded within it would not let down the draw-bridge, ſo that there all the reſt were diſpatch'd. This was the ſucceſs of the Baſtion, which was bravely carried. There was there ſlain *Cæſar de Naples*, a Nephew of the Duke of *Alva*, and among the Priſoners Signior *Sigiſmondo de Gonzaga*, and Captain *Lazaro*; Lieutenant of the Duke of *Alva*'s Guards, with ſeveral others, whoſe names I have forgot. I muſt now return to the breach, which to ſpeak the truth was reaſonable enough. It was aſſaulted at the ſame time with the Baſtion, as it ought to be, where though all theſe Princes and Lords behav'd themſelves with very great bravery, mounting the breach themſelves to encourage the Soldiers, yet did they within gallantly defend it, and ſent us back again very well beaten. Here was ſlain the Count *de Creance*, and ſeveral others bore him company; yet knowing what had been done on the other ſide it comforted us a little, and gave every one hope that we ſhould bring about our deſign. Being mounted upon the Platform of the Bulwark which was left entire, I ſent *Duno* to tell Monſieur *d'Aumale* that he muſt lodge three or four pieces of Canon upon this Platform, to thunder the Enemy in the Town; which accordingly was preſently done, ſo that in the morning they all began to play.

Three Princes at this Siege.

Here there is wanting ſeveral particularities of this Siege writ by Monſieur de Montluc, *as appears by the ſixth Book.*

This ſo much aſtoniſh'd thoſe within, that they began to lay their hands upon their hearts, and to parly. In the end the Capitulation was concluded; and alſo for the Caſtle, againſt which (to ſave the Governor's honor) we made fifty Canon ſhot. In the mean time news was brought that Monſieur *de Termes* was coming in the quality of the Kings Lieutenant, which gave great occaſion of diſcourſe, and ſeveral reaſons were by ſeveral men given for this change. The next day about noon came a Secretary of the Mareſchal *de Briſſac* call'd *Verbin*, with letters to all the Princes, wherein he excus'd himſelf, aſſuring them that this command of Monſieur *de Termes* did not proceed from him; And the ſaid *Verbin* told me from the Mareſchal, that he earneſtly entreated me to ſpeak to all the Princes, that they might not entertain that opinion of him; which I did, though perhaps I had not that credit with them that ſeveral others had: but I know not how it came to paſs, I have ever had more than I could hope for. Now you ſhall hear what was made of one word onely that I ſaid to this *Verbin*. The thing I ſaid to him was this, that Monſieur *de Gonnort*, *de Gourdon*, and I conceiv'd the Mareſchal might do well to write to the King, that his Majeſty would pleaſe for a few dayes to defer the coming of Monſieur *de Termes*, being that perhaps theſe Princes would make a difficulty of obeying a Gentleman (the ſaid Sieur *de Termes* having as yet no other title) which might perhaps cauſe them to leave the Army, a thing they could not do without drawing ſo many people along with them, as might be prejudicial to his ſervice. This was every tittle of what I ſaid to him: but this honeſt man went, and told the Mareſchal, that I had flatly told him, that I would not obey Monſieur *de Termes*, which God knows was the furtheſt end of my thought; for I had formery obeyed him, and was not now ſo high in the inſtep as to play the Prince. He

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s advice is inſiſted.

was ever a very great friend both to me and to all my Brothers, and has as great an eſteem for me, if not greater, than any Gentleman of *Guienne*, and we have ever liv'd together at this rate.

This paſt after this manner, and we marched ſtraight to *Montcalvo*, expecting the arrival of *Monſieur de Termes*, who came to the Siege, and behav'd himſelf with great modeſty; for he was very diſcreet, and would never take upon him to command. We laid Siege to the Caſtle (for the Town was carried at the firſt, neither indeed was it ſtrong) and batter'd by the baſe of a Baſtion on the right hand the Gate: but it was impoſſible to do any good by making a breach there, foraſmuch as we muſt have ſtorm'd it with Ladders; ſo that our people having made an attempt were repulſ'd. I went then in the night to diſcover the Ditch, and went ſo far as under the very Draw-bridge, which was cloſe under the Wall, to ſee if there were not a Flancker that defended the Gate, and found that there was one below, which played all along the Ditch: the Enemy threw down fire-works upon me, and there hurt me a Serjeant of the Company of Monſieur *de Lieux* my Brother; and yet we were no more than three that entred into the Ditch.

Moncalvo diſcovered.

At my return I conſulted with Monſieur *de Caillac* to place two pieces of Canon upon the Counterſcarp, juſt overagainſt the Gate, to the end that we might ſhoot directly againſt the beams to which the chains were faſtned, that the draw-bridge might fall down, after which we ſhould ſoon beat down the Gate on the inſide. We told all this to Monſieur *d'Aumale*, who gave us leave to do as we thought fit. The night following we lodg'd the Gabions, and three pieces of Canon, which was done by one of the clock at night. All the Princes came to ſee our work, and Monſieur *d'Anguien* taking me about the middle ſaid to me, *You have formerly been my Soldier, I will now be yours.* *Sir*, ſaid I, *you are very welcome, neither ought a Prince diſdain to play the Pioneer in time of need; here is work for you.* Monſieur *de Coſſé* came preſently after, whom I took by the hand, and led him to ſee all that we had done, when after theſe Princes and Lords had ſeen all, they retir'd themſelves to repoſe till day, and I remain'd upon the place. In the morning when the Captain of the Caſtle ſaw himſelf cooped up after this manner, he began to ſound a Parley, and ſurrendred upon free quarter, with bag and baggage, and liberty to draw away a little piece of Artillery to ſave his honor. The Capitulation being ſigned, he preſently march'd, and went ſtraight to *Pont d'Aſtoure*, where their Camp-Maſter Don *Arbro* lay, who gave him no leiſure to enter any houſe to give an account of his fortunes but immediately hang'd him up, as he deſerv'd; for at leaſt he ought to have endur'd an aſſault, which if he had, upon my word he had found us enough to do.

Moncalvo ſurrendred.

The Governor hang'd.

You who put your ſelves into places, beware never ſo ſoon to enter into fear, and though your enemy may have playd his game very well, and that you have reaſon to ſuſpect your own condition to be dangerous enough; yet if there be never ſo little poſſibility of defending your ſelves, rouſe up your ſpirits, and do the beſt you can, entrench your ſelves within, and conſider that your enemy is more afraid to attaque you, than you are to defend your ſelves; for it muſt be a very ill place indeed, if you have not ſome means to withſtand an Aſſault, ſeeing you durſt hold out a Battery. Do not think to ſave your honors by carrying away a Flag, or ſome ſmall piece of Artillery, as this Captain did: for all this is of very little moment, and he who lies before you will eaſily grant ſuch trifles as theſe, provided he has his end, and you the loſs and ſhame. Do but think what ſorrow and repentance this poor Captain, who ſo eaſily ſurrendred himſelf, had upon the Gallows, and if then he would not rather have choſen to have died in the Breach. When you have done all that men of honor can do, there is then no remedy, you muſt ſubmit.

The importance of *Moncalvo*.

The taking of this place was of very great importance, for *Montcalvo* bridled and kept in awe, not onely *le pont d'Aſtoure*, but alſo all the places upon the River *Pau*, and in the plain of the Marquiſate of *Montferrant*, and moreover very much aſſur'd *Cazal*. The Army ſtaid there ſeven or eight daies, during which time news was brought to the Princes, and to Monſieur *d'Aumale*, that the King was ſomething diſſatisfied at the diſobedience I made mention of before. I alſo was put into the fine ſtory, ſome honeſt man having done me that good office, as to affirm that I was the Incendiary, and the greateſt Mutineer of all, which (how falſe ſoever) was ſo far believ'd, that the Conſtable ſent me a letter, wherein he writ, that the King had commanded him to ſend me word, that I ſhould forthwith retire to my own houſe, and that he would not I ſhould any more intermeddle in this expedition. This did not much aſtoniſh me, for I knew the King would do me the honor to hear my juſtification: but the Mareſchal *de Briſſac* was however ſo kind as to ſend his Brother Monſieur *de Coſſé* to Court, by whom he aſſur'd his Majeſty of the contrary to what he had been inform'd againſt me; with which the King was ſatisfied, and

The Sieur de *Montluc* traduc'd to the King.

acquitted

acquitted me at my arrival: (for this occaſion'd me a Journey to Court) where his Majeſty received me with as much favour as ever, particularly enforming himſelf from me of the affairs of *Piedmont*, and eſpecially about the Princes in our Army, with whom he was not very well ſatisfied: but I had a care of prating too much, for as much as I was ſure either the Conſtable, or Madam *de Valentinois* would have known it, and ſo from hand to hand it would have been carried about, that *Montluc* had been the Author.

A caution for ſuch as have the privilege to talk with their Princes.

O that a man that lives amongſt the great ones had need to be diſcreet, and to carry his cup even! Theſe tale-carriers have never any good meaning with them: they would have done as much by Monſieur *de Strozzy* at my return out of *Italy*, and it was well for me that I ſpoke diſcreetly of him; for both the Queen and he took it very kindly at my hands: if you know any thing of importance to your Maſters ſafety, or his ſervice, you are obliged in fidelity and duty to give him notice of it; but to go and tattle to him ſaying, Sir, ſuch a one does not do well, ſuch a one goes negligently about his buſineſs, ſuch a one does this and that, you very well deſerve to have your throat cut: for great perſons are not to be talk'd of at that rate; and he that told the King I was the occaſion of the diſorder in the Army, was no better than a Raſcal, for there was no ſuch thing: but it is no wonder people ſhould make ſuch ſtories of me who am but a poor Gentleman, when they dare to ſlander Princes and others the greateſt Nobility of the Nation. Theſe are ordinary things at Court, and 'tis there a kind of trade; foraſmuch as the depreſſion of one is the advancement of another: they play at *thruſt out the harlot*, where the *weakeſt go to the walls*. There is no remedy, a man muſt run through this inconvenience, for a good heart cannot ſtay at home, and he that will warm himſelf, muſt either approach the fire, or the Sun. Our Sun is the King that illuminates and warms us with his raies whereſoever we are; if any one ſtep in before you, you muſt arm your ſelves with patience, and the Duke of *Guiſe* his Motto *Chacun a ſon tour*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* his Motto.

After I had ſtaid ſome time at Court I took leave of his Majeſty, and retir'd home to my own houſe, where I remained five or ſix moneths in repoſe, and when I was buſie about ordering the affairs of my Family (which I never had leiſure to look into,) his Majeſty diſpatched away a Courrier to command me to come poſt away to him, writing to me to ſend away my Train ſtraight to *Marſeilles*, without giving me the leaſt intimation whither he intended to ſend me. I forthwith obeyed his command, for I was never reſty, and being come to Court, I there found two Gentlemen of *Sienna*, who were come in the behalf of their whole Country, to beſeech his Majeſty to ſend me to command them, making great complaints of Monſieur *de Soubize*; not that he any way tyrannized over them, or did them any injury, but by reaſon he had loſt ſome places belonging to their State, though I believe Monſieur *de Soubize* had done all that in him lay, but no one takes any loſs whatever in good part, and all the world judges of things by the event. At my arrival the King told me that I muſt return to *Montalſin* to be his Lieutenant General there. I conteſted a great while not to go, not that the command was not highly honorable: but I was afraid I ſhould *embark without Biſcuit*, and to ſpeak the truth, whoever would do his buſineſs well, muſt not go ſo far from home; for a man is never remembred at that diſtance. If any thing preſents it ſelf for your advancement, you are ſure never to hear of it; but for the acquiring honor and renown 'tis often better to be further off, than near at hand. Your fame ſhall more encreaſe, and you will be more honored and eſteemed by Strangers than your own Countrey-men. On the other ſide I had more mind to be employed in the Wars of *France* near to his Majeſties perſon: but no excuſes would be allowed, neither indeed could I heartily deny my good Maſter. The *Siennois* ſo ſoon as they ſaw that I was come, were again importunate with his Majeſty to ſend me away, ſpeaking much more in my commendation than I could any way deſerve: without further delay then I departed, and took my way to *Marſeilles*, where I found ſeven Enſigns of foot the King was ſending away to *Rome* under the command of Monſieur *de la Molle*, in which Regiment my eldeſt Son *Marc Antoine* had a Company, and Captain *Charry* another. The Baron *de la Garde* embarked us, and landed us at *Civita Vechia*, where I immediately took poſt and went to *Rome*.

The *Siennois* ſend again to the King for Monſieur *de Montluc* to command them.

Monſieur *de Soubizade*.

Now Cardinal *Caraffa* being come into *France* to entreat the King, that if there ſhould be occaſion at *Rome* for the Popes ſervice I might make ſome ſtay there, his Majeſty commanded me ſo to do, and I found the Cardinal already come to *Rome* before me, where I was very welcome to the Mareſchal *de Strozzy*, to the ſaid Cardinal and the Duke *de Palliano* his Brother, by whom I was the next morning carried to kiſs the Popes feet, who made exceeding much of me, asking of me ſeveral particularities concerning *France*. The Duke of *Alva* had his Camp already within twenty miles of *Rome*, and the ſaid Cardinal had made a Levy of three thouſand *Swiſs*, who were already come thither. I was ever of opinion

The Duke *de Alva* againſt the Pope.

opinion that we ſhould march out into the Field, ten miles from the City, and there to encamp our ſelves, till ſuch time as the Duke of *Alva* ſhould approach the walls of the City, ever fearing that would happen that did fall out, though Signior *Cornelio Urſino*, who govern'd the affairs of war for the Pope, would never hearken to my advice; but began to deſign Fortifications within the City, near to the wall, where I had a Poſt aſſign'd me. Above three weeks paſt, the Duke of *Alva* never approaching nearer than five or ſix miles, during which time the *Romans* every night gave the Alarm amongſt themſelves, ſo that nothing was to be ſeen, but people running ſome towards *St. Peters*, others to the Palaces of the Cardinals who were of the Spaniſh Faction, and in my life I never ſaw ſo great diſorder. This People are not very warlike; they are alſo compoſed of ſundry Nations, I think they are not of the Race of the *Ceſars*, *Cato's*, *Scipio's*, and other brave *Romans*, there are too many delights and luxuries amongſt them to produce many men of war. Now the Cardinals of *Armagnac* and *du Bellay*, *de Lanſac*, and *de Avanſon*, were of opinion, that if I made a ſpeech to the Captains who commanded in the City, to acquaint them with the order I had obſerv'd at *Sienna*, they would take it better from me than from any other, both they and all the City remembring the reputation I had acquir'd at that Siege, and the Mareſchal *de Strozzy* and Cardinal *Caraffa* being alſo of the ſame opinion, they cauſed all the chief men of the City, their Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns to aſſemble in the baſe Court of Monſieur *d'Avanſon*, who was then Ambaſſador there, and there in the preſence of the ſaid perſons I made them the following Oration in Italian. Monſieur *de Lanſac* is yet living, who ſo ſoon as I had done, told me, *that he could never have believ'd that a Gaſcon could have made ſo good an Italian.*

The people of *Rome* nothing warlike.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Harangue to the *Romans.*

" Gentlemen, ſince the time that the Duke of *Alva* is approached ſomething near unto " your City, it appears to us *French* that you have conceiv'd ſome new apprehenſion, and " without any great cauſe, inſomuch that upon the leaſt Alarm you enter into an extraordi- " nary fear and aſtoniſhment; ſo that ſhould the Enemy approach your walls whilſt you " are in this confuſion, they might enter at pleaſure without any great oppoſition; " foraſmuch as when you ought to keep ſilence in your City, eſpecially in the night, and " that you ought rather to run to your walls, than to ſhuffle your ſelves into the ſtrange " diſorder you do; you on the contrary run ſome to S. *Peter*, others to the Churches, and " others to the Palaces of the Spaniſh Cardinals, with the greateſt confuſion in the world. " This muſt of neceſſity proceed from one of two cauſes, either from want of courage, or " from a defect in your conduct, in that you do not ſtrictly command ſuch order as your " people ought to obſerve both by day and by night in a time of danger. If you do it " for want of courage, it is then a ſign you have not well conſider'd what people your ene- " mies are: and what can they be other than men as you are? do not we bear the ſame " arms they do, and are they not as good as theirs are? are not they as vulnerable and as " ſubject to die by our blows as we are by theirs? Is not the Pope's quarrel holy and juſt, " and better than theirs? This ought to make us hope that God is on our ſide. And " what part or portion has the King of *Spain* in *Rome*, what right or title to any of the " Pope's Territories, or to your habitations, that God ſhould aſſiſt him more than us? " What is become of the valour of thoſe ancient *Romans*, who have left you the great re- " nown they acquir'd in their dayes? What other Nation does now inhabit *Rome*, that " may have depriv'd you of the courage left you by thoſe, from whom you pretend to be " from all antiquity lineally deſcended? Oh Gentlemen, how infinitely do you wrong the " reputation of your famous Anceſtors in diſcovering your ſelves to be afraid of people " who are no other than men as you are? And you do your enemies the greateſt kind- " neſs imaginable, in giving them occaſion to boaſt, that they are terrible to thoſe " who formerly made all the Nations of the world to tremble at their arms. If this fear " proceed from the evil order you have hitherto eſtabliſhed, there is nothing ſo far amiſs, " that in one day may not eaſily be remedied, for by entring into preſent conſultation " from whence this default proceeds, the buſineſs is done: and ſo you ſhall manifeſt to " all the world, that it is not want of bravery, but of good diſcipline; and your people " ſhall recover heart, ſeeing themſelves ſecur'd by the good orders you ſhall give. Do not " think it ſtrange if I declare that I am aſham'd of what I ſee in your City, when ha- " ving been formerly in *Sienna* commanding a People beſieged by the Marquis of *Mari-* " *gnano*, with forces double to what the Duke of *Alva* has, I can ſay to the great honor " of the *Siennois*, that in all that time I never obſerved ſo much as any one Citizen afraid. " Happy are thoſe *Siennois* who have manifeſted themſelves to be extracted from, and " the true legitimate Sons of your ancient Fathers, who founded theſe walls and theirs " alſo, as they have themſelves aſſured me, and do alſo bear the ſame arms you do. And

Praiſe of the *Siennois.*

" although

"although their City be loſt, their valour and renown is not for all that buried nor ob-
"ſcur'd, but fit to give every one hopes that it may one day be recover'd by their valour
"and virtue: whereas if you behave your ſelves no better hereafter than hitherto I have
"ſeen you do, I cannot forbear to tell you, that I would ſooner undertake to defend *Si-*
"*enna*, with the women of that City only to fight under my command, than to defend
"*Rome* with the beſt *Romans* you have. Pardon me (I beſeech you) if I tell you the truth:
"for I do it not for any advantage I expect ſhould accrue either to the King my Maſter
"or to my ſelf; but for your own good, and to prevent the total ruine of your City,
"which if it ſhall be aſſaulted by your enemies; will be miſerably ſack'd, and worſe
"handled, then it was in the dayes of Monſieur *de Bourbon*. You may be confident,
"Gentlemen, that could I take any pleaſure in your ruine, I ſhould not now make you
"this remonſtrance in the preſence of theſe honorable perſons: but being ſorry, as your
"ſervant (you being good friends and confederates of the King my Maſter) and deſiring
"to die with you for your conſervation, I am conſtrain'd to be thus plain, and to ſay
"this to you I have done; theſe Gentlemen the Kings Miniſters having aſſur'd me,
"that you would take it better from me, than any other, for the eſteem you have of me
"ſince the Siege of *Sienna*. I beſeech you therefore take my advice, and in any thing
"I may be aſſiſting to you, upon the leaſt ſummons I will immediately attend you in
"your counſel. 'Tis poſſible the remembrance of the Sack of your City by the Seignieur
"*de Bourbon* may have put you into ſome apprehenſion; but you are to conſider that you
"were then ſurpriz'd; but you have now your weapons in your hands. Doubt nothing,
"fear not your enemies, but divide your City, and appoint every one his place to repair
"unto upon occaſion, to the end that your own confuſion do not deprive us of the means
"to relieve you, if the enemy preſent himſelf to the aſſault: diſpoſſeſs your Citizens of
"their fear, if they be afraid, that there may be no confuſion, and for the reſt trouble
"not your ſelves; for knowing the good order you have taken, you ſhall ſoon ſee your
"enemies fore'd to retire. They all return'd me very many thanks, and ſo departed, aſ-
ſuring us that they were going to give ſuch orders, that the accidents which had hapned
before ſhould never be again, earneſtly intreating me to come the next morning to their
Councel, and that there they would ſhew me the order they were going to take, to receive
thereupon my opinion and advice. Which was accordingly done, and we altogether
provided ſo well for their affairs, that there was no more mention of fear, nor ſign of
diſorder. I went to the heads of the people, and ſhewed them what they were to do,
whom I found chearful enough in the buſineſs: yet this great multitude is compoſed of
divers humors, but a man may reduce them all to one, when they ſee it is for their own
good and ſafety. In ſhort, all things were very much better, which the Pope alſo took
exceeding well at my hands.

Now a few dayes after the Duke of *Alva* remov'd his Camp, and took his way to- The Duke of
wards *Tivoly* twelve miles diſtant from *Rome*. I know not whether becauſe he under- *Alva* retires.
ſtood the City ſtood better upon its Guard than before, and that the order of things was
changed there, or that his intention was not to approach any nearer to the City. And be-
ing that in *Tivoly* was Signior *Franciſco Urſino* with five Italian Enſignes, and that the
Town was not ſtrong, the Mareſchal, the Cardinal *Caraffa*, and the Duke *de Palliano*
were afraid that the Duke of *Alva* was gone to take *Tivoly*, and cut all thoſe in pieces
within it, which was the reaſon that they entreated me to march all night to go fetch off
the ſaid Signior *Franciſco*, giving me the two Troops of light horſe of the Popes Guards,
two Troops of horſe of the Duke *de Paliano*, commanded by the Captains, *Bartolomeo* and
Ambroſio, and four hundred Harquebuzeers under the command of my Son *Marc Antony*, *Marc Antony*,
and Captain *Charry*. Cardinal *Caraffa* had aſſur'd me upon his honor, that the Enemy eldeſt Son to
could not paſs the *Tiber*, and that I might make my retreat at pleaſure, having evermore Sieur *de Mont-*
the *Tiber* betwixt the Enemy and me. By Sun-riſe I was at *Tivoly* with the Horſe, and the *luc*.
Foot arriv'd two hours after, where I found that Signior *Franciſco* had heard no manner
of news of the enemies, and after I had told him, I was in no ſmall doubt what would be-
come of us; for I very well knew before I ſet out from *Rome*, that the Duke of *Alva* had
taken the way of *Tivoly*, and now perfectly underſtood, that he came privately to ſurprize
Signior *Franciſco*, foraſmuch as he had had no intelligence of his motion. I therefore eating
only a ſnap or two, cauſing the horſes to be baited, and the foot to have a little refreſh-
ment, ordered Signior *Franciſco* to cauſe the Drums to beat, that we might preſently diſ-
lodge, and put our ſelves into the field, entreating him to lend me a Troop or two of his
people who were acquainted with the Countrey, for that my ſelf would go play the Scout,
whilſt every one was making himſelf ready to depart: and it was well for me I did ſo;
for Signior *Franciſco* having ſent out two of his men to diſcover, they return'd as we ſate

at

at dinner, and had brought word that there was no news of any Enemy in all the Countrey; but I would not truſt to that, and therefore went with my two Troopers, when ſo ſoon as I was out of *Tivoly* upon a ridge of a hill, I plac'd my ſelf under a Tree, for it began to be very hot, when preſently all along a little Copſe, I perceived a great number of horſe marching ſtraight down to the *Tiber*, and others in a valley, who came directly towards me, and in the midſt of a plain on this ſide the little Copſe, I ſaw ſomething which I could not diſcern what it ſhould be; I then preſently ſent word to Signior *Franciſco*, that I had diſcover'd the Camp, and that he ſhould in all diligence get his men out of the Town, and march them away on the other ſide of the *Tiber*. The Soldier whom I had ſent to carry him this intelligence was ſcarce got into the City, when behold eighteen or twenty *Spaniſh* Enſigns, who were laid down in the Plain, got up, and put themſelves upon their march. I then gallopped away my ſelf, where I found, that as yet not ſo much as one man was got out of the City; and haſted the *Italian* Enſigns with all diligence to march away, cauſing the gate of the City to be ſhut, and there I played a very cunning trick, for I carried the keys along with me, thinking the enemy could not of a long while break down the gates; for the *Tiber* paſſed through the middle of the Town, where there is a Bridge, and very fair and good Mills in the City it ſelf, which I had cauſed to be begun to be broken from my firſt arrival; but that work could not be finiſht. I left Captain *Charry* at the Gate, and my Son *Marc Antony* at the Bridge to ſuſtain him, and I went and came running to and fro to haſten the *Italians* to march, when ſo ſoon as they were all out of the Gate I went to draw off Captain *Charry*, and we began to break the Bridge, which was of wood, and immediately the Enemy was in the City. I placed Harquebuzeers all along in the houſes that looked into the ſtreet, the Soldiers uſing extraordinary diligence to break the Bridge, after which I marched directly to the Gate. I had placed the Cavalry before the *Italians*, and we were inevitably to paſs through the ſtreight of the Rocks, where we could only paſs one by one. Till we came to the going out of the Gate we had the Enemy continually upon us, and it is no more than fifty paces from the Gate to that ſtraight; ſo that ſeeing they could not themſelves get to us, but one by one, they gave us over, and returned to rifle the City. Their *Italian* foot came after the *Spaniards*, and thought to have entred the City to have had their ſhare of the ſpoil, but the *Spaniards* would never let them in, but held them in talk at the Gate whilſt they were buſie at their plunder. So ſoon as we came to the Pein I made my Son and Captain *Charry* with the four hundred Harquebuzeers turn on the right hand along the ridge of a Hill, about a thouſand paces diſtant from us, and the two Companies of the Duke *de Paliano*, telling them the myſterie, that in caſe the Enemy ſhould paſs the *Tiber*, they ſhould ſtill make forwards along the ridg towards *Rome*, and take no care for me. And indeed we had as good have loſt all the Enſigns Monſieur *de la Mole* had, as theſe four hundred Harquebuzeers, for they were the very flower of all the Companies. I was not got half a mile into the Plain, when behold all the Cavalry upon the banks of the *Tiber*, and their *Germans*, who began to paſs, and particularly ſome horſe by the Mill, where they could onely paſs one by one. I then gave all for loſt, for I was to retire twelve miles before the whole Army, and made no queſtion but that the Cavalry would carry over a great many of Foot behind them: but if I loſt the one, I would not loſe the other. Now Signior *Franciſco* marched ſtill at a good round rate, at about a Harquebuz ſhot diſtance from the *Tiber*, and the others along the ridg over againſt us. When fifty or threeſcore of the Enemies Horſe came up to us, I then took one of the Captains of the Guard with his Corner, whilſt the other ſtill march'd on in the rear of the Foot, cauſing them to mend their pace, and faced about upon the Enemy; who thereon made a halt; and ſo ſoon as I made a ſhew as if I would charge them, turn'd their backs to retreat, though I cannot imagine why, and I turn'd about to purſue my way. After that they never offer'd to come towards me, though more of their own people came continually up to them, but it was only three or four at a time: ſo that ſeeing me a good way advanc'd, they turn'd back again and fell to taking Cattle that were grazing in the fields. Now you muſt know what my deliberation was, by which you may ſee whether I had a mind to loſe my ſelf with theſe people, or to eſcape with our own. The Duke *de Paliano* had given me a grey Turk, that flew upon the ground, and was an extraordinary fleet one; my deſign therefore was to engage the Enemy with this Troop, and in caſe I ſhould ſee no poſſibility of ſaving that party, I would then retire to our own people, who were going directly to a Caſtle that held for the Pope, and in which there was a Garriſon, where I made account to ſecure moſt of the horſe, it being not above five miles to that Caſtle. Two dayes after a Trumpet told us that the Duke of *Alva* would never permit Signior *Aſcanio de la Corne* to paſs the *Tiber*, foraſmuch as he had not one Harquebuzeer, but *Germans*,

The Sieur *de Montluc* fetches off Signior *Franciſco Urſino* from *Tivoly*.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s diligence.

The Retreat.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s deſign.

Aſcanio de la Corne.

mans, all the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Foot being at *Tivoly*. And thus I retreated ſtraight to *Rome*, ſending to our people to come to us, and we rallyed at the Bridg neareſt to *Rome*, over which we paſſed, it being three hours within night when we came to *Rome*. This is the fortune I had in this Retreat.

When ever (Captains my Companions) you ſhall be in any place where you are the leaſt in doubt, never truſt to the report of others: for it is evermore the cuſtom at your firſt coming for every one to careſs you, and to entreat you to repoſe your ſelf: but do not do it; examine the place where you are, and diſcover it very well. One of the greateſt Captains the Emperor ever had (which was Signior *Peſcaro*) for truſting to the report of others at his arrival in a City of *Italy*, was taken; yet he had no leſs than four thouſand men with him, which was a great diſhonor to ſo great a Captain: though he laid the fault to another, as himſelf told me. Had I done ſo, Signior *Franciſco* had made me ſuffer a great diſgrace, and perhaps to have loſt my life. Signior *Peſcaro*.

Two nights after the ſaid Signiors gave me two Companies of *Italians* to conduct them to the Duke *de Somma* at *Baliſtra*, which ſtands by the Sea-ſide, ſix or ſeven miles behind *Marino*. I marched all night, having with me the two Companies of the Duke of *Paliſano*; and when I came there, gave order that our Horſe ſhould be baited, and ready in an hour and a half to return. The Duke *de Somma* would by all means have compelled me to ſtay that night, but he could by no means perſwade me to it; for I well imagain'd, that the Duke of *Alva* was not without ſpies at *Rome*, conſidering there were ſo many *Spaniards*, and others of the King of *Spains* Faction in the City; and therefore having eaten a bit or two, put my ſelf upon my way, which coming and going was five or ſix and forty miles, and arrived three hours within night at *Rome*. It was well for me I did ſo; for two hours before day there came ſix hundred horſe, and five hundred Harquebuzeers on horſeback to *Marino*, where they heard news that I was return'd. This was another good fortune that befel me, wherein there was no need that I ſhould have left my underſtanding at home. And I will now tell you of another that befel me ſix dayes after, though it is onely to make ſuch laugh as ſhall vouchſafe to read this Book, and the ſtory of my life.

Five or ſix dayes after this rencounter, the Duke of *Alva*'s Camp lying ſtill at *Tivoly*, The Baron *de la Garde* ſent word from *Civita Vechia* to the Mareſchal *de Strozzy*, that if he would ſend him four hundred Harquebuzeers, he would embark them in his Galleys, and land them at *Neptuno*, a very ſtrong place upon the Margent of the Sea, which flows into the ditches of it, and that there they might burn the Boats the Duke of *Alva* had brought thither wherewith to make a Bridg at *Oſtia*, to paſs over to this ſide of the *Tiber*, as he afterwards did. The Mareſchal therefore leaving this affair wholly to my direction, I ſent thither my Son *Marc Anthony*, and Captain *Charry* with the four hundred Harquebuzeers, who went in emulation of one another, and ſo ſoon as they came to *Civita Vechia* the Baron took them aboard, and accordingly went to land them at the ſaid *Neptuno*: but they could not poſſibly burn the Boats, foraſmuch as they had moved them into the Ditch, which was defended by the Fortreſs. Now (as the affairs of War depend upon od accidents) it fell out that the ſame day they arrived at *Neptuno*, where they ſtayd two dayes. I went in the Evening to walk without the Gate that leads towards *Marino*, where I met a man that came from thence, and ask'd him what he was; to which he made anſwer that he was a Beadſman belonging to the Hoſpital of *Marino*. I diſcover'd by his tongue that he was no *Italian*, which he alſo confeſt to me, telling me that he was a *Frenchman*, but ſo poor that he was reduc'd to the Hoſpital of *Marino*. I then asked him who was at *Marino*, to which he anſwer'd, that that very morning before he came away, Signior *Marc Antonio de Colonna* arriv'd with his Company of fifty men at Arms, having nothing with him more, neither Horſe nor Foot; (for the Companies of *Gens d'Arms* of *Italy* have no Archers belonging to them, as ours have.) *Marino* belongs to this *Marc Antonio*, whom I had heard of at *Rome*, where he had been decipher'd to me for a young Lord of twenty or two and twenty years of age, full of mettel, and rich to the value of fourſcore thouſand Crowns yearly revenue. *Paliano* was alſo his, which the Pope had taken from him, and given to his Nephew, who thereupon was called the Duke of *Paliano*, though he did not long enjoy that title, the other recovering it again not long after.

Marc Anthony and Captain *Charry* at *Civita Vechia*.

Marc Antonio de Colonna.

Being parted from my Hoſpitaller, it entred into my fancy that I might eaſily take this *Roman* Lord priſoner, and that if I could ſnap him I ſhould be made for ever, for I ſhould have at leaſt fourſcore thouſand Crowns for his Ranſome, which would not be thought unreaſonable, being no more than one years Revenue of his Eſtate. I walked then contriving with my ſelf, that Monſieur *de la Molle* ſhould go along with me with three

A pleaſant hope of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

three hundred Harquebuzeers only, whom I would leave in the mid-way at a Tower where were certain Sheds for the ſhelter of Cattle (for I had taken notice of the way going and coming from *Baliſtra*) and that I would take Captain *Ambroſio* Lieutenant to one of the Companies of the Duke *de Paliano*, with five and twenty of the beſt and fleeteſt horſe of his whole Company: that I would moreover borrow of Signior *Aurelio Fregoſa* his Lieutenant, and his Corner, with five and thirty Launces only of the beſt, and the beſt mounted he had. That I would leave Captain *Ambroſio* with the five and thirty Launces about a Harquebuz ſhot from Monſieur *de la Molle*, on that ſide towards *Marino*, and with thoſe of Signior *Aurelio* would go place my ſelf in Ambuſh under the Vines a little on the left hand the great high-way near unto *Marino*; which having done, I I would then ſend ſix Launces to give the Alarm a little before day to the City; upon which I made account that Signior *Marc Antonio* being young, and full of mettle, would not fail to ſally out, but would preciſely ſally by break of day, when my ſix Launceers would draw him into our Ambuſcado, with whom we would alſo run away in his ſight, would make him purſue me a main ſeeing a Colours, which he would be eager to take for the greater honor of his victory.

Aurelio Fregoſa.

Having thus contriv'd the buſineſs with my ſelf, I accounted him as ſure my priſoner as if I had already had him in my hands, and thereupon returning into the City, ſpoke to Signior *Aurelio*, who lent me his Lieutenant and his Corner, with the five and thirty Launces, I ſpoke to Monſieur *de la Molle*, and to Captain *Ambroſio*, and the Lieutenant of Signior *Aurelio* was called Captain *Alexis*. We appointed to meet in the beginning of the night at the Gate of the City: but I would diſcover nothing of my deſign either to the Mareſchal, or to any of thoſe I took along with me, till firſt we were got into the fields, and then I took aſide Monſieur *de la Molle*, and the Captains *Ambroſio* and *Alexis*, and acquainted them with the Enterprize, which they all three approved of, wherein we were one as wiſe as another. So that we thought the time long till we was there, they making the buſineſs wonderful eaſie, all of them affirming that they knew him, and were confident he would not fail to ſally. Thus then we ſet forwards, each Company apart, and mine alwaies the foremoſt, till we came to the Tower, where I left Monſieur *de la Molle*, and further behind a little Chappel Captain *Ambroſio*. Now ſo ſoon as Captain *Alexis* and I were come to the edge of the Vines near *Marino*, he would needs have his Enſigne to be one of the ſix that were to give the Alarm, and delivered the Colours to another: For which uſe I lent him a Gentleman of mine, and we clapt our ſelves down in a Mariſh (where in Winter there was alwaies water, but in Summer none at all) there being no other place where we could conceal our ſelves; and ſo the ſix marched up directly to the Gate of the City. Preſently the day began to appear, when hearing nothing of Alarm, I began to think that either Signior *Marc Antonio* would not be tempted out of his Quarters, or elſe that he was gone back.

Captain *Alexis* is a Grecian.

Now on the right hand of us there was a great valley, and I was got up to a little eminence, where was the ruines of ſome houſe or Chappel, and began to diſcern on the hill on the further ſide of the valley, three or four horſemen, who one while mov'd, and another while ſtood ſtill. I ſhew'd them to Captain *Alexis*, who was lower then I, and who thereupon ſent out two Launces all along by the Vines, upon the edge of the deſcent of the valley. I had not as yet caſt my eye into the valley, foraſmuch as the day but juſt began to break; but look'd always towards the mountain where theſe three or four horſe appear'd, about fifty paces diſtant from us: but when I turn'd my eye that way, I there ſaw three great parties of horſe, in the firſt whereof there might be a hundred or more, in the ſecond two or three hundred, and in the third ſeven or eight hundred horſe. Now you are to underſtand upon what account theſe came to be here, which was thus. As the Baron *de la Garde* landed our people at *Neptuno*, thoſe of the Town diſpatched away two Horſemen poſt to the Duke of *Alva* at *Tivoly*, who thereupon immediately ſent away Signior *de la Corne* with twelve hundred Horſe, and twelve Enſigns of Foot, who marched all night, and an hour before day arrived at this Valley, where they had made a halt till Signior *Antonio* could make himſelf ready, to whom he had ſent five and twenty Launces to make him mount to horſe, who coming to the Gate of the City, they there met with our ſix Soldiers (the day then but juſt beginning to break) where demanding of one another who they were for, they charged ours in ſuch manner that they were conſtrained to return back towards us, and to fly towards the road that leads from *Baliſtra* to *Rome*, where the Enemy purſued them over the *Roman* Plain even to *Rome* it ſelf, and there gave the Alarm to the Mareſchal and the whole City, who thereupon concluded that it was not poſſible but that I muſt be taken, and all thoſe loſt who were with me. Now ſo ſoon as Captain *Alexis* had called in his two Horſemen, we began our retreat

The Sieur *de Montluc* diſcovers the Enemy.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Avant Coureurs put to flight.

treat by the ſame way we came, when behold the hundred horſe in our Rear, the party of two or three hundred after thoſe, and the ſeven or eight hundred in the rear of them, who followed us at a good round trot, the Enſigns of Foot making all the haſte after they could; in which order they purſued us ſeven miles, till we came to Captain *Ambroſio*, with their Launces continually touch'd upon our horſe cruppers. I was upon the Grey Turk the Duke of *Paliano* had given me, one of the fleeteſt horſes I ever came on the back of, and the beſt leaper of a ditch: ſo that ſometimes I leapt out of the way into the fields on the right hand, and ſometimes on the left; and when we fled along the road, Captain *Alexis* and I were evermore in the Rear, and he that carried the Cornet in the Van; I ſtill all the way encouraging the Soldiers, and bidding them to fear nothing, now on the one hand, and then on the other, when the furtheſt that ever we were before the Enemy was not above three or four Launces length. Now ſo ſoon as we drew near to Captain *Ambroſio* he came out from behind the Chappel, ſeeing which I cried out to our people *volſe volte*, who thereupon immediately fac'd about, and I gave them a ſudden charge, beating them back to the other Body, who having ſeen our Ambuſcado had halted to diſcover what it might be, the two Bodies cloſing together, and making a ſhew as if they meant to charge us. I then ſaw that I had played the fool egregiouſly, in having given this charge, when as God would have it, Monſieur *de la Molle* preſented himſelf upon the road with his Harquebuzeers, which made the Enemy to ſtep ſhort, and forbear to charge me. Captain *Alexis* then ſaid to me, *Quelli primi checi ſequitano, ſono graci, per che lo ò inteſi à loro gridi. Me ne vo a vedere, ſi potero fermar li, per tratener mi con eſſi loro*, which he did, demanding to ſpeak with them upon their word, whilſt him in the mean time made Monſieur *de la Molle* march off his Foot, recovering a little deſcent, ſo that the Enemy could no more ſee what we did: when I order'd them to make towards the pillars of an Aqueduct, by which the *Romans* in former times conveyed their water to *Rome*, commanding the Horſe to keep ſtill in their Rear, at a good round trot, and all them to march as faſt as they could. I then return'd to Signior *Alexis*, having firſt coold my horſes mouth in a ditch by the Tower, whom I found after as freſh as he was but new taken out of the Stable. Now ſo ſoon as the two Troops were clos'd up together, and had made a halt, the great party behind did the ſame, and the Foot likewiſe halted, Captain *Alexis* ſtill talking with them. I could all this while from the place where I ſtood ſee our people, when ſo ſoon as I ſaw them got near to the Aqueducts, I call'd to Captain *Alexis*, ſaying to him *Retiriamo ſi, Capitano, retiriamo ſi*, upon which the Enemy asked him who it was that commanded in chief, whereupon naming me they began to exclaim, ſaying, that in eight or nine days time they had three times faild of taking me, which was at the retreat of *Tivoly*, at my return from *Baliſtra*; and now; which made Captain *Alexis* retiring laugh at them; when ſeeing him turn his horſe to go away, ſeveral of them call'd out to me *A dio Signior di Montluc, a dio*, and I alſo cried to them *a dio a dio*, who thereupon faced about, and went directly to *Marino*, where they heard news that the Baron *de la Garde* had reimbark'd our people, and was gone to *Civita Vechia*. Signior *Aſcanio* ſent me back three Launceers I had loſt by the way, but not their horſes; for as their horſes ſtumbled they fell down, when I leaping into the way with my Turk, ſtroke them upon the buttocks with the flat of my ſword, and made them cloſe up to the Party. He ſent them back by a Trumpet of his, who made us laugh, when ſpeaking of his Maſter, he ſaid, that had he known I had been of the Party, he would have accompanied me to the Gates of *Rome* to have taken me priſoner: but never by the way asked his Priſoners who commanded them till after we were got off. And the Trumpet moreover had told me, that had I been taken, I had not needed to fear that any one would have offer'd me the leaſt injury or offence; for I ſhould have been as much made on, and uſed with as much honor and reſpect, as in our own Camp. Neither indeed can it be ſaid, that ever any Priſoner went out of my hands, or any place where I had to do, diſcontented, or diſſatisfied with my behaviour to him, and it is a great baſeneſs to flea men to the bones, when they are perſons of honor, and bear arms; eſpecially in a War betwixt Prince and Prince, which is rather out of ſport than unkindneſs to one another.

The Retreat of Monſieur *de Montluc*.

The Error of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

After this manner I made my retreat to *Rome*, where after I had put off my Arms, I went to ſeek out the Mareſchal, the Cardinal *de Caraffa*, and the Duke *de Paliano*, whom I found in a houſe of the Town altogether, being newly return'd from the Palace of *St. Peters*, who all of them fell upon me, ſaying, that it ſeem'd as if I had a mind to loſe my ſelf out of wantonneſs, and that had they known of my deſign, they would have ſtopt my journey. They would then needs know the occaſion of my Enterpriſe, which I recounted to them from point to point; telling them that all the way as I went, I accounted *Marc Antonio* as ſure my priſoner as I was alive, and had already ſet his ranſome at fourſcore thou-

ſand

ſand Crowns, which had not been unreaſonable, being no more than one years revenue of his Eſtate, of which fourty thouſand I intended to give to Monſieur *de la Molle*, the Captains and Soldiers, and the other fourty thouſand I meant to keep to my ſelf, to purchaſe me an Eſtate in *France* ſomewhere near to the King, for *Gaſcony* was too remote from Court, and that I already fancied I had a houſe near *Paris*, of which I was ſo confidently perſwaded, that it would not out of my head of all night. At which account of my project they all burſt out a laughing to that exceſs, that I think they never laugh'd ſo much at one time in their lives, to think that I had made my ſelf ſo ſure of my prize, the ranſome, and purchaſing of Lands and Caſtles in the Iſle of *France*; whereupon the Mareſchal, who when he had a mind to rally alwayes ſpoke Italian, ſaid to me with a very good grace, *Signior quando che vi anderemo viſitar, faceti voi à noi altri tre bonn chiero nei caſtelli que volete comprare a preſſo parigi?* they were merry at my expence.

They were at this time buſie about ſending a diſpatch to the King, and ſent Monſieur *de Porrieres* of *Provence* to his Majeſty, who had his ſhare of laughing, and all the reſt that were with them. And as there are a ſort of people, who are prone to do more hurt than good, ſome honeſt man ſent news by the way of the Bank of *Lions*, that I had loſt all the Ropes Cavalry in the *Roman* Plain, and was my ſelf run away, no body knew whither, nor could any one hear what was become of me. I do believe theſe men are hir'd and ſuborn'd to diſperſe ill news, only to diſcourage thoſe of our party. This was writ by the Poſt from Lions to the Conſtable, and by him told the King, who was very much troubled at the news: and Monſieur *de Porrieres* being to paſs through the *Griſons* Countrey, could not arrive ſo ſoon at Court, but that the news was got thither four dayes before him, inſomuch that whereas the Mareſchal and the reſt had laughed at my folly, the King was very much offended with me, ſaying that it was the moſt ridiculous and ſenſeleſs piece of folly that ever was committed by man; adding moreover that I had hitherto been fortunate, but that now I had loſt my fortune, and my reputation, which he was very ſorry for; eſpecially that ſuch a diſgrace ſhould befall me at the Gates of *Rome*. This news was not kept ſo ſecret at Court, but that it was preſently carried into *Gaſcony*, where I leave you to judg how I was diſſected by them that did not love me: for one muſt be a God to have no Enemies, nor emulators, or elſe muſt take upon him to meddle with nothing but his Garden or his Orchard: But ſo ſoon as Monſieur *de Porrieres* arriv'd the King ſent for him into his Cabinet, where after he had read his letters of Credence, and his other diſpatches, finding therein not a ſyllable of this affair, and Monſieur *de Porrieres* making no mention of it neither, his Majeſty ſaid to him, *And what Monſieur* de Porrieres, *is* Montluc *heard of yet? he has made a pretty piece of work on't.* To which he made anſwer, that he had left me at *Rome*; whereupon the King proceeded and ſaid, that he knew that I had loſt all the Popes Cavalry, and was my ſelf run away. Monſieur *de Porrieres* was very much aſtoniſh'd at this news, and replied, that if this had hapned after his departure, it might be ſo, and yet he had been no more than nine dayes in coming. His Majeſty then made them look how long it was ſince this news came, which they did, and found it to be four dayes, at which the King ſaid he thought it was only a lye, and *Banker's* news, enquiring of Monſieur *de Porrieres* what piece of folly it was I had committed, who thereupon made anſwer (as he has himſelf told me ſince;) *Sir I will tell you, and I make no doubt but your Majeſty will laugh at it at much as we did*. after which he related to him the whole ſtory, and what I had ſaid at my return to the Mareſchal *de Strozzy*, Cardinal *Caraffa*, and the Duke of *Paliano*, at which I do aſſure you I have been told his Majeſty laughed very heartily, and more than he had been ſeen to do of a great while before, as alſo did the Conſtable, and all the reſt that were preſent, inſomuch that I was told the King above eight dayes after, ſeeing Monſieur *de Porrieres*, ſaid to him, *Well* Porrieres, *has* Montluc *purchaſed thoſe places about* Paris? and never call'd the ſtory to mind but he laughed. And as to what I ſay in my Book, that for theſe hundred years never any man was more fortunate in War than I have been, I pray examine and ſee if you will not acknowledge me to be ſo in theſe three occaſions, which in eight or nine dayes time befell me, one after another, (beſides ſeveral others you will meet with in this life of mine) to have eſcaped without loſs, three ſuch dangers, which were no little ones.

A falſe report ſpread at Court of the Sieur de *Montluc's* defeat.

Monſieur *de Porrieres* gives the King an account of the Sieur *de Montluc's* Enterprize.

A few dayes after the Duke of *Alva* underſtood that Monſieur *de Guiſe* was coming into *Italy* to ſuccour the Pope, which made him to retire his Camp a little nearer to the ſea, and afterwards he came and ſate down before *Oſtia*. The Mareſchal then march'd out of *Rome* with ſome Enſigns of *Italians*, two of *Germans*, and five or ſix of *French*; but the Pope would by all means that he ſhould leave him for his defence, my Son *Marc Anthony*

and

and Captain *Charry*, with their Companies. The Mareſchal went then and encamp'd on this ſide the *Tyber*, over againſt *Oſtia*, where he entrench'd himſelf. The Duke of *Alva* before his arrival had made his bridge, and erected a Fort above *Oſtia*, on the ſame ſide where the Mareſchal was encamp'd. I then ſent to him to know if he would have me come to him with five or ſix *Italian* and *French* Enſigns, but he would not permit me ſo to do, for fear leſt the enterprize of *Montalſin* might not as yet be fully ſifted to the bottom. And becauſe the ſaid Mareſchal, with thoſe *Italian* and *French* Companies he had with him, had not been able to diſcover the Enemies Fort, to ſee if there was water in the ditch or no, he was in the greateſt perplexity imaginable (for the Duke of *Alva* was departed from *Oſtia*, and retir'd towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, having left only four *Italian* Enſigns in the Fort, and as many in *Oſtia*) and therefore had caus'd Artillery to come from *Rome* to batter the ſaid Fort, and had ſent to intreat the Pope, that my Son and Captain *Charry* might come to him; which the Pope alſo granted to my great misfortune, and the ruine of my poor Son, who ſo ſoon as he and Captain *Charry* came before the Mareſchal, he complain'd to them, that he had not been able to diſcover the Fort. The next night it being my Sons turn to mount the Guard, he determin'd with himſelf to effect that wherein others had fail'd, and communicated his deſign to Captain *Charry* and the Baron *de Begnac*, who was alſo at that time upon the Guard. He fail'd not accordingly to execute his reſolution, for the next day ſeeing the Enemies ſally out, according to their cuſtom, to fetch in Bavins, he follow'd them, and without fear of the Harquebuze ſhot, purſued them fighting to the very ditch of the Fort; where he diſcovered as exactly, and with as much judgement as he had been an old Captain: but in his return, a curſed ſhot hit him in the Body, notwithſtanding which he went upon his own feet to the ſaid Mareſchals quarters, ſaying, that before he dyed, he would give an account of what he had ſeen. The ſaid Mareſchal ſo ſoon as he arriv'd at his Tent, laid him upon his own bed, where the poor Boy almoſt expiring, told him what he had ſeen, aſſuring him that the ditch was dry, whatever he might have been told to the contrary; preſently after which he gave up the Ghoſt. The Mareſchal the next day ſent his Body to the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, and the Sieur *de Lanſac* to *Rome*, who enterr'd him as honorably as he had been the Son of a great Prince. The Pope, the Cardinals, and all the people of *Rome* expreſt great ſorrow for his death. Had God been pleaſed to have preſerv'd him to me, I had made him a great Souldier; for beſides that he was very ſtout, I ever obſerv'd in him a diſcretion above his age. Nature had done him a little wrong, for he was but little, but ſtrong and well knit, and as to the reſt, eloquent and deſirous to learn. If the Mareſchal *de Coſſe* be yet living *Marc Anthony* ſerv'd under him at *Martamburg*, and he if he pleaſes can teſtifie, ſhould any one contradict what I write, whether I lye or no; and though it does not very well become Fathers to commend their own children, yet being he is dead, and ſo many witneſſes of the truth of what I deliver, I ſhall, I conceive, appear excuſeable and worthy to be pardon'd.

Monſieur *de Strozzy* at *Oſtia*

Marc Anthony de Montluc diſcovers the fort.

His hurt before *Oſtia*.

His death.

His honor at *Rome*.

His praiſe.

Now to execute the command the King had given me in *Tuſcany*, I ask'd leave of the Pope to go to *Montalſin*, who after great importunity, would permit me but for fifteen days only, making me leave my great horſes, and all my baggage behind, which Monſieur *de Strozzy* was faine to ſend out after me, ſaying they were his own, and by his own ſervants. The Cardinal of *Armagnac* alſo ſent me out my Sumpter Mules, cover'd with his own Sumpter-cloths, pretending to ſend them to the houſe of another Cardinal, where he us'd to ſtay ſometimes twelve or fifteen days together; by which means I got all my things out of *Rome*. During the time of my ſtay in thoſe parts, his Holineſs did me the honor evidently to manifeſt to all the world, that he repos'd a great confidence in me, and had my perſon in particular eſteem.

Upon my coming to *Montalſin*, Monſieur *de Soubize* departed and went to *Rome*, I found *Montalſin* in a manner beſieg'd; for at S. *Cricon* there lay ſome *Germans*; at the great Inn two Harquebuze ſhot above *Montalſin* was another quarter of the Enemy, and at a Palace three Harquebuze ſhot on the left hand, likewiſe another, as alſo in another towards *Groſſette*, within a mile of *Montalſin* another. All which were found ſeiz'd by the enemy at the time when the Truce came; ſo that the King was poſſeſt of nothing on that ſide, as far as the very gate of *Sienna*, which I think was the principal cauſe that the *Siennois* had Monſieur *de Soubize* in ſo little eſteem. It is much ado to pleaſe all the world, and though a man does all that in him lies, yet if all things do not ſucceed as people would have them, he does nothing: but I for my part ſhall neither accuſe nor excuſe him at all. The Truce which had been agreed upon for ten years between the King and the Emperor, yet continued: The affairs of theſe two Princes being ſo perplex'd

The *Siennois* diſſatisfied with Monſieur *de Soubize*.

plex'd and confus'd, that it had not been poſſible to conclude a peace, which was the reaſon that all Treaties of accommodation ended in a Truce only: but I had heard that Monſieur *de Guiſe* had taken his leave of the King, and was coming for *Italy*, which made me think, that although the ſuccours he brought along with him, were deſign'd for the Pope, yet that the Truce would nevertheleſs by that means be broken on the King's part, and therefore laid a deſign to go give a Scalado to the *Germans* at S. *Cricon*, a little Town four miles from *Montalſin*, intending from thence to go and ſurprize all the other forementionn'd places. I know not whether or not the *Germans* had any intelligence of my deſign, or whether they were not commanded away from thence, but ſo ſoon as I was got out of the City two hours within night, a Gentleman of *Sienna*, who had his houſe in *Cricon*, and whom I had ſent thither, came and brought me word that they were gone away in the beginning of the night. I ſent then to enquire news of thoſe at the Inn and the Palace, and found that all were march'd away at the ſame time, by which means we had liberty to go out a little more at large, as far as *Alteſſe*, a pretty ſtrong Caſtle about three miles from *Montalſin*, and near unto the road of *Sienna*. I went then to *Groſſette*, where Colonel *Cheramond*, who was Governor there, Lorded it over all that Countrey, as it had been his own, not acknowledging the *Siennois* at all: At which they were very much incenſt, and there we agreed that the Inhabitants ſhould acknowledge the Seigneury, and not him who was not to take upon him any Authority in that Countrey, that the King would not pretend to for himſelf: And thus in a few days all things were chang'd to the great ſatisfaction of thoſe of *Sienna*.

Cardinal *Burgos* Lieutenant for the King of *Spain* in *Sienna*.

Cardinal *Burgos* commanded in *Sienna* for the King of *Spain*, and had a deſign upon *Montalſin*, which he thought eaſily to carry, that ought to have been put in execution the ſame week that I came: but hearing that I was come, deferr'd it for a few days, to ſee if nothing was diſcover'd: when ſeeing nothing was come to light, he ſent for Captain *Montillou* a Spaniard, and Governor of *Pont-Hercole* to execute the deſign, when I having at the ſame time ſent out ſome horſe to forrage, they met with him, and took him, a Secretary of Cardinal *de Burgos*, and four ſervants, and brought them to me. They would very fain have excus'd themſelves, pretending to be taken contrary to the Truce, which as yet had not openly been broken; but I caus'd a ſervant of his ſecretly to be put upon the Rack, who confeſs'd, that he thought Cardinal *Burgos* had ſent for his Maſter to put in execution a deſign he had upon *Montalſin*. We could not diſcover what it ſhould be, but ſo ſoon as it was known at *Sienna* that Captain *Mantillou* was taken, it began to diſcloſe it ſelf, and ſo far, that a Gentleman of *Sienna* ſent his ſervant to me, to give me notice of the place by which they intended to give an aſſault; who came to the gate of the City, but would not come in, only he deſired to ſpeak with me. I then went out to him, taking *Meſſer Hieronimo Eſpanos* along with me, where he told us all, and that there were ſome *French* Soldiers of the Garriſon of the plot, and that if we ſearch'd well in the houſes neareſt that place, we might peradventure find the Ladders. We gave the fellow ten Crowns, and ſo he returned. *Meſſer Hieronimo Eſpanos* then and I went ſecretly to view the place, and as I remember we took Monſieur *de Baſſoonpierre* along with us, and obſerv'd that part of the wall to be very low, but that there was a Turret wherein were continually two Centinels, who being of the Conſpiracy, the taking of the place was eaſie, and more than eaſie. *Meſſer Hieronimo* then, who was at that time of the Magiſtracy, preſently appointed two men to ſearch the houſes neareſt to the place, who ſtaid not three hours before he brought us above a horſe-load of Ladders of ropes, the beſt and the fineſt made of any I had ever ſeen. In the houſe where theſe were found, no body had liv'd of a great while; but we knew very well, that people commonly went in and out, and further we could not diſcover. I then took order with the Serjeant Major, that he ſhould every night ſet four Centinels in the Turret, which alſo were continually to be choſen by lot. I do think, that would they have made an attempt by day, they might have done their buſineſs, and much better by day, than by night, being that from the great Palace, which was not above three Harquebuz ſhot from the Town, they might come all along thorough a little Valley, ſhaded with Copſe, cloſe up to the very wall.

The Sieur *de Montluc* diſcovers Cardinal *Burgos* his deſign upon *Montalſin*.

Phebus Turk.

About a month after A *Siennois* call'd *Phebus Turk*, came and addreſt himſelf to me, deſiring that he might tell me ſomething in private, whom I ſent for into my Wardrobe; I had nothing but a Dagger by my ſide, and when he came in, I perceiv'd him arm'd with a Coat of Mail; in my life I never ſaw ſo fierce a countenance of a man, ſo that I was once about to call ſome body in to me: When he ſtill telling me, that no one ſhould hear his buſineſs but my ſelf, I took heart at laſt, thinking my ſelf ſtrong enough to grapple with him, ſhould he attempt any thing againſt me. Where he told me, that the Cardinal of *Burgos* had often ſought to him to be aſſiſting in an Enterprize he had upon *Montalſin*

talſin, which at his importunity he had at laſt conſented unto, and that he had been himſelf twice to ſpeak with him in diſguiſe; having with him three Soldiers, who were alſo of the Plot, which he was to name to him a day before the ſaid execution, which alſo he was to execute before Don *Arbro de Cenda* ſhould arive who was coming to *Sienna* to command the Souldiery, and that if I would, he would order the buſineſs ſo, as to put them all three into my hands. In concluſion, we agreed it ſhould be within four days, and that he ſhould that very night return to *Sienna* to conclude the buſineſs with the Cardinal *de Burgos*, which being concluded betwixt us, I put him out of the Town over the wall, for the Gates were already ſhut, and in the morning diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger to Colonel *Charemond* at *Groſſette*, that he ſhould come the next day to *Pagamegura*, half way betwixt *Groſſette* and *Montalſin*; and the ſame day that I ſent away to the Colonel, I call'd in the Captains who were at *Chuze*, *Montizel*, and the Hoſpitallet by *Piance*, whom I ſwore upon the Crucifix to diſcover nothing of the Enterprize, and ſo ſent them back to make themſelves ready againſt I ſhould ſend for them: I then ſent away my light horſe to *la Rocque de Baldoc* under pretence of keeping Garriſon there, and the next day went to meet the Colonel at *Pagamegura*, with whom I concluded that he ſhould have four hundred Harquebuzeers in readineſs. My deſign was, that as the enemy ſhould give the Scalado, Colonel *Charemond* ſhould come behind them, and the Garriſons of *Chuze* and *Montizal* ſhould ſtep betwixt them and the Palace, and my Company alſo; and ſo ſoon as they ſhould be repulſed I was to ſally out upon them with four hundred men from the City. At my return from *Pagamegura* I found the ſaid *Phebus* return'd, but he ſaid not a word to me of all night, which gave me a little ſuſpicion of him. In the morning he came to tell me, that the Cardinal would not put the buſineſs in execution yet a few days, and ſo drave me off from day to day, till in the end I was adviſed to take him priſoner, and to compel him to diſcover the truth, he being no other than a crafty Rogue, ſent purpoſely to betray me: which I accordingly did, and clapt him into a cloſe Dungeon of the Caſtle, where by misfortune he found ſome piece of wood, or iron. Now becauſe he was a *Siennois*, I was willing to try if the *Siennois* themſelves could win him by fair means to tell the truth, which made me deferre putting him to the queſtion; but in the mean time with this piece of iron he broke through the wall, and fled away to *Sienna*; by reaſon of which accident I could do nothing conſiderable in this Enterprize. He was too cunning for me. I have nevertheleſs this obligation to him, that he has taught me in an affair of this importance, never to ſpare a Priſoner again, but to ſqueez out the ſudden truth: for without doubt this fellow was a Traytor.

Preparition and counter-mine of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

Phebus Turk taken priſoner.

After my arrival at *Montalſin* I procur'd Signior *Marioul de Santa Fiore* to return into his Majeſties ſervice, together with the Prior his Brother, who thorough ſome diſobligation had withdrawn themſelves from his dependance; We had been very intimate friends ever after the skirmiſh at *Sienna*, ſo that in the end I made ſhift to overcome him, and they went to Court, where the King receiv'd them with great demonſtration of favour and eſteem. His Majeſty gave him a Troop of light horſe, and the Prior a Penſion, who both of them afterwards were continually with me. At this time *Don Arbro de Cenda* contriv'd an Enterprize to come and take *Piance*, a little Town near unto *Montizel*, which I had cauſed to be repair'd after the beſt manner I could, and there lodg'd a Company of *Italians*. I therefore gave to Signior *Marioul* my own Company, and thoſe he had gathered together of his own, together with part of that of the Count *de Petillano*, and ſent him to *Piance* to fetch off the *Italian* Company I had left there, and to carry them to *Montizel*, where was Captain *Bartolomeo de Pezero*.

Marioul de Santa Fiore returns into his Majeſties ſervice.

Some few dayes before Don *Arbro* came out of *Sienna*, Captain *Serres*, who was Lieutenant to my Company of Light-horſe, and my Kinſman, had fought Captain *Carillon* Governor of *Bonconvent* in the ſight of *Montalſin*, who had with him ten men at arms of the Marquis of *Piſcara*'s Company, and the Enſign of the Company had eight Launces of a Company of light Horſe, and eight Harquebuzeers on horſeback, who were come to vapour before *Montalſin*, below in the Plain towards the Inn, not thinking there had been any Cavalry in *Montalſin*, for I had taken my Company along with me to *Groſſete*, and had ſent Captain *Serres* with eighteen Launces to ſcoure the field on the left hand towards *Sienna*, where they met and fought about *Chuze*, ſo that mine had the better. At his return Captain *Serres* went to repoſe himſelf a day or two at *Montalſin*, afterwards to come and find me out at *Groſſette*, and to conduct me back to *Montalſin*. Captain *Serres* then ſeeing himſelf thus brav'd by the Enemy, ſallied out with his eighteen Launces, two Gentlemen of *Sienna* arm'd with Coats of Mail, and two foot Soldiers that followed him: When ſo ſoon as Captain *Carillon* ſaw the Launceers he would have retir'd, Captain *Serres* always following in his Rear, when as Captain *Carillon* would paſs a narrow Rivo-

Captain *Serres*.

ler,

let, Captain *Serres* charg'd him with might and main, and ſo cloſe that he took them all, ſaving one Captain, who had his Compa[illegible] in *Bonconvent*. Theſe Harquebuzeers on horſe-back belong'd to him, and he receiv'd a ſhot from one of the two Harquebuzeers that went out with Captain *Serres* quite thorough the Body; but he got over the Rivolet, and another with him, who conveyed him to *Bonconvent*, where he died at the very gate of the Town, and all the reſt I kept priſoners at *Montalſin*.

Don *Arbro de Ceuda's* Enterprize upon *Piance*.

Don *Arbro* marched directly to *Piance* with three pieces of Canon, and two Culverins, which made me ſuſpect that he did not carry ſo much Artillery with him for *Piance*, it being not ſo ſtrong as to require Canon; and ſo ſoon as Signior *Marioul* underſtood that he was within three mile of *Piance* he went out with all the horſe to meet him, commanding the Captain who was there before in the mean time to draw out his Foot, and to make with all ſpeed to *Montizel*, which was no more but two miles from thence. In the mean time to hold the Enemy in play, he skirmiſh'd ſo briskly, and engag'd ſo far that he could not afterwards diſingage himſelf, but was charg'd by three Troops of their horſe at once with ſo great fury, that twelve or fourteen light horſe of my Company were there taken, of which Captain *Gurgues* who belong'd to the Mareſchal *de Strozzy* was one, and of thoſe of the Count *de Petillano*, and Signior *Marioul* as many, or more. After this bruſh, getting off the reſt, and coming to halt before *Piance*, he found that the Captain had not as yet got ſo much as one man out of Town, but the Enemy ſtill preſs'd upon him, and there again were ſome more Launces broken, whilſt the Captain in the Town was drawing out his men, till in the end he was again charg'd with all their horſe, and conſtrain'd to retire to *Montizel*. Captain *Serres*, and the Baron *de Clermon* my Nephew, who carried my Cornet, eſcap'd to the little Hoſpital. The foot Captain loſt the third part of his Company of thoſe who had been ſlow in getting out, and he with his Enſign and the remainder of his men eſcap'd, and made head at the paſs of a little River, by that means giving Captain *Bartolomeo* time to come in to relieve him; (for it was within ſight of *Montizel*) as alſo Signior *Marioul* who was yet retreating before the Enemies Horſe. This a man gets by skirmiſhing at the head of an Army (as I have ſaid before) and by retreating by day in the face of an Enemy ſtronger than himſelf.

Don *Arbro* having ſtaid three dayes at *Piance*, he parted thence in the beginning of the night, and with torches took his way thorough a valley that leads towards *La Rocque de Baldoc*. Signior *Marioul* was gone poſt to *Rome* to fetch ſome Launceers that had been promiſ'd him to repair his Company, but the Prior was with me the night that Don *Arbro* departed. The Prior and I had been abroad on horſeback to take the Air without the Gates of *Montalſin*, when night coming on we turn'd about to go home, diſcourſing by the way what Don *Arbro* intended to do with this great Artillery: upon which diſcourſe it preſently came into my head, that it was to go aſſault *La Rocque de Baldoc*, in which place there was a *Florentine* Captain, Monſieur *de Soubize* had placed Governor there, whom I had in ſome ſuſpicion, foraſmuch as the Gentlemen of *Sienna* who were with me, had told me that they had heard he had ſent twice to *Florence*. So ſoon therefore as we came near to the Gates of *Montalſin*, I commanded two light-horſe of my Company to go and ſcout all along upon the Hills betwixt *Piance* and *la Rocque*, and not to ſtir from thence till break of day, unleſs they ſhould diſcover the Enemy upon motion.

Monſieur *de Guiſe* in *Italy*.

Now ſome dayes before this, Monſieur *de Guiſe*, who was come to *Rome*, and was already march'd towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, had ſent to call away *Charemon* with his Company at the requeſt of the *Siennois*, who could not agree with him, and had ſent me Monſieur *de la Molle* Captain *Charry*, and three or four other Companies in his room, as alſo he had ſent for ſome of mine; and had given the Government of *Groſſette* to Monſieur *de la Molle*. I was ſcarce laid down in my bed, when my two light horſe return'd telling me that Don *Arbro* was marching by Torch-light along the Valley I ſpoke of before towards *la Rocque*: whereupon I immediately acquainted the Prior with the news, and preſently got to horſe with all the Cavalry we could make, commanding Captain *Andre Caſteaux*, Nephew to the Cardinal of *Tournon*, to march his Company without Baggage in all haſte after me, and that he ſhould march through the woods, to which end I gave him two Gentlemen of *Sienna* to be his Guides. In the mean time, and an hour before day I arriv'd at *la Rocque de Baldoc*, and by break of day came *Andre Caſteaux* with his Company, who was ſcarcely entred in, when the Avenues were all ſeiz'd by the Enemy, and the Guides taken, who had led me the way, as they were upon their return, together with the Quartermaſter of my Company, from whom the Enemy learn't that I had put my ſelf into it. I then diſpatcht away two Peſants through the woods to *la Groſſette*, by whom I writ to Monſieur *de la Molle*, that he ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed go, and put himſelf into *Montalſin*, and that he ſhould there command as the Kings Lieutenant; for

that

that I was ſhut up in *la Rocque*, and reſolv'd to defend the place. Don *Arbro* quarter'd his Camp at *Avignon* over againſt *la Rocque*; and there ſtaid three dayes debating with himſelf whether he ſhould attaque me, or no: but in the end he reſolv'd to retire, knowing with whom he had to do, and ſaying, *Juro a Dios, q' quel Capitan tiene alguns Diabolos en ſu poder, o ai algun tradidor tras nos otros & ſi lo puedo ſaber yo tengo de cortar li los braſſos, y los piernos*: this was his care, but my mind was evermore at work, and day and night meditating what I ſhould do if I were in my Enemies place: he has the ſame underſtanding that you have, and ſtratagems as well as you; ſo that meditating of what he meditates, you ſhall often jump, and by that means counterplot to what he his plotting againſt you: whereas if you ſtay expecting what he will do, you ſhall very often be ſurpriz'd. You ought therefore to be in a perpetual jealouſie of your Enemies deſigns, and ſtill gueſſing at what he intends to do, whether to attaque this place, or that part: if I were in his ſtead I would do this thing or that, and often conſult your Captains; for it may fall out, that he of whom perhaps you have the leaſt opinion, may often give you the beſt advice. But in the end *Don Arbro* return'd, and went to quarter his Army at *Alteſſe*, which is no more than three miles from *Montalſin*, where ſeeing his deſign I return'd to my own Quarters, and ſent Monſieur *de la Molle* back to *Groſſette*. Don *Arbro* put three Companies into *Piance*, two of *Italians*, and a third half *Spaniſh*, and half *Italian*, for the Governor he had left there was a *Spaniard*, and Signior *Bartolomeo de Leſtepha*, Nephew to Signior *Chiapino Vitelli*, who had one of the beſt and the ſtrongeſt Companies in all *Italy*, kept all the priſoners, to the number of betwixt fifty and threeſcore in the Palace. After a few days he retreated with his Army to *Sienna*, all his Enterprizes vaniſhing into ſmoak. The Marquis of *Peſcara's* Enſign went too and fro, and took great pains in labouring the deliverance of their people in exchange of ours; upon which Treaty Don *Arbro* ſent me a Jeer, ſaying, *No ſera dico, que yo rendra un Frances, que yo no tenga tres Eſpagnoles y per eſtas barbas yo harre l'os mios: & ellos non hauran los ſuos.* Cardinal *Burgos* was by no means pleaſed with this manner of proceeding, and would have been glad that all the priſoners might have been ſet at liberty, both on the one ſide and the other; for I had the Captains *Montillou* and *Carillou*, Governors of *Pont-Hercole* and *Bonconvent*, and above twenty others, twelve of which were natural *Spaniards*, beſides the two Governors. I took the huffing anſwers *Don Arbro* ſent me in very high diſdain, and to mend the matter had almoſt every day news brought me that he almoſt ſtarv'd his Priſoners to death, whilſt I on the contrary treated his exceedingly well. In this indignation I reſolv'd upon an Enterprize, which was to go and give a Scalado to *Piance*; for I had been advertiz'd that the King of *Spain* had given *Sienna* to the Duke of *Florence*, together with the other places he held in *Tuſcany*, and that the ſaid Duke was ſending three Companies of Foot, and a Troop of Horſe to *Piance*. I very well foreſaw, that after he had once taken poſſeſſion there, we could not poſſibly recover it without breaking with the Duke of *Florence*, which I would by no means do, that the Duke of *Guiſe* might not be neceſſitated to weaken his Camp to relieve me; and moreover I had ever been upon very good terms with the Duke of *Florence*, without creating any thing of a Quarrel. In affairs of this tickle nature we muſt go warily and diſcreetly to work; for a little thing will ſerve to break the Alliance of Princes, which once broken is not ſo eaſily piec'd again, and ſeveral raſh young people have by their indiſcretion ſet their Princes together by the ears contrary to their own deſire.

A rant of Don *Arbro de Cenda.*

The King of *Spain* gives *Sienna* to the Duke of *Florence.*

Captain *Fauſtin de Peyrouſe*, who had been in *Piance*, had told me that there was a hole in the wall on that ſide toward *Montalſin*, by which the filth of the Town was evacuated, and that in this place, where there were two walls, the outer wall was above the reach of a Ladder, and that within ſome fourteen or fifteen ſtaves high; and that ſo ſoon as one ſhould be paſt thorough the hole, which muſt be upon his belly, and in the dirt, he ſhould find himſelf betwixt theſe two walls. Upon this information I had caus'd a Ladder to be made of the height requir'd for the inner wall, but it was ſo very weak and ſlender, that it might paſs thorough this hole, that a man could very uneaſily ſupport himſelf upon it. In this part of the wall there was a Baſtion at the corner of the Town, that Don *Arbro* had caus'd to be perfected, which was of a ſufficient height, and betwixt the hole and the Baſtion was a gate the enemy had wall'd up with brick and clay only, not caring to make it of better matter, foraſmuch as they had caſt up a Rampier of earth within.

An Enterprize of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

I order'd that Captain *Blacon* with his own Company, and another of *Italians* that I had caus'd to come from *Groſſette*, and the Baron *de Clermont* my Nephew with my Company, and about twenty Launces of that of the Count *de Petillano*, together with thirty or forty Gentlemen of *Sienna*, ſhould go put themſelves betwixt *Piance* and *Monte-Pul-*

ſiano

ſiano to fight the Duke of *Florence* his people, who came to take poſſeſſion of the Town. I had alſo caus'd three hundred men to come from *Chuſi*, that the Duke of *Somme* had ſent me, who was return'd from the Duke of *Guiſe* his Camp, upon ſome words that had paſt betwixt Cardinal *Caraffa* and him, and thoſe were to ſtorm by a corner of the Town on that ſide by which they came; Captain *Bartolomeo de Peſero*, was to fall on by the Gate, that on his ſide look'd towards *Montizel*, which the Enemy kept open for their going in and out, and to which they were to ſet fire, if they could, and I with the Ladders was to aſſault the Baſtion, the ditches of which were not yet made. The top of the Gate, that was wall'd up, flanck'd the Baſtion, and I had with me the two Companies of *Abanſon* and *Andre Caſteaux*, that is to ſay, the half of each, for the reſt I had left at *Montalſin*, and the half of that of Captain *Luſſan*, who lying at *Caſtetlotie*, and by that means having the furtheſt to march, had ſo heated himſelf with his diligence, that he fell ſo extreamly ſick by the way, as conſtrain'd him to ſtay at the little Hoſpital, but he ſent me his Son, who was his Lieutenant, and five or ſix days after dyed of that ſickneſs: he ſent me alſo the half of Captain *Charry's* Company, whom to his great grief I had left behind me in *Montalſin*, I having no body alſo to leave there, Signior *Mariaul* being gone to *Rome*, and the Prior his Brother upon ſome buſineſs of his own to their own houſe. To be ſhort, I might have on my ſide four hundred men in all, three hundred that came from *Chuſi*, and an hundred men that Captain *Bartolomeo* had, which was all the Forces I had at this aſſault. We had altogether concluded, that the Duke of *Somma's* Italians ſhould be of the party, who alſo himſelf very much deſir'd to be there; But I would not ſend for him, foraſmuch as *Chuſi*, of which he was Governor, was a place of very great importance, and ſhould I chance to be kill'd, I would not that the Garriſons ſhould be left without ſome good Chief to provide for their defence, till Monſieur *de Guiſe* could ſend ſome ſufficient perſon to command the Countrey. We muſt provide for all adventures, as well in caſe we be beaten, as if we overcome, by which means in going to execute an Enterprize, we ſhall do nothing unadviſedly, and for which we may reaſonably be condemn'd. We had appointed to be every one of us two hours before day at the place where he was to fall on, where thoſe of the Duke of *Somma* and Captain *Bartolomeo* were to fall on firſt, to the end they might divert the Enemies Forces from that ſide by which I was to attaque the place, that ſide I was to undertake, being by much the ſtrongeſt, by reaſon of the Baſtion, and the Flankers over the Gate, the wall where the hole was, making a part of the corner. I gave the charge of carrying the Ladder to the Gentlemen of my Train, who were paid by the King, entreating them to enter the hole, thoſe were Captain *Trappe*, who is now with the Admiral, *Auſillons* Nephews to my late Wife, Captain *Coſſeil*, who now carries my Enſign, Captain *la Motte*, *Caſtet*, *Sagret*, Captain *Bidonnet*, Captain *Bourg*, who is yet living, and has a foot Company, and two or three others, and after them twenty *Italians* that Captain *Fauſtin de Peyrouſe* (the ſame who had been broken at the going out of *Piance*) had brought with him, all choſen men, who were to mount the Ladder, after mine ſhould be gotten up. The ſaid Captain, and another of his own Company were firſt to paſs thorough the hole, and draw in the Ladder, becauſe they knew the place, which none of my people did.

The death of Captain *Luſſan*.

I arriv'd then within a quarter of a mile of the Town, where I made a halt, whilſt the Baron *de Clermont* and *Bhucon* march'd forwards, and went to plant themſelves about a mile from the Town, upon a road that leads towards *Monte-Pulſiano*; and when I had ſtaid about an hour, without longer expecting when the *Italians* ſhould begin, as I had given order they ſhould, knowing the day began to approach: I ſent one of my Guides to diſcover after the moſt ſecret manner he could, and my *Valet de Cambre*, who is yet living, went up within twenty paces of the Baſtion, and heard no noiſe in the Town, no more than if there had been no body within it, ſaving that they heard a little Dog bark. They knew of my coming over night, and ſo with their matches ready cock'd, in great ſilence expected my aſſault. I could not, it ſhould ſeem, march out ſo ſecretly, though I had caus'd the gates to be ſhut up three hours before, but that ſome honeſt man or another had got out and carried them intelligence of my deſign. Now, ſo ſoon as the Guide and my *Valet de Cambre* were come back, and had told me that they could hear no noiſe at all, I would my ſelf go with them once again, when being come within fifteen or ſixteen paces of the Baſtion, I perceiv'd a man within five or ſix paces of us, who went creeping along, and retir'd towards the Baſtion, and I believe entred by the ſaid Baſtion, where we now heard them talk, and thought they ſpoke Dutch, but they were *Albanois*, for Signior *Bartolomeo Leſtaffa* had of them in his Company, and the ſaid Signior had taken upon him the defence of the Baſtion. Seeing then that the day

Thoſe of *Piance* have intelligence of the Sieur *de Montluc's* deſign.

day would preſently break upon us, and having loſt all hopes of our *Italians* (who though they were come as I underſtood after; yet the Duke *de Somma* had given the command of them to ſome one, who had no mind to dye the firſt, or elſe (as being the Kings Lieutenant) would give me the honor to begin; but this Raſcal did not do it out of reſpect) Captain *Bartolomeo* alſo expecting when the one or the other ſhould begin the Game, I was by theſe delays conſtrain'd my ſelf firſt to fall on, and although I knew both by this Centinel Perdu, and the great ſilence in the Town, that the Enemy had me in the wind, yet having taken the pains to come ſo far, I was reſolv'd to try my fortune. The Sieur *de Montluc* goes to diſcover *Pianes*

The *Italian* and *French* Gentlemen above nam'd took the Ladder, and we took the other Ladders to ſtorm the Baſtion, which I caus'd to be carried by the Captains, Lieutenants, Serjeants, Corporals and Lance-paſſades, and in this manner march'd up directly to the Baſtion, where, at our firſt approach they gave us a great Volley of Harquebuz ſhot; but we deſiſted not for all that to rear our Ladders, and I had made an Order, that all the Commiſſaries both of War and Proviſions, Treaſurers and Comptrollers, ſhould evermore be provided of great horſes and arms (for theſe people have always money) which I always took with me under my own Cornet to Troop up and make a ſhew, to deceive the Enemy. Monſieur *de Guiſe* had ſent Monſieur *Malaſſiſe* (who is now Lord of *Roiſſi*) to be chief Treaſurer. I gave this man a Turkiſh horſe, if I had now ſuch a one, I would not take for him five hundred Crowns, a courteſie that he very ſcurvily repaid, and as ill return'd my friendſhip, for he brought me into diſgrace with the Duke of *Guiſe*, as he does now with the Queen, as much as in him lies, as I am inform'd from Court; and I have my ſelf alſo perceiv'd it, and wiſh God would do me the favour, as to put her Majeſty in mind, how much I am her Servant, and have formerly been where occaſions have preſented themſelves, which have perhaps been greater than ever Queen was involv'd in, that her Majeſty might take notice, ſhe ought not lightly to give credit to my Enemies to my prejudice, eſpecially ſuch as never have done, nor never will do, ſo many and faithful ſervices as I have done. But I ſhall have patience in God, having my conſcience clean, both as to that and all other affairs concerning the ſervice of the King and his Crown. I had at this time diſcover'd nothing of the practiſes of the ſaid Sieur *de Malaſſiſe*, who prevail'd ſo far, that Monſieur *de Guiſe* call'd me to his own perſon, and gave my command to Monſieur *de la Molle*, for he had an opinion that they two together could manage affairs better, and more to their own advantage than I. I ſhall not here ſet down the Reaſons, foraſmuch as it might be ſaid, I did it in revenge of the ill will he bears me, and conſequently that I bear him, being a little impatient of injury as I am, and who would willingly bear in my device, if I had not one already, what one of the Houſe of *Candale* gave for his *Motto Qui m'aimera, ie l'aimerai*. But there are many worthy perſons yet living who very well know the occaſion, which if they pleaſe to tell it, the ſtory will not be much to his advantage. An order of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

But to leave this diſcourſe (not much caring whether he wiſh me well or ill;) I left him with Captain *Charry*, though the Captain had been very importunate to go along: but I made account that he being in the Town, if I happened to die, would be much aſſiſting to the Citizens in encouraging them, whilſt in expectation of him the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould ſend, for he was a man of underſtanding, and very eloquent to perſwade. To return then to my Treaſurers and Commiſſaries, I made them gallop round about the Town (they being fitter to put people in fear, than to do any execution) by this means to divert the Inhabitants from one place to another.

We gave the Scalado then almoſt all at once, and our men were three times beaten off, and our Ladders all broken ſaving one or two. Now I muſt tell you to what uſe ſerv'd the taking of this hole. All of them entred into it one after another, and ſo ſoon as they had ſet the Ladder to the lower wall to enter the Town, my Gentlmen all mounted, and from the top of the wall leapt down upon a Dunghil into the Town; when ſo ſoon as Captain *Fauſtino* and his twenty men ſaw ours got in, they would follow after in all haſte, in doing which they ſo overcharg'd the Ladder that it broke. Theſe inconſiderate ardours oftentimes occaſion the miſcarriage of brave Enterpizes. The hole was within four or five paces of the gate that was walled up, and the Enemy over it minded nothing but ſhooting at our people, who were ſtorming the Baſtion, and having their backs towards the hole, knew nothing of our people being entred in. The *Italians* tried to piece the Ladder with girdles, but it would not be, wherefore they were conſtrain'd to creep out at the ſame hole by which they had entred, and Captain *Fauſtino* came to tell me the miſfortue of my people, which put me to my wits end, ſeeing that in attempting to recover thoſe who were already priſoners, I had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe all the Gentle- The *French* repuls'd.

men I had, and was reſolv'd to play a deſperate Game. It was already broad day, and the Sun began to riſe, all our people being beaten off, and ſculking behind certain walls that were there, when at the ſame time Captain *Bartolomeo* ſent me word that they were all beaten off on his ſide alſo. I then leapt from my horſe to the ground, for I was not yet alighted, and call'd all the Captains together (*Avanſon* Son to Monſieur *d'Avanſon*, who was Ambaſſador at *Rome* excepted, who was hurt in the hand with a Harquebuz ſhot) where I began to remonſtrate to them, that I was come to no other end, but to take the Town or to loſe my life, and that if they would follow me, I would lead them the way: but withal that I was reſolv'd, to turn back upon thoſe who ſhould be reſty, and would kill every man that did not behave himſelf as he ought to do upon ſo brave an occaſion. *Let us go on then friends*, ſaid I, *follow your Captain, and you ſhall ſee we will acquire honour.* Which having ſaid, with my ſword in my hand, and a Page with my Halbert cloſe by me, I went directly up to the Gate. I had twelve *Swiſs* of my Guard that follow'd me, and alſo did all the reſt, where I obſerv'd, as I had done at other times before, what the example of a Leader can do when he goes on in the head of his men, and leads them the way. I preſently put my ſelf under the Gate, where three or four men might ſtand unſeen from the Flanks of the Baſtion, whilſt the Enemy who were over the Gate plyed our people with a tempeſt of ſhot and ſtone. The *Swiſs* in the mean time with their Halberts did their endeavour againſt this Wall of Brick. I had my ſword in my left hand, and my dagger in my right, with which I broke and cut the bricks, when having made a hole wide enough to put in my arm, I gave my ſword and dagger to the Captain of my *Swiſs*, and thruſt both my arms into it. The Wall was the thickneſs of one brick only, and there was but very little clay, for it was in a manner a dry Wall: when having found the inner rim of the Wall, and the thickneſs of it, I pull'd the Wall towards me with ſuch force, that all the upper part fell upon me, and cover'd me all over, inſomuch that the Captain of my Guard was fain to draw me out from under the bricks and the rubbiſh, which he did, and again ſet me upon my feet; after which with our Halberts we preſently beat it totally down to the ground. The Enemy had not finiſht the Terraſs they had caſt up behind this Gate, of which there wanted about two foot to the top of the Arch, and there I had two *Swiſs* kill'd, and the Captain wounded with a Harquebuz ſhot in his thigh, and fourteen or fifteen Soldiers ſlain or wounded. I again made the Enſignes by the two Ladders renew the Aſſault to the Baſtion, but for all that they ceaſed not to ſhoot from the Flancks of the Baſtion. Now from the Baſtion to the Gate where I fought, it was no more than thirty paces only: I then call'd out to the Soldiers, to go fetch me the Ladders that had been broken againſt the Baſtion, telling them that the ſhorteſt were the beſt; for the height of the Terraſs was not above two yards; I think hardly ſo much; and ſo ſoon as the Ladders were brought I clapt them ſide to ſide, and put a Harquebuzeer upon the one Ladder, and my ſelf upon the other, and three one in the heels of another, after the firſt Soldier, and two of my *Swiſs* after thoſe three. I then ſpoke to him who was foremoſt, and went up firſt, that he ſhould preſently get up, and diſcharge his Harquebuz amongſt them within; which he accordingly did, and as he fir'd I took him by the breeches, and puſht him in, making him take a leap he never intended, for our two Ladders toucht; and then I began to cry out to thoſe who were upon the other Ladder, and to puſh them forwards, ſaying, *leap Soldiers, and I will leap in after you*; which ſaid I puſht that fellow in, another after him, and the other after him; and when they were all tumbled in, he that could firſt riſe clapt hand to his ſword, my two *Swiſs* leapt in after; ſeeing which I leapt down on our own ſide, and again began to cry *fall on Captains, fall on, the Town's our own, our men are in*; whereupon they one after another threw themſelves headlong into the place. Thoſe Gentlemen of mine who were entred by the hole had been perceiv'd at break of day, and being charg'd by the Enemy had recover'd a houſe, the door of which they ſtoutly defended; which did me a great deal of good, part of thoſe who defended the Gate being run thither, not thinking it poſſible I ſhould enter there; and ſo ſoon as the Enemies who aſſaulted the Gentlemen heard the cry of *France, France*, behind them, they forſook the Gentlemen, and would have return'd to the Gate; when the Gentlmen ſallying out after them, and hearing the ſame cry of *France, France*, they knew our people were entred the Town, ſo that by fortune they were engag'd betwixt our two parties, and there all cut to pieces. Now immediately upon the killing of theſe, an Enſign of theirs who was in the place came running directly towards the Gate, but my Gentlemen being joyned with thoſe that entred laſt, the ſaid Enſign found whom to talk withal, and they handled him as they had done the reſt. At the ſame time that our people entred, I cried out to them, that they ſhould aſſault the Baſtion on the inſide within the Town, which they did; but they

there

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Speech to his men.

A Captain can do much by his example.

The Baſtion aſſaulted.

The Town taken.

there found a very great reſiſtance, by reaſon that the greateſt part of the Company of Gens-d'arms was there, who fought it to a miracle.

Now (as the courages of men encreaſe when they ſee themſelves in hopes of victory) to forget nothing of that they ought to do in well and furiouſly aſſaulting; having encouraged my people, I left the Gate, and ran to the Enſigns who were upon the Ladders of the Baſtion, crying out to them, that all our men were got in, and that therefore they ſhould throw themſelves headlong into the Baſtion, which they did, without meeting the oppoſition they expected, foraſmuch as our men held them ſo ſhort, that they were not able to anſwer us both within and without; and ſo ſoon as I ſaw our Enſigns got in, I remounted to horſe, and with the Commiſſaries and Treaſurers rode all along by the walls, where all thoſe that leapt over the walls to eſcape away I cauſed to be ſlain.

Now to return to our firſt Priſoners, our people followed their execution, till they came to the place where they found Signior *Bartolomeo de Leſteffa*, with the remainder of his Company, who made no great defence, for already our people ran all along the ſtreets of the Town, and even along the very Walls of it. The *Italians* came to enter by the Wall, that was not too high, and helped one another up; Captain *Bartolomeo de Pezero* had alſo ſet fire to the Gate, as he had promiſed to do, but was there hurt with a Harquebuz ſhot through the buttocks, and could not poſſibly enter there, by reaſon of the furious fire that flam'd in the ſaid Gate. They had placed eighteen or twenty *Spaniards* for the Guard of the Priſoners that were in the Palace, fifty or threeſcore in number, and had tied them two and two together, as they told me after, who ſo ſoon as ever they heard the Cry of *France, France*, in the great place adjoyning to the Palace, they began to juſtle one another, particularly Captain *Gourgues*, who was the firſt that got his arms at liberty, when being all freed from their bonds, they flew upon their Guard with ſuch fury, that what with their own weapons, and what with ſtones, they kill'd the greateſt part of them upon the place, and the remainder kept priſoners, and brought them out with them. And this was the fortunate and unexpected deliverance of our Priſoners. The Priſoners free themſelves

It now remains to know what ſucceeded upon the command I had given to the Baron *de Cleremont*, and Captain *Blacon*. The Duke of *Florence* his Companies both of horſe and foot had ſet out of *Montepulſiano*, and were coming towards *Piance*, it being no more than three miles from the one to the other, when being in the midway, and hearing ſuch Volleys of *Harquebuz* ſhot, they ſent out ſix horſe before to ſee what the matter was. Of theſe, three fell into our Ambuſcado, and were taken, the other three got away, and made their people return faſter than they came: ſo that the Baron could not poſſibly come to fight them. In the foremention'd action of the taking of *Piance*, Signior *Bartolomeo Leſtepha* his Lieutenant and Enſign were all taken, and the Governor who was a *Spaniard* alſo, but his Enſign was ſlain. Captain *Piſtoye* (ſo called for being a Native of *Piſtoye*) his Lieutenant and Enſign were likewiſe taken, together with the Lieutenant and Enſign of an *Italian* Captain, call'd *Aldetto Placito*, a *Siennois*, who two dayes before was gone out to ſolicit for their pay before they departed the Town.

This was the ſucceſs of the Scalado of *Piance*, which hapned upon St. *Peters* Eve, an action highly reputed throughout all *Italy*. All the Captains and Soldiers, as well *Italians* as *French*, ſaid I had taken the Town my ſelf alone, and not they, and that had I not done as I did, and had they not ſeen me ſo couragious and reſolute, they would never more have come near the Walls, having been three times ſo ſmartly repuls'd. Had it been Gods will that thoſe the Duke of *Florence* ſent from *Montepulſiano* to *Piance* had ſet out but an hour ſooner, they had not heard our Harquebuz ſhot by the way, and had fallen into the Baron *de Cleremont*, and Captain *Blacon*'s Ambuſcado, who lay ſo ready and well planted for them, that they would eaſily have been defeated and cut to pieces; for they no ſooner heard the report of the three horſe that eſcaped, but that they immediately all faced about, and in diſorder fled away towards *Montepulſiano*. I left in *Piance* to command there Captain *Fauſtino*, who had been there before, and had yet fifty or threeſcore of his Company left, which Captain *Bartolomeo Pezero* had ever kept for him, and moreover now lent him his Lieutenant with a hundred Soldiers of his own Company; and about noon as I was about to mount to horſe to return to *Montalſin*, and ſending every one away to his own Garriſon, the Captains with their Lieutenants and Enſigns brought me a hundred or ſixſcore horſes of ſervice, which had been taken in this action, beſides Pad-nags and Mules, entreating me to take of them what I pleaſed for my own uſe; and amongſt others Captain *Trape* entreated me to accept of a Courſer of *Naples*, the moſt beautiful and the beſt horſe in all *Italy*, though I accepted none of all thoſe they offer'd me, but that of Captain *Trape* only, which Monſieur *de Guiſe* afterwards ſent to entreat of me, and I gave him to him.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s return to *Montalſin*.

I came back to *Montalſin* vvith no more than the three half Companies I had taken thence vvith me, after vvhich I order'd to march all the Captains vve had taken priſoners, and ſome fevv Soldiers vvho vvere priſoners alſo, for there vvere not many ſav'd: Next after the Priſoners I march'd my ſelf, and all my Captains vvith their Colours flying, and behind me the Gentlmen of my Train carried the horſe Cornet, and the three Enſigns vve had taken: and in the rear of all the foot marched the Baron *de Cleremont* vvith my Troop, and the Gentleman of *Sienna* all on horſeback in the rear of all. I do believe there was not a man nor a vvoman left in the vvhole City, for they vvere all come out to ſee me enter, excepting the Captain of the people, the Council, and Magiſtracy, to vvhom I had ſent a Gentlemen before to entreat them not to ſtir from the Palace, at vvhich I vvent and alighted, and entred in arm'd as I vvas, vvith the foreſaid Enſigns vve had taken carried before me, where firſt in few words I gave them an account of the means I had uſed to bring about ſo hazardous an Enterprize, and after what manner the Town had been taken, not without obſerving by their looks, that they had ſo great a performance in high admiration: After which I exhorted them to continue the fidelity they had promiſed to the King my Maſter, and not to abandon the hopes of recovering their liberty and Capital City, God having manifeſted to them by ſo great and ſo happy a victory, that he would neither forſake them, nor any who fought in their Quarrel. And to ſhew them that I bore arms in order to their ſervice only, and for the recovery of their Countrey, I preſented the horſe-Cornet, and the three Enſigns I had taken; which having received with the greateſt acknowledgements, and the higheſt applauſe that could to man be attributed, they upon the inſtant cauſed to be ſet up in the great Hall of the Palace diſplay'd, a thing that did no whit leſſon the reputation I had acquir'd either with them at *Rome* or elſewhere, where the report of this Enterpriſe and execution was divulg'd and ſpread abroad.

The Siege of *Chuzy*.

After this no occaſion preſented it ſelf worth ſpeaking of ſaving two, of which this was one. Don *Arbro* went to beſiege *Chuzy*, which Captain *Moretto Calabras*, who was at *Montepeſcayo*, had by practice ſurpriz'd from the Enemy. The ſaid Don *Arbro* had thirty Enſigns of foot before it, three pieces of Canon, and ſix hundred horſe. I departed then a little after noon from *Montalſin* with five Enſigns of foot, and about foreſcore or a hundred horſe, and by break of day came to *Montepeſcayo*, where I cauſed little ſacks to be made to carry powder in, to the number of twenty, which all of them might contain about three hundred pound of powder. From *Montepeſcayo* to *Chuzy* it is ſix miles. Their Artillery was not yet arriv'd, but it came the ſame morning that I came away, and about noon I departed from *Montepeſcayo*, and went to encamp my ſelf juſt over againſt the Enemies Camp, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, and about as far from the Town, for they were already encamped before it, and never ſo much as once ſent to diſcover me. The place was worth nothing, for we had not had time to fortifie it, and in the beginning of the night I took the Lieutenant of Captain *Avanſon*, call'd *St. Genies*, with thirty Pikes and thirty Harquebuzeers, which I meant to venture to try if there might be any means to preſerve it; and being that there was a little Rivolet not above three paces broad betwixt them and me, I ſent the ſaid *St. Genies* and Captain *Charry* with a hundred Harquebuzeers to accompany him, whilſt I with the Horſe and a hundred Harquebuzeers went to give them an Alarm in their Camp. St. *Genies* got in with the powder, and all the Soldiers, four or five Pikes excepted, and all night long I kept them in Alarm to make them think that I would repoſe my ſelf in the morning: when having diſcover'd me they would come to fight me, conſidering I had no more Forces but five foot Enſigns only; wherein I deceiv'd them, for without taking any reſt at all, and without ſound of Trumpet or beat of Drum I began to retreat through the Woods, and to take my way directly for *Montalſin*, marching twelve miles without ſtop or ſtay; and then upon the banks of a ſmall River I made a halt, where all both horſe and foot baited upon ſome proviſion I had cauſed to be brought upon Aſſes; where nevertheleſs I did not ſtay above an hour and a half, but went on ſtraight to *Montalſin*. Now the ſame day that I departed from *Chuzy*, about noon they had planted their Artillery without being able nevertheleſs to make a breach till the next morning.

The ſame day that I departed from *Chuzy* I arriv'd in the Evening at *Montalſin*, which was thirty miles, and after I came home made them to work all night to make ready a Canon, and a great Culverin we had, with which about nine of the clock the next morning I went to batter *Alteſſe* a ſtrong Caſtle betwixt *Bonconvent* and *Montalſin*. I batter'd it by the Gate where it had been the leaſt fortified, and in the Evening they ſurrender upon Quarter only, there being threeſcore men in it. The next morning I went to take three or four Caſtles thereabouts, which were not ſtrong, but only ſupported themſelves under

Alteſſe taken;

favour

favour of the Fortreſs of *Alteſſe*. Of all this day the Artillery never ſtirr'd from *Alteſſe*, but however I took the Caſtles. After this I was adviſed to go and batter *Bonconvent*, whereupon I went to view it, and cauſed Gabions ſpeedily to be made before it, making ſhew as if I intended a Siege; though it was only to divert *Don Arbro* from making any further attempts, fearing leſt after he had taken *Chuzy* (which I made no queſtion but he would do) he might go and ſit down before *Montepeſcaillo*, where Captain *Moretto* was, and two or three other places, which only ſubſiſted under the protection of *Montepeſcaillo*; and the ſame day that I made a ſhew of beſieging *Bonconvent*, I ſent Signior *Marioul de Santa Fiere*, Captain *Serres* my Lieutenant, and the Baron *de Clermont* my Enſign to ſcour the field as far as the walls of *Sienna*, where they had the fortune to meet with a foot Company that was going from *Sienna* to put themſelves into two Caſtles hard by thoſe I had taken, which they cut all in pieces, excepting the Captain, the Lieutenant, and the Enſign, who being all mounted got away. All this was perform'd in three dayes, reckoning from the day that I departed from before *Chuzy*. The Alarm of this defeat was ſo great at *Sienna*, that Cardinal *Burgos* ſent in all haſte to Don *Arbro* to leave all and return to *Sienna*, for that he greatly feared the *Siennois* would revolt and receive me into *Sienna*, conſidering the violent affection they had for me in the City. So that had thoſe of *Chuzy* been able to hold out a day longer he had given them over, but the ſecond day having made a very great Breach, for the wall was a very weak one, and there being but few men within it, they were forc'd to ſurrender. The Lieutenant of Captain *Moretto Calabres* was in it with part of the Company of the ſaid *Moretto*, and about five and fifty that entred with St. *Genies* only, ſo that there was not above a hundred men in all. The next day after Signior *Marioul* had defeated this foot Company, all the Captains who were with me were of opinion that I ſhould go and batter *Bonconvent*; but I ſaid to them theſe words. *You know Gentlmen that ſince yeſterday two of clock in the afternoon we have not heard the Artillery play at* Chuzy, *which we heard plainly from* Alteſſe, *by which you may conclude, either that they are ſurrendred, or taken by force. If they be ſurrendred Don* Arbro *will not ſtay an hour there, to try if he can ſnap us in the field, for there is no queſtion to be made, but that he has receiv'd the Alarm of the foot Company you defeated yeſterday by* Sienna; *and that thereupon Cardinal* Burgos *has ſent to him to come back to ſave the reſt of the Caſtles which are neareſt to* Sienna (for as I took the other Caſtles I immediately diſmantled and pulled them down, (as I alſo did by *Alteſſe*.) *Let us therefore conſider things a little; if our people be ſurrendred the Camp will not tarry above two hours before* Chuzy; *if they be taken by aſſault, the Town is ſo poor that the Soldiers would need but this laſt night only to ſack it, and will be this morning two hours before day upon their march, which though it be thirty miles off, yet will the Artillery be here before noon: for Don* Arbro *knows very well, that I have not a hundred horſe in all I can make, nor above ſix hundred men in theſe five Enſigns, wherefore the reaſon of War requires you ſhould do as I ſay. Let me intreat you therefore that we preſently fall to drawing off our Canon, and our foot, and if things do not fall out as I have ſaid, let me bear the blame.* Captain *Moretto*'s Lieutenant, and *St. Genies* had what conditions they deſir'd, for the haſte Don *Arbro* was in to return; for they march'd out with Bag and Baggage, and Enſign they had none. I then ſet fire to the remainder of *Alteſſe* that could not ſo ſuddenly be pulled down, and left Captain *Serres* with twenty horſe upon a little eminence by *Alteſſe*, from whence they might diſcover as far as a Wood, which was Don *Arbro*'s way to return; and when I was got within a mile of *Montalſin* Captain *Serres* ſent two Troopers full ſpeed to tell me, that he began to diſcover their Cavalry coming out of the Wood; whereupon I left the foot Captains with ropes, and the ſtrength of the Soldiers to help the Oxen away with the Artillery, and Signior *Marioul* and I with the horſe return'd back to Captain *Serres*. But ſo ſoon as we came to Captain *Serres*, we from another little hill diſcover'd the Body of their Cavalry already in the Plain, which I ſuppoſe had halted to ſtay for another Troop that was coming out of the Wood. I left Signior *Marioul* there to ſuſtein Captain *Serres*, and ſent to Captain *Serres* by no means to engage himſelf in a charge, nor ſuffer the Enemy to come near him, but begin by little and little to retire; and having left the ſame order with Signior *Marioul*, I gallopped back to the Artillery, which I found within a quarter of a mile of the Aſcent, and haſtned it all I could; when ſo ſoon as I had got it to the foot of the Hill, I ſaw Signior *Marioul* coming at a good round trot, and Captain *Serres* following the ſame pace after. I made them ſtill lug the Artillery up the hill, and could not get it within fifty paces of the Gate of the City, but that I was conſtrain'd to take out the Oxen, and hurry them into the Town, placing all our Infantry along the Vines, and upon the Wall, and draw the horſe (they being of no further uſe) into the Town, which I had no ſooner done but the

The *Siennois* defeated.

A handſome Retreat.

the Enemy came up to the very foot of the hill. Thus I ſav'd all, and loſt nothing by well computing the time they had to come from *Chuzy* to be upon us, and thorough the great diligence wherewith I made my retreat.

Take notice then Captains, and remember when you ſhall be in place where you are to retire before an Enemy ſtronger than your ſelves, to compute the time wherein he may come to fight you, and be diligent in your retreat, whether by day or by night, by which means you ſhall very hardly be ſurpriz'd. Take all things at the worſt, and imagine your Enemy to be as diligent to ſurprize you, as you are to prevent being ſurpriz'd. The reaſon of war requir'd that I ſhould do as I did, and men muſt evermore be at watch when they are near an Enemy, ſo that if he be three hours march diſtant from you double your ſpeed, and if it be poſſible do that in two hours which he may do in three: by which means having the ſtart, without an infamous flight, you ſhall leave him nothing but the empty Neſt. I but (a man may object and ſay) perhaps he will never come near me at all, and in the mean time I retreat without ſeeing an Enemy: but let me tell you, if you ſtay for that, you will be defeated and loſt, eſpecially if you have Canon to draw off with you, which you cannot abandon but with diſhonor.

Tallamon relieved by the Sieur *de Montluc*,

I perform'd another piece of diligence to relieve Monſieur *de la Montjoye*, a Kinſman of mine, whom I had put into *Tallamon*. The King of *Spains* Galleys were departed from *Cajetta* to ſurprize this place, and came to an Anchor before *Mount Argentan*, whom ſo ſoon as Monſieur *de la Montjoye* had diſcover'd by break of day in the morning, he diſpatch'd a man poſt away to me to give me notice, who made ſo good haſte, that he came to *Montalſin* by four of clock in the afternoon, though it be no leſs than five and thirty miles. Without ſtaying an hour therefore after I heard the news, I departed with four hundred Harquebuzeers, and my own Troop of horſe, marching all night without ſtop or ſtay, until I came to a Village within three miles of *Groſſette*, which was ſeven and twenty miles, and I came thither by Sun riſe, where I made the Soldiers eat ſomething, and bait their horſes, whilſt I gallopped away to *Groſſette*, where I heard that the Enemy were all about *Tallamon*, which made me ſuddenly to cauſe three hundred Harquebuzeers of thoſe of the Garriſon of *Groſſette* to paſs a River half a mile from thence, upon Aſſes and Horſes; ſo that by that time my own men whom I had left baiting were come to the River, the three hundred men were paſs'd over, and upon their march. I then ſent two Troopers to the ſaid Sieur *de Montjoye*, to bid him ſtand firm, for that I was there to relieve him, though he could ſcarce believe the news, not thinking it poſſible I could be there ſo ſoon, but that ſome body had ſent him ſuch word only to put him in heart.

The Enemy had landed three or four hundred men, and two Gallies came and plyed him with a great number of Canon ſhot, the thunder of which I no ſooner heard, but that I advanc'd with my Horſe, and the three hundred Foot, that were already got over, and left Captain *Charry* to paſs over thoſe that I had brought from *Montalſin*; when, ſo ſoon as the Enemy ſaw ſo long a Train of men, and that I advanc'd with the three hundred Foot and the Horſe, they all caſt themſelves into the water; ſo eaſily were they perſwaded out of their fury. It was exceſſively hot, and many of them were in the water to the armpits: I had made account to have fought them, let them be what number they would, for I was very ſure they had no Horſe: but I found that part of the Gallies were reimbarking the Soldiers about *Tallamon*, and at the old Port, ſo that before I could get to them they were all aboard, and put out to ſea toward *Mount-Argentan*, where the reſt of the Gallies lay. I believe they thought that Monſieur *de Montjoye* would ſurrender upon the Canon ſhot they playd from the Gallies, but he was too brave a Gentleman to be ſo eaſily frighted as they imagin'd. He was ſince ſlain in the late troubles at *Aubeterre* under Monſieur *de Cauſens*, who can give teſtimony of his valour.

Captains (my Camrades) you ought not to think it ſtrange that I have never been defeated, nor ſurpriz'd where I have commanded in chief, as you ſhall never be, if you carry your ſelves with the ſame vigilance and diligence that throughout my whole life I have ever done. I perhaps have made my Soldiers do that never any one made men do before; for I ever had my tongue at command to remonſtrate to them (when I have been in place where diligence was requir'd) their own honor, and the ſervice of the King; and alſo that by diligence only we were to ſave our own lives. 'Tis that that both adds wings to their feet, and inſpires them with reſolution when the one or the other is neceſſary. Which remonſtrances of mine never fail'd of their effect; and when a long march was to be perform'd, I caus'd bread and wine to be carried along wherewith to refreſh them; for if you will have your Soldiers make a long march, and take nothing wherewith to refreſh them, humane bodies are not made of iron, you muſt either leave them by the way, or at leaſt when you ſhall come to fight they will be ſo weak, that they will be able to do

you

you very little ſervice, but taking proviſions along with you to refreſh them, together with remonſtrances, you ſhall not only make them go, but run alſo, if you deſire them; ſo that a man muſt never think to excuſe himſelf upon the Soldier, for no man in Chriſtendom has had more experience of it than my ſelf, and I never ſaw any defect on their ſide, but always in the Officers: for a good and prudent Captain will make good and diſcreet Soldiers; amongſt a great many good men ten or a dozen Poltrons and Cowards will grow hardy, and become valiant; but a cowardly imprudent and improvident Captain loſes and ſpoils all. This in groſs was all that was done whilſt I ſtayd at *Montalſin*.

Monſieur *de Guiſe* is angry with the Sieur *de Montluc*.

Now Monſieur *de Guiſe* having been enform'd that I was like to have been ſurpriz'd at *Alteſſe*, he writ me a very angry letter, wherein he told me, that it ſeem'd I had a mind to loſe my ſelf, the Country, and all, to go out after this manner upon every occaſion into the field, and that if I ſhould chance to be defeated the whole Country would be loſt, he being already ſo weak in men, that he ſhould not be able upon any diſaſter to relieve it; that this way of proceeding was commendable enough in a private Captain, but not in a Kings Lieutenant, who ought not to expoſe his own perſon but upon very great occaſion. To which I writ in anſwer, that I had been neceſſitated to do as I did, or otherwiſe Don *Arbro* would foot by foot deprive me of the whole Country, that on the other ſide he might aſſure himſelf I ſhould riſe ſo early, and uſe ſuch diligence, that I would look well enough to my ſelf for being at any time ſurpriz'd, and that therefore he ſhould not take any thought concerning me; for although Don *Arbro* had evermore thirty Enſigns in the field, and I but five or ſix to anſwer him withall, I would nevertheleſs ſo well look to his water, that I would well enough prevent him from bringing about his deſigns. After this I retir'd my ſelf to the Abby of St. *Salvadour*, fifteen or ſixteen miles from *Montalſin* towards *Rome*. About a mile diſtant from the *Roman* Way there is a little wall'd Town, and an Abby of *Auguſtins*, which was founded by King *Charles* the Little at his return from *Naples*; for he made ſome abode at this place. All the Church is cover'd with Flower-de-Luces, and the foundation recorded in Parchment; the Religious of this place are very holy men.

He excuſes himſelf.

News of the loſs of the Battail of *St. Quentin*.

Being there I receiv'd a letter from the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, (who was at this time at *Ferrara*) wherein he writ me the ſad news of the Conſtables being defeated at St. *Quentin*, and that it was more than neceſſary I ſhould now more than ever intend his Majeſties affairs, and that if God did not aſſiſt the King, all was gone in *France*, all the Forces his Majeſty had being loſt at this defeat. Immediately upon this Letter I return'd back to *Montalſin*, for fear leſt the *Siennois* hearing the news, ſhould be totally diſmayd, where, by remonſtrances and perſwaſions I comforted them the beſt I could, and afterwards tried to comfort my ſelf. I had need ſo to do, for I gave the Kingdom for loſt, and it was only ſav'd by the good pleaſure of God, and nothing elſe, God miraculouſly blinding the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Savoy*'s underſtandings, ſo as not to purſue their victory directly to *Paris*: for they had men enow to have left at the Siege of St. *Quentin* againſt the Admiral, and to have followed their victory too; or after they had taken St. *Quentin* they had as much time as ever, and yet knew not how to do that any ſimple Captain would have done. So that we muſt all acknowledge it to be the bounty of Almighty God, who loves our King, and would not ſuffer his Kingdom to be deſtroyed. However I did not to the *Siennois* make the matter altogether ſo bad as it was, but told them that the letters I had from *France*, aſſur'd me the loſs was but ſmall, and that the King was ſetting an Army on foot, which he would command in his own perſon.

Diſcourſe upon this defeat.

Monſieur *de Guiſe* being at *Rome*, by reaſon the King had call'd him home to his ſuccour, ſent for me to come to him, which I did poſt; where being come, he there demanded of me what it would be neceſſary for him to leave me wherewith to maintain what we had in *Tuſcany*; to which I made anſwer that I had need of that which it was not in his power to give me; for he had no money to leave me, nor many men, that would not be more ſerviceable in *France* than in *Tuſcany*: but that nevertheleſs I would do as God ſhould direct me, in whom I repos'd a confidence, that he would no more forſake me now, than hitherto he had done; and that I humbly begg'd of him to make all the haſte he poſſibly could into *France*; for if God did not preſerve the Kingdom men could do very little towards it, all the Forces of the Nation being defeated and loſt. The Mareſchal *de Strozzy*, who was preſent, very much approv'd of my anſwer, and as highly commended me, foraſmuch as others would have demanded men and money, of both which I had in truth very great need: but *France* was of greater concern to the King than *Tuſcany*, where I would try to draw money from the Countrey, and with war make war. Onely I beſought Monſieur *de Guiſe* humbly to entreat the King to recall me into *France*,

The Sieur *de Montluc's* requeſt to the Duke of *Guiſe*.

France, to help to defend the Kingdom; for I had nothing to loſe in *Tuſcany*; whereupon he promiſed me to deal ſo effectually with the King, that his Majeſty ſhould ſend for me, but upon this condition, that ſo ſoon as I ſhould be return'd into *France*, I ſhould promiſe forthwith to repair to him. He had not given credit to all the falſe reports had been made of me, he knew me too well, and ever lov'd me ſo long as he liv'd. I engag'd my word to him, that I would do ſo; and ſo he went to embark himſelf at *Civita Vechia*, and carried back his Forces entire into *France*, wherein he manifeſted himſelf to be a great and prudent Captain. As for me I return'd back to *Montalſin*.

Before my licence came to return for *France*, at the requeſt of Captain *Carbayrac*, that Monſieur *de Guiſe* had ſent Governor to *Groſſette* (for he had taken out Monſieur *de la Molle* with ſeven or eight foot Companies he had, and ſent him to *Ferrara*, and had ſent me Monſieur *de Giury* with thirteen Enſigns of Foot in his ſtead, wherein I loſt nothing by the change) I went in all haſte to *Groſſette*, to ſee to a diſorder was faln out there; which was, that all the Ammunition of Corn that I had laid in there (which was ſufficient for above a year) was ſo embezzel'd, that there was not above a hundred Sacks in all to be found. There was a Commiſſary, whoſe name was *Louberiac*, who laid the blame of this buſineſs upon Monſieur *de la Molle*; whereupon I ſent poſt after Monſieur *de la Molle*, to acquaint him with what this fellow had depoſed againſt him; and Monſieur *de la Molle* on the contrary charg'd the fault upon the ſaid *Louberiac*. I lay that night in a pair of damp ſheets, and it was in Winter, not having at that time brought my field-bed along with me, becauſe I would let my Mules reſt in order to my Jurney into *France*, by which means I got a continued fever, that in ten dayes depriv'd me of all knowledge even of my own ſervants. Without which ſickneſs I had taken an order with *Louberiac* for ever robbing the Kings Ammunitions again, as I did another at *Sienna* who had done the ſame.

The Sieur *de Montluc* falls ſick.

So ſoon as I began a little to recover my ſenſes, and to know people, my diſmiſſion came, his Majeſty writing to me withal, that I ſhould go to *Ferrara* there to remain ſome time with the Duke to adviſe him in his affairs, he being at that time engag'd in a War. The great joy of this diſmiſſion put me into ſo much heart, that four dayes after I departed, cauſing my ſelf to be carried in a Chair by ſix men to *Montiſel*, where Captain *Bartolomeo de Pezero* was, and where I ſtayd three dayes in expectation of a Litter, which Signior *Marioul de Santa Fiore* was to ſend me. In which I departed thence, not being able for all that to travel above five or ſix miles a day, and came to *Pezero*, where I found the Duke of *Urbin*, who ſent out five or ſix Gentlmen to meet me, to conduct me to lodge in his Caſtle: to which returning my very humble thanks, I ſent the Duke an excuſe, that I begg'd his pardon, for I was of neceſſity to alight at Captain *Bartolomeo de Pezero*'s houſe, who had writ to his Mother to receive me, and where I was conſequently expected. I then went thither, where I found his Mother to be an extraordinary civil perſon, and as well eſteem'd in the City as any Gentlewoman whatever. So ſoon as ever I alighted they immediately put me to bed, for I was ſo worn, that I was nothing but skin and bone, and continually dying for cold, what Furrs ſoever they could put upon me. The Duke did me the honor preſently to come ſee me, and ſeeing me ſo ill, compell'd me to ſtay four dayes there, not ſuffering me to ſpend a penny, but cauſed me every day to be ſerv'd with two diſhes from his own Table, after which I fancied my ſelf ſo much better, that I ſent back the Litter. The Duke at parting would needs make me accept a horſe out of his Race, one of the moſt beautiful Courſers that I almoſt ever ſaw, and the ſtrongeſt for his height, and would have a little *Friezland* horſe of mine, ſtrong for his ſtature, and very handſome; and ſo they ſet me upon a little pad Nagg that Monſieur *de Giury* gave me at my departure from *Montalſin* (where he commanded till the arrival of Don *Franciſco d'Eſt*, whom the King made his Lieutenant General as I had been) and after that manner I crawl'd on to *Ferrara*, where I was as welcome, and as well receiv'd both by the Duke, Dutcheſs, and the Cardinals, as I had been their own Brother, the Duke lodging me in his own Palace, and cauſing me to be ſerv'd from his own Kitchin equal to his own perſon.

The Sieur *de Montluc* has leave to return into *France*.

He comes to *Ferrara*.

Four or five dayes after my arrival I had a great deſire to go ſee the Cardinal *de Tournon*, and Monſieur *de Dax* at *Venice*, which Sieur *de Dax* was Embaſſador there, and there I ſtayed four days with them, very much troubled that I had not health to ſee all the City of *Venice* (for I was yet ſo ill, that I had much ado to go to the Arcenal) after which I return'd back to *Ferrara*. Now that all the parties are dead I ſhall do no harm to any one, in diſcovering that the Cardinal of *Mantua* manifeſted himſelf to be a great friend to the Duke of *Ferrara*, for he gave him notice, that his Brother Don *Ferrand* had a deſign to beſiege *Verſel*, that he cauſed ſix pieces of Ordnance to be taken out

He goes to *Venice*.

of

of *Alexandria*, with which he was march'd directly to *Cremona*, with great ſtore of Powder and Bullet; aſſuring him that this preparation was for *Verſel*, which intelligence he diſpatch'd away to him by two ſeveral Meſſengers, one upon the heels of another. I was alſo advertiz'd from *Cremona*, that Don *Ferrand* was there making ready more Cannon, and had preſt fourſcore great Merchants Boats that trafficked upon the *Pau*, upon which *Verſel* is ſituate, as alſo *Cremony*; that part of the *Spaniſh* Companies, which were toward *Piedmont*, began to march directly to *Cremona*, and that he was raiſing new *Italian* Companies about *Millan*. The Duke of *Ferrara* having receiv'd all theſe advertiſements, was very much troubled, the place being as yet in no very good poſture of defence; for there was not ſo much as any one Bulwark cover'd, and the Courtines very low, as alſo the Spurrs, being but half terraſſed, nor yet half fill'd, and all the Flancks open. The Duke ſent the Prince his Son, who lay with his Army at *Reges*, word of all this, bidding him withall forthwith to ſend Signior *Cornelio Bentivoglio* to put himſelf into it: whereupon the Prince ſent him word back, that if Signior *Cornelio* was taken away from him, he ſhould not know what to do with the Army, the ſaid Signior alwayes commanding in his abſence, and he having no eaſe but by him, and therefore humbly entreated he would pleaſe to make choice of ſome other. The Duke then immediately ſent away to Monſieur *de la Molle*, who was with the Prince in his Camp, entreating that he would go to defend the place: but Monſieur *de la Molle* return'd anſwer back, that the King had given him no order to ſhut himſelf up in any place, but only to perform his office in the field; and therefore deſir'd to be excus'd. The Duke was exceedingly troubled, (as alſo was the Cardinal his Brother that now is) that they had not a man in ſo great an exigency, whom they could entruſt with the defence of this place. The Siege of *Verſel* deſigned.

I now began to gather a little ſtrength, and theſe diſpatches to and again were carried ſo privately, that I knew nothing of all this, till in the end a Gentleman of the Dukes, (whom he had commanded to be continually about me, to ſee that I wanted nothing) diſcover'd it all to me one night very late, and told me moreover, that the Duke had almoſt given over the place for loſt, foraſmuch as he who was Governor in it was no Soldier, nor had ever born arms in any action of conſequence: but that he was nevertheleſs a very honeſt man; ſo that the Duke did not in the leaſt ſuſpect his fidelity, but only his want of experience, and which was worſt of all, there was no one in a time of ſo great need, who would make an offer of his perſon, to put himſelf into the place. Having heard this ſtory, I all night conſulted with my health about this affair; for as for inclination I had but too much, and in the morning finding my ſelf indifferently luſty, I thereupon went immediately to wait upon the Duke, whom I found abed, for he alwayes roſe very late. He had given order to his people, that at what time ſoever I came to his Chamber door, although he was in bed they ſhould let me in; wherefore I no ſooner knockt, but that one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber preſently open'd the door, where I found the Duke in Bed, and two Secretaries writing upon a little Table by his Bed-ſide. So ſoon as I had given him the good morrow, I gave him an account of what had been told me over night, but withal naming the Gentleman. Whereupon he repeated to me the ſame things I had heard before, together with the great trouble he was in, but would not mention the Cardinal of *Mantua* to me, from whom he had the moſt certain intelligence untill my return, when ſo ſoon as he had made an end, I ſpoke to him after this manner. *Sir, dare you confide in me for the defence of your place*, to which he made anſwer, *in you Monſieur* de Montluc? *yes certainly, and ſooner than any man in* Italy; *then Sir*, ſaid I, *get up, and write preſently to the Prince your Son, to give me a* French *Company that I ſhall chooſe, and ſome horſe to convoy me to the Town, and write to Signior* Pietro Gentilis, *that he keep a good correſpondence with me for the defence of the City, and that you have not ſent me to deprive him of his Government, but becauſe I have more experience in theſe affairs than he has, and that he ſhall preſently execute whatever I ſhall direct.* Upon this the Duke thruſt out his arms, and claſping me faſt about the neck, held my face cloſe to his boſom, bidding one of his Gentlmen run for the Cardinal his Brother, who lay in his own Palace, a great diſtance from the Caſtle. The Gentleman made all the haſte he could, telling the Cardinal what he had heard, who immediately came to us, and ſo ſoon as he came into the room, taking me in his arms, ſaid to me theſe words. *O Monſieur* de Montluc *how infinitely is our whole Family oblig'd to your generoſity for this noble offer.* After which they immediately fell to diſpatching their letters, whilſt I went to make my ſelf ready to be gone, for the buſineſs requir'd haſte, *Verſel* being ſo ſituated, that an Army being ever ſet down before it, it is impoſſible to get in, provided they have two or three boats only upon the River. I went that night to lie at *Final*, the next day I din'd at *Modena*, and arriv'd in the evening at *Reges*, where the Prince with his Army lay, who gave me the Baron

The anxiety of the Duke of *Ferrara*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* offers himſelf to the Duke of *Ferrara*.

He goes to the relief of *V*

d'Aurade, (the ſame who was after ſlain at Monſieur *de Nemours* his Chamber window at *Vienna*) with his Company and a Troop of Horſe for my Convoy. In this equipage at one of the clock in the afternoon we arriv'd at *Verſel*, where there was one Company of *Swiſs*, five of *Italians*, and now that of the Baron *d'Aurade*, who was glad to go along with me, and made the ſeventh. The Duke of *Parma* from the time of his being reconcil'd to the King of *Spain*, had call'd back his two Companies of Light-horſe, which had been with us at *Rome*, commanded by the Captain *Bartolomeo*, and *Ambroſio*, and ſeven or eight dayes before this Captain *Ambroſio* had been taken, and brought priſoner into the Caſtle of *Verſel*, where I found him juſt going away, the Prince having exchang'd him for another. He was amaz'd to ſee me there, and I told him, *that not long agoe we had worn the white Croſs together, but that I now ſaw him with a red one*; to which he *made anſwer, qua beſognava far le commandamento del ſuo padrone, and ask'd me what buſineſs I had there*: In anſwer to which I merrily told him, *that I was come thither to ſerve them in the qua'ity of* Mareſchal de Camp, *where I would provide them Quarters to lodge their Army in at their eaſe*: But Captain *Pietro Gentilis* told and aſſur'd him, that I was come to defend the place, who thereupon ſaid, *O queſti non ſono baye donque a la fede che, in portero cative nove al mio padrone*, and ſo bad me farewell.

The defects of *Verſel.*

Now the Duke of *Parma* at this ſame time held another place of the Duke of *Ferrara's* beſieg'd belonging to *Reges*. For five or ſix miles round about *Verſel* I found neither Hay nor Straw, nor any other thing for the horſes to eat, neither was there any meat at all, and within few utenſils to work withal, nor wine, but a little they had for the *Swiſs*, and very little either meal, or corn to make meal of: A defect that I believe more tempted Don *Ferrand* to beſiege it, than any other thing. Methought I was once more got into *Sienna*, where I was in the greateſt neceſſity of all things; and in the morning the Troop of Horſe would needs be gone, their horſes not having any one bit of any thing of all that night to eat. Now there were three great Bourgs upon the Road towards *Parma* (which as I remember they told me appertain'd to the Sieur *de St. Surin*, whom I have ſeen in a round Bonnet at Court) half a mile diſtant the one from the other, and two miles from *Verſel*, where there lay ſome *Italian* Soldiers in Garriſon, to hinder thoſe of *Verſel* from drawing any relief from thence. I therefore ſallied out with the *Swiſs* Company, that of the Baron *d'Aurade*, and three hundred *Italian* Harquebuzeers, ordering Signior *Pietro Gentilis* to command all the men, women, and children to follow after me, together with all the horſe in the Town, and a great number of Ropes and Sacks, and ſo marched directly to the firſt Village. The Enemy who were quarter'd there, upon my coming preſently abandon'd the Bourg, and retir'd to the next, and I ſtill follow'd after, till at laſt they forſook them all, and retir'd in all haſte towards *Parma*.

Verſel victualled by the Inhabitants themſelves.

I had given order that upon pain of death no one ſhould touch any thing but proviſions, and left the Baron *d'Aurade* with the Troop of Horſe at the furthermoſt Village towards *Parma*, the *Italian* Harquebuzeers at the ſecond, and the *Swiſs* at the third neareſt to *Verſel*, giving them all in charge to ſuffer nothing to paſs, but victual only, whilſt I rid up and down from Bourg to Bourg to haſten them in their work; for I never expected to go off without fighting. The Bourgs were none of them all encloſed, and there was great plenty of proviſions, inſomuch that ſome made five or ſix journeys to carry victual into *Verſel*, ſo that in the end there was not one who did not come to ſeek for proviſion, and the wines we embark'd upon Boats, and convey'd them by a little River there was (I think an Arm of the *Po*) landing them about half a mile from *Verſel*, the River coming no nearer to the Town. This work continued from Sun-riſe to Sun-ſet, ſo that I dare be bold to ſay there was but a very little proviſion, of all ſorts put together, left in all the Villages, the men and women whereof were very much aſtoniſht at this proceeding, but I promiſed them ſatisfaction; and ſo the day paſt, wherein ſo much proviſion both for men and horſes was conveyed into the Town, that for three months we could not poſſibly want, and then the Captain of the horſe was content to ſtay with me a few days longer. The next day Signior *Pietro Gentilis* ſallied out with all the men, women, and children of eight years old and upwards, and went to fall upon a Copſe about half a mile from *Verſel*, to cauſe Bavins to be made and brought before the Town. The Inhabitants were by no means unwilling to go, and he alſo took the *Swiſs*, and almoſt all the *Italian* foot along with him, whilſt I with the Baron *d'Aurade*, and the Troop of horſe went along to guard him, where they plyed their work as well at the Copſe, as they had done at the Villages the day before, and came to throw down their Bavins within a Harquebuz ſhot of the Town; neither till the night took us up did we ever ceaſe, and for two dayes after did the ſame, inſomuch that I am confident there were above threeſcore thouſand Bavins made in three dayes, which afterwards we went with Colours flying to

The diligence of the Inhabitants of *Verſel.*

fetch

fetch home, and beſtowed them in the Town, filling the Church, and ſeveral vacant places in the Walls, and then fell to fortifying, none being excepted from the work, Signior *Pietro* and I carrying Baskets to give example to the reſt. I can ſay nothing but very well of that Gentleman, for I perceived in him no want either of courage or induſtry, but only of a little experience, which is not to be acquir'd without being employed, which he had never been; and how can one judge of a man until he be tried? 'Tis poſſible if he had been attaqu'd he would have acquitted himſelf very well: though men who have never ſeen a Siege are apt to be aſtonisht when they hear ſuch a rattle about their ears, and if a Governor be once daunted, all is loſt. So ſoon as we had got our Bavins into the Town I reſolv'd upon another Enterpriſe, wich was to go and ſweep away the proviſions of two Villages near *Graſtalda*, which belongs to Don *Ferrand*, in which there were two Companies of *Germans*, and one of *Italians*. To this end I ſent the Captain of the Horſe, and all the Gentlemen who were with me, to ride up to *Graſtalda*, and with them all along by a Hedge the Baron *d'Aurade* to ſecond them, whilſt I with the *Swiſs*, and four hundred *Italians* was buſie loading away the victuals. They ſent then twelve horſe up to the very Gates of *Graſtalda*, and the reſt were plac'd in Ambuſh in a little Wood hard by. Whereupon the *German* Captains, and a great many people with them ſallied out, and purſued out Avant Coureurs. Our Ambuſcado diſcover'd it ſelf too ſoon, otherwiſe all the Captains had been taken; but we purſued them up to the very gates, where fourty or threeſcore *Germans* were ſlain (for the Baron *d'Aurade* was got in amongſt them (the Ambuſcado's both of foot and horſe being planted cloſe by one another) and a *German* Enſign with twenty or four and twenty *Germans* taken priſoners; and ſo we return'd home with the proviſions we had loaded, and the next day I diſmiſſed the Horſe to return back to the Prince, who I was afraid would be diſpleaſed that they ſtaid ſo long, though the men themſelves were very willing to have ſtaid longer with me, which if they had I ſhould often have engag'd them with the Enemy; for I have ever taken care that my Soldiers, whether horſe or foot, ſhould not grow reſty for want of employment, and ſtronger or weaker, have ever ſet them together by the ears with the Enemy, to ſee what they could do. 'Tis true a man ought to go diſcreetly to work not to loſe them, but on the other ſide, he that ſtands over much upon caution, ſaying I will not throw away my men, or I will not do this or that to endanger the loſs of my Company, ſhall in the end find, that he has perform'd no great matters. A man muſt both give and take.

The Sieur de Montluc carries a Basket at the Fortifications.

The Duke of *Parma* lay ſtill before the forementiond place, which he batter'd, and in the mean time I did my buſineſs; Captain *Balferniere* and another *French* Company were in it, who behaved themſelves ſo well, that they for ten or twelve dayes held the Enemy in play. Don *Ferrand* who was at *Cremona* having intelligence of the victual and Bavins we had put into *Verſel*, and of the great diligence we uſed in all our affairs, began to cool in his deſign: for (as I have ſaid before) I had made head againſt him at *Caſſal*, and he knew very well what order and diligence I had obſerv'd in my Fortifications there: he alſo remembred how I had ſerv'd him at *Benne*, and at *St. Damian*, all which together made him imagine he ſhould not eaſily carry this place, and therefore he withdrew his Ammunitions and Artillery, which were upon the banks of *Po* ready to be ſhipt aboard, and diſmiſt the Boats he had preſt whereon to embark the Canon, and the Foot; for the Duke of *Parma*'s Camp was to have joyned with him before *Verſel*. And although it be in my own commendation, yet ſhall I not forbear to tell you, that the Duke of *Ferrara* ſaid in publick, and gave me that glory, that my preſence had diverted the Enemies deſigns, who would not attempt the Enterpriſe, knowing (as I ſaid before) what I could do for the defence of a place. 'Tis a great deal to acquire ſuch a reputation, as to make a man ſelf fear'd and eſteem'd by his Enemy. The ſaid Don *Ferrand* was an old wary Soldier, and would not attempt a place where I had broken ground; and alſo if he had, having wherewithal to eat I ſhould have baffled him.

Don Ferrand in ſuſpence what to do.

About this time the Duke of *Florence* procur'd the Duke of *Ferrara*'s peace with the King of *Spain*, but it was with the knowledge and conſent of the King, otherwiſe the ſaid Duke would not have done it to have ſav'd his Dukedom, he was ſo good a Frenchman; and when the peace came, which was five and twenty dayes after I entred into *Verſel*, I took my leave of the Prince, and return'd to *Ferrara*, where it is not to be asked if I was welcome to the Duke, the Dutcheſs, and the Cardinal; for I do not think they ever careſſed any man of what condition ſoever he was, or could be, more than they did me; and when he died I might well ſay, as I now do, I loſt one of the beſt friends I had in the world: and when I departed from *Ferrara* to go to *Verſel*, the Duke examin'd a Secretray of mine what ſtore of money I had, and he telling him I had not a-

The Duke of Ferrara a good Frenchman.

The Duke of *Ferrara* preſents the Sieur *de Montluc.*

bove two hundred Crowns, he ſent five hundred Crowns to my ſaid Secretary, who had the ordering of my expence; and when three dayes after my return I took my leave of him, the Dutcheſs and the Cardinal, the ſaid Duke ſeeing me have a great many Gentlemen of Quality in my Train, and knowing I could not have money enough to defray my Journey, he ſent me five hundred more. And thus I return'd rich from my Command in *Tuſcany*. This money carried me to *Lyons*, where I found two thouſand and four hundred Francks, which the King had cauſed to be paid for two years Salary of my place of Gentleman of the Chamber, and that *Martinengo* had there depoſited for me in the hands of *Cathelin Jean* the Poſt-maſter, which brought me to *Paris*. Immediately upon my coming to *Paris* I went to kiſs his Majeſties hand, he being then at *Creſſy*, where I was as well receiv'd by his Majeſty as at my return from *Sienna*, and he was very well ſatisfied with what I had done for the Duke of *Ferrara*. Monſieur *de Guiſe*, who had not ſeen me before, embrac'd me three or four times in the preſence of the King himſelf, and his Majeſty commanded the ſaid Monſieur *de Guiſe* to cauſe a thouſand Crowns to be given me, wherewith to return and to ſojourn ſome time at *Paris*, which he preſently did. And thus was my return out of *Italy* into *France*; the laſt time that I was in thoſe parts, and the ſervices I did there, wherein I cannot lie; there being ſo many yet living who can bear teſtimony of what I have deliver'd.

The Sieur *de Montluc* arrives at Court.

By this (Captains) you may ſee, and take notice what a thing reputation is, which alſo having once acquir'd, you ought rather to die than to loſe; neither muſt you do like men of the world, who ſo ſoon as they have got a little repute are content with it, and think that what ever they ſhall do afterwards, the world will ſtill repute them valiant. Do not fancy any ſuch thing; for by performing from time to time ſtill more and braver things, young men riſe to greatneſs, have fire in their pates, and fight like Devils; who when they ſhall ſee you do nothing worth taking notice of, will be apt to ſay, that the world has beſtowed the title of valiant upon you without deſert, will ſet leſs value upon you, uſe you with leſs reſpect, and behind your back talk of you at their pleaſure, and with good reaſon; for if you will not ſtill continue to do well, and ſtill attempt new and greater things, it were much ſafer for your honor to retire home to your own houſe, with the reputation you have already got, than by ſtill following arms to loſe it again, and to be ſcouting at diſtance when others are laying about them. If you deſire to mount to the higheſt ſtep of the ſtairs of honor, do not ſtop in the mid-vvay, but ſtep by ſtep ſtrive to get up to the top vvithout imagining that your renovvn vvill continue the ſame as vvhen it vvas obtein'd at firſt. You deceive your ſelves, ſome nevv commer vvill carry avvay the prize, if you do not look vvell about you, and ſtrive to do ſtill better and better.

The Duke of *Guiſe* created Lieutenant Geaeral of *France.*

The ſame day that I vvent from *Creſſy* back to *Paris*, Monſieur *de Guiſe* departed alſo to go to *Metz* to execute the Enterprize of *Thionville*. The King from the time of his return out of *Italy* had made choice of him for his Lieutenant General throughout his vvhole Kingdom, ſo that before my coming I found that he had taken the Tovvn of *Calice*, and ſent back the *Engliſh* to the other ſide of the Sea, together vvith *Guines*, and that he vvas novv upon the Siege of *Thionville*. Tvvo dayes had not paſt before the King ſent for me to come to him to *Creſſy*, vvithout giving me notice vvhat it vvas about, and I heard that the next morning after I departed from thence the King had cauſed Monſieur *d'Andelot* to be arreſted about ſome anſvver he had made him concerning Religion. So ſoon as I vvas come the King ſent for me into his Chamber, vvhere he had vvith him the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and tvvo or three others (vvhom I have forgot, but I think the King of *Navarre*, and Monſieur *de Montpenſier* vvere there) and there the King told me that I muſt go to *Metz* to the Duke of *Guiſe*, there to command the Foot, of which Monſieur *d'Andelot* vvas Colonel. I moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty not to make me to intermeddle vvith another mans Command, vvhich rather than I vvould do, I vvould go ſerve his Majeſty under the Duke of *Guiſe* in the quality of a private Soldier, or elſe vvould command his Pioneers, rather than take upon me this employment. The King then told me, that Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſo ſoon as he had heard of *Andelots* impriſonment, had himſelf ſent to demand me to exerciſe the ſaid command. Seeing then I could get nothing by excuſes, I told his Majeſty that I was not yet cur'd of a Dyſſentery my diſeaſe had left me, and that this was a command which requir'd health and diſpoſition of body to perform it; which were neither of them in me; whereupon his Majeſty told me, that he ſhould think this Command better diſcharg'd by me in a Litter, than by another in perfect health, and that he did not give it me to exerciſe for another, but that he intended I ſhould have it for ever; to which I made anſwer, that I gave his Majeſty moſt humble thanks for the honor he deſign'd me herein, and made it my moſt humble requeſt, that he

Andelot arreſted.

What an opinion King *Henry* had of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

he would not be diſpleaſed, if I could not accept it. Whereupon his Majeſty ſaid to me theſe words, *Let me entreat you to accept it for my ſake*, and with that the Cardinal reprov'd me, ſaying, *You diſpute it too long with his Majeſty, 'tis too much conteſted with your Maſter*, to which I replyed, that I did not diſpute it out of any diſaffection to his Majeſties ſervice, nor that I was unwilling to ſerve under the Duke of *Guiſe*, I having upon my firſt coming to *Paris* laid out money to buy me ſome Tents, and other Equipage, in order to my attendance upon him, having engag'd my ſelf before at *Rome* ſo to do; but only upon the account of my incapacity in that poſture of health wherein I then was. His Majeſty then told me, that there was no more to be ſaid, and that I muſt go; after which I had no more to ſay. And I fancy the King of *Navarre*, and Monſieur *de Montpenſier* both fell upon me to perſwade me to accept of this Command, foraſmuch as I remember the King ſaid to me, there is no more excuſe, for you ſee all the world is againſt you, and thereupon commanded the Cardinal to order me another thouſand Crowns towards my Equipage, which he preſently did. I then return'd to *Paris*, where I ſtayd but two dayes to provide my ſelf of ſuch things as I wanted, and ſo went away to the Duke of *Guiſe* to *Metz*. I found him juſt mounting to horſe to go to diſcover *Thionville*, but he would not ſuffer me to go along with him, by reaſon of my long Journey, and to ſpeak the truth I was not very well; and the ſame night he return'd, and told me, that if God would permit us to take that place, there was honor to be got. He was alwaies wont when diſpos'd to be merry to call me, his heart, and ſmiling, then ſaid to me, *Courage my heart, I hope we ſhall carry it*. And in the morning we departed, for he had all his tackle ready. I muſt needs ſay one thing with truth, and without flattery, that he was one of the moſt diligent Generals that I had ſerv'd of eighteen, under whom I had the honor to bear arms for his Majeſties ſervice; and yet he had one fault, which was, that he would write almoſt every thing with his own hand, and would not truſt to any Secretary he had. I will not ſay this was ill done, but it rendred him a little ſlow, and affairs of war require ſo prompt a diligence, that a quarter of an hours delay ſometimes endangers the ſucceſs of the greateſt Enterprize. One day I came from the Trenches to demand of him four German Enſigns to reinforce our Guards, for we began to approach very near to the Town; and becauſe the Artillery from the walls had forced him from his firſt Quarter, he was lodg'd in a little low houſe, which had one little Chamber only, the window whereof was juſt over the door: I there met with Monſieur *de Bourdillon*, who was ſince Mareſchal of *France*, whom I asked where the Duke was; he told me he was writing; *the Devil*, ſaid I, *take all theſe writings for me, it ſeems he has a mind to ſave his Secretaries a labour, 'tis pitty he was not a Clerk of the Parliament of* Paris, *for he would have got more money than* du Tillot, *and all the reſt of them put together*. Monſieur *Bourdillon* was ready to die with laughing, becauſe he knew (which I dream't not on) that the Duke heard every word I ſaid, and therefore egg'd me on ſtill to deſcant more upon this Clerk: when preſently Monſieur *de Guiſe* came out laughing, and ſaid, *How now my heart, what do you think I ſhould have made a good Clerk?* but in my life I was never ſo out of countenance, and was furiouſly angry with Monſieur *de Bourdillon*, for having made me talk at that rate, though the Duke laught at it only, and gave me Count *Rocquendolf* with four Enſigns. But to return to what I was ſaying of his diligence, there was not any one who did not acknowledge him for one of the moſt vigilant and diligent Generals of our times, and withal a man of ſo great judgment in deliberation, that he having deliver'd his opinion and advice, a better was not to be expected. As to the reſt, a Prince ſo diſcreet, affable, and familiar, that there was not a man in his Army, who would not cheerfully run all hazards for the leaſt word of his mouth; ſo great a dexterity he had in gaining hearts. Onely his diſpatches took up a little too much of his time, I think becauſe he durſt not truſt his Secretaries, a ſort of men that do us a great deal of miſchief, and 'tis very rare to find out one that is faithful.

The Sieur *de Montluc* Colonel of the Infantry.

The laudable qualities of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

He beſieg'd the Town then on that ſide beyond the River, the River being between, which he cauſ'd to be ſounded, to try if it was not very deep, by five or ſix Soldiers that I brought with me: we were not above five or ſix with him, of which number were Monſieur *de Bourdillon*, and Monſieur *de Cire*; and we found that ſome of the Soldiers had water up to the Codpiece, and others to the Girdle. I then told him, that in caſe this was the weakeſt ſide, he ought not to deferre making his Battery; for I doubted not to make the Soldiers paſs over to the aſſault, and that I my ſelf would lead them the way. The night following we planted Gabions upon the bank of the River, and in the morning by break of day the Artillery began to thunder againſt the Tower, which was open'd on the left hand towards a Ravelin that flanckt the ſaid Tower, as alſo was a little Turret betwixt the great Tower and the Ravelin. This was all that could be done

The Siege of *Thionville*.

at

at that place. The Enemy planted ten or twelve great pieces of Canon, juſt over againſt
A Counter Battery. our Artillery, and about eleven of the clock in the morning began to make a Counter-battery, with which before two a clock in the afternoon they had beaten all our Gabions to pieces, excepting one, and the half of another, behind which ten or a dozen of us that were there were ſquat with our bellies cloſe to the ground; for all the Soldiers and Pioneers were conſtrain'd to quit the poſt, and to go throw themſelves behind another Trench above ſixſcore paces behind us; ſo that durſt the Enemy have ventur'd over the water, they might have taken our Artillery, and at great eaſe have thrown them into the River: for the Soldiers that were retired to the other Trench could not have come up to relieve us, but at the mercy of their Canon; and ſmaller ſhot, foraſmuch as the River was not above threeſcore and ten paces over, and ran within four foot of the Wall. Monſieur *le* Marquis *d'Elbœuf*, with fourteen or fifteen Gentlemen of the Dukes Train, never forſook me of all the while, and ſo we lay till dark night, that we planted new Gabions, and double the number, but it was all to no purpoſe, for we could do no good with our Battery againſt the Wall, foraſmuch as they had caſt up great Terraſſes within, ſo broad that two or three Coaches might have gone upon them abreaſt both in that place, and elſewhere quite round the Town; in my life I never ſaw a Fortreſs better fortified than that was. Monſieur *de Guiſe* then call'd a Council, where every one was of opinion that he ſhould draw off his Artillery from that place, and lodge all our Infantry and *Germans* on the other ſide the River, and there to begin his Trenches as near as he could to the Wall. This being reſolv'd upon, the ſaid Duke cauſed a Bridg in extreme diligence to be preſently made, and we paſſed the River over it, though the plancks were not as yet nail'd, and encampt in a Village about five or ſix hundred paces diſtant from the City, ſituate upon a Plain,
A furious counter-battery. and ſo open, that a bird could not ſtir without being ſeen, and there they plyed us with their Canon till they had not left a houſe ſtanding in the whole Village, inſomuch that we were conſtrain'd to ſecure our ſelves in the Cellars under ground. I had pitch'd my Pavillions very cunningly betwixt two Walls, but they beat down both Walls and Pavillions; in my life I never ſaw a more furious Counter-battery. The night following the Mareſchal *de Strozzy* paſt the River with Monſieur *de Guiſe*, and we began to caſt up our Trenches along this Plain, where we lay ſeven or eight dayes before we could approach within two hundred paces of the City, by reaſon the nights were ſhort, and by day they did ſo thunder the Trenches, that there was no working but by night. The Mareſchal never ſtirr'd from us, unleſs he went ſometimes to his Tents, (which yet remain'd on the other
The Trenches. ſide of the water) to ſhift his clothes, and that not above once in three dayes. He gave me leave to make the Trenches according to my own fancy, for we had at firſt begun them a little two narrow through the wiſdom of an Engineer. At every twenty paces I made a back corner, or return, winding ſometimes to the left hand, and ſometimes to the right, which I made ſo large that there was room for twelve or fifteen Soldiers with their Harquebuzes and Halberts; and this I did to the end, that ſhould the Enemy gain the head of the Trench, and ſhould leap into it, thoſe in the back corner might fight them, they being much more Maſters of the Trench than they who were in the ſtraight line, an invention that both the Mareſchal and the Duke did very well approve of.

Monſieur *de Guiſe* then told me, that I muſt ſend to diſcover what effect our Artillery had wrought againſt the Tower, and that I muſt do it by valiant perſons. In order
Thienville diſcover'd. whereunto I took with me Captain *Sarlabous*, the younger *Millac*, *St. Eſtephe*, *Cipiere*, and Captain *Montluc* my Son, and went. So ſoon as we came near unto the Tower we were to paſs over certain little Bridges the Enemy had made, by which to paſs over the Mariſh to the Tower; and being come to the Tower we found a Palliſado of poſts as thick as a man's thigh, that from the Tower went ſeven or eight paces into the River, and we were to go all along by the Palliſado in water to the end of it, and afterwards on the other ſide of the Palliſado to return to the Tower. We had made two Soldiers bring two Pikes along with us; I for my part did not go into the water, but all the reſt paſt the Palliſado after this manner, and one after another view'd the breach that had been made in the Tower, and they put a Soldier into it by a Pike, and found that within the Tower there was water up to the arm-pits, and being the River made a great noiſe at this place by reaſon of the Palliſado, their Centinels never heard us, though the Tower was no more
The Duke *de Guiſe* not ſatisfied with the diſcovery made by the Sieur *de Montluc*. than four paces diſtant from the Wall of the Town. This being done we return'd, and went to give Monſieur *de Guiſe* an account of what we had ſeen, who would not give credit to our diſcovery, but told me he was certain there was no Palliſado, and that people who came lately from thence had aſſur'd him to the contrary; and that therefore the night following we muſt diſcover it better. I was vext to the blood at this anſwer: but ſaid no more to him but only this, *that I conceiv'd the teſtimony of thoſe Captains was*

ſufficient,

ſufficient, but ſeeing he was not ſatisfied with it, let ſome body in the name of God diſcover it better, to which he made anſwer, that he did not mean I ſhould go my ſelf, *neither* ſaid I, *do I intend it.* The Mareſchal knew very well that I was angry, and ſaid to the Sieur *Adrian Baillon*, and to Count *Theophile*, I know *Montluc* is angry by his anſwer to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and you ſhall ſee if he do not go this night to diſcover after a terrible manner, for I know the complexion of the man.

This night Monſieur *de Guiſe* detein'd the Mareſchal with him in his Quarters, and ſo ſoon as it was night I took four hundred Pikes, Corſlets all, and four hundred Harquebuzeers, and went to lay the Corſlets upon their bellies upon the ground within a hundred paces of the Gate of the City, and I with the four hundred Harquebuzeers marched directly to the Palliſado. The Captains themſelves who had diſcover'd before, were as angry at the anſwer Monſieur *de Guiſe* had given them, as I, and themſelves firſt paſſed the Palliſado. Now I believe the Enemy had in the morning perceiv'd that people had paſt by the end of the Palliſado, for we there found a Court of Guard of twenty or five and twenty men, of which the moſt part were kill'd, and the reſt eſcap'd into the Rampire, where our people purſued and entred after them; but the door of the Ravelin that went into the Town was ſo narrow, that one man only could paſs at a time, which was the reaſon that our men ſtopt ſhort, for the Enemy defended the door. Nevertheleſs they made ſhift to diſmount, and tumble a Baſtard from the Ravelin on our ſide down to the ground, and being that by the Tower our Artillery from the other ſide of the water had beaten down part of the Wall, ſo that it was pretty low; we with ſome Pikes that came along with us, came to diſpute it with them, where the fight continued for above a long hour. Monſieur *de Guiſe*, who ſaw all from the other ſide of the River, was ſtark mad at what he ſaw, but the Mareſchal who was with him laught with Sieur *Adrian*, and the Count *de Theophile* ſaying, *did I not tell you he would make one?* I had made the Soldiers to carry five or ſix hatchets along with them, with which during the time of the fight, I cauſed all the Palliſado to be cut, and pulled up, ſo that we needed no more to wade the water at our return. Captain St. *Eſtephe* was there ſlain with the Enſign of *Cipierre* and another Enſign (but they had not their Colours with them, for I had brought none) together with ten or twelve Soldiers kill'd, and wounded. Captain *Sarlabous* is yet living, and ſeveral others who can witneſs, that had we taken with us five or ſix Ladders ſeven or eight foot high only, we had entred the place, for they kept very ill guard on that ſide, and in that place, relying upon the Guard they had left without, ſo that it was a long time before they came to the defence of this Poſt, whilſt in the mean time five or ſix of our Soldiers helping one another mounted upon the Wall; ſo that had we had Ladders to reach from the top of the breach in the Wall up to the Terraſs, I think fortune would have ſmil'd upon us, for they ſay ſhe favours the bold.

Another diſcovery of the Breach.

St. *Eſtephe* ſlain.

In the morning I ſent Captain *Sarlabous* to give the Duke an account of what we had ſeen, for I would not go my ſelf, being certain he was very angry. The Mareſchal was ſtill with him, who laughing ſaid, *would you have a Breach better diſcover'd than by giving an aſſault? This was a Gaſcon trick you was not aware of.* The thing that moſt troubled the Duke of *Guiſe* was, that word would be ſent to the King, that we had given an Aſſault, and were repulſ'd, otherwiſe he had not cared ſo much. His incredulity and my deſpite were the loſs of a great many good men. When we had brought up our Trench within fifty paces of the Tower, one morning by break of day the Mareſchal would retire to his Tent to ſhift himſelf, and I alſo would do the ſame. Now as our approaches came nearer to the Town, ſtill made my back returns a little longer, to the end that two of them might receive a whole Company. I had evermore an opinion that the Enemy would make a Sally upon us, but it would never ſink into the Mareſchal's head, for he would always ſay, *Would you have them ſuch mad men as to make a Sally to loſe their Soldiers, never any men of ſenſe did ſuch a ridiculous thing*; to which I made anſwer, *why ſhould they not ſally? for in the firſt place they are diſe from the walls to ſecure their mens retreat, on the other ſide they are in the Town twelve Enſigns of Foot, four hundred Spaniards choice men picke out of all the Spaniſh Companies, and a good Chief to head them, which is* Joanne Gayetano, *a man they eſteem above all the Captains they have, and a hundred Horſe beſides, and the Town would be ſufficiently defended with half the forces they are within.* I could not for all this make him underſtand it. I know not why, for the reaſon of war I am ſure was on my ſide.

This very morning I had plac'd Captain *Lago* the elder, and his Company in two of the long back returns on the right hand, whom I caus'd to enter before day, that the Enemy might not perceive them, ſo that it was, as a man may ſay, a kind of Ambuſcado. The Captains who mounted the Guard, had in charge, that in caſe the Enemy ſhould make a

ſally,

ſalley, and attaque the head of the Trenches, they ſhould put themſelves into the Field and run to charge them in the Flank; and thoſe at the head of the Trench had likewiſe order, that in caſe they ſhould attaque the returns; they ſhould likewiſe leap out of the Trench to aſſault them in their flank alſo. We had every night four German Enſigns quarter'd there where we began our Trench; to aſſiſt us in time of need, but what Regiment it was that was that night upon the Guard, I cannot remember, and before the Mareſchal and I were got to the end of the Trenches, it began to be fair broad day. The Mareſchal trifled the time a little talking with a German Captain, and alſo to ſtay for a horſe, which I had ſent for to lend him to paſs over the bridge to his Tents, being at a ſtone Croſscloſe by the village; the horſe I had lent him came, when, as my footman was alighting, on a ſudden we heard a mighty noiſe, and ſaw the Enemy fighting with our men at the head of the Trench, and leaping headlong into the Trenches, and had it not been for thoſe back returns, had doubtleſs gain'd them from us. With them there ſallied out alſo fifty or threeſcore horſe. Captain *Lago* did there approve himſelf to be a valiant and a prudent man, for he cried to his Lieutenant in the return behind him, to run with his Pikes charg'd full drive upon the horſe, whilſt he himſelf ran upon the Enemies Flanck, who were diſputing the head of the Trenches. Seeing this, I mounted upon the horſe, whilſt the Mareſchal remain'd at the Croſs, ſpectator of the whole action, nor ever ſtaid till I came up to our own men who were at it pell-mell with the Enemy; who ſo ſoon as *Lago* came up to them would have retir'd, when our people leapt out of the Trenches, and flew upon them, and ſo we purſued them wounding and killing up to the very Tower on the right hand. I then preſently ſent back the horſe to the Mareſchal, who found Monſieur *de Guiſe*, and all the Gentlemen that were quartered near him on horſeback coming to relieve us: but he told them there was no need, for that he had ſeen all the fight, and the victory was ours. As we retir'd from the purſuit, all the remainder of their Harquebuzeers were upon the Walls, and fir'd ſo round upon our retreat, that it ſeem'd as if it had been only a Volley in complement to us. I was alone on horſeback in the middle of our men, and therefore let any one judge whether God did not by miracle preſerve me in ſuch a ſhowre of Harquebuz ſhot, conſidering what a fair mark they had of me. The Captains cried out to me to gallop off, though I would never leave them, but came along with them to the edge of the Trenches, where I alighted, and preſently deliverd the horſe to my Lacquey to carry him to the Mareſchal as I ſaid before, and with the reſt threw my ſelf into the Trenches, where I found a Captain and a Lieutenant of ours left dead upon the place: I do not remember their names (for they were *French*, and I was but lately come to command in the Army) with twelve or fourteen, what of theirs and ours dead in the Trenches. And yet notwithſtanding the brave Volley they gave us from the Walls, we had not above ten men hurt; and thus their ſally did not ſo much endammage us by a great deal, as it did themſelves.

A Sally of the beſieged.

They are repulſed.

You may here Captains take a good example concerning Trenches, and the order I took for the ſally the Enemy might make, with the advantage we had by it. For never diſpute it, the Defendants have need of men, and therefore will be loath to attempt to force your Trenches: 'tis true if you ſleep in them you will be ſurpriz'd. Take notice alſo when you make your Trenches, to make them high and ſloping, and that they have back returns, or corners capable of lodging men; for they are as Forts to repel an Enemy. There was now no more talk of Monſieur *de Guiſe* his being angry with me, the Mareſchal and he holding no other diſcourſe all dinner time, but of the fight, and principally of the providence and circumſpection wherewith I had proceeded, ſaying, that it would be a hard thing ever to ſurprize me. And alſo in truth I walk'd whilſt others ſlept, without fearing either heat or cold. I was inur'd to hardſhip, which all young Gentlemen who will advance themſelves by arms, ought to ſtudy betimes, and learn to ſuffer, that when they ſhall wax old, it may not be altogether intollerable; but old age being once wholly come, *Goodnight Godſon.*

Within two or three nights after we brought up our Trench to the foot of the great Tower, whereupon Monſieur *de Guiſe* brought his Miners to try if the Tower was to be min'd, and therefore fell to piercing the Wall within two or three foot of the ground, when ſo ſoon as the Enemy heard what we were about, they began to make Caſemats within the Tower, ſo that their Caſemats anſwer'd to our Hole. We were three nights about piercing the Wall; and at the ſame time that our Miners were picking without the Enemy were picking within at their loop-holes. Every night Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſent us four Gentlemen to help us to watch, and I remember that one night Monſieur *de Montpezat*, and Monſieur *de Randan* came to lie there. So ſoon as the hole was almoſt thorough, Monſieur *de Guiſe* cauſed a Canon to be brought me to help to pierce the Wall, for he knew

knew very well that the picking we heard was about Caſemats, and that ſo ſoon as ever the wall ſhould be pierc'd through, they would ſhoot at us from them. The day before the Canon was brought, the Mareſchal *de Strozzy* was gone to his Tents on the other ſide the water to refreſh himſelf, and to ſhift both his ſhirt and his clothes, for we were all dirt.

Monſieur *de Guiſe* from the time that the Miners began to work at the Wall, caus'd a great many Pioneers to come, and to begin a Traverſe of Earth and Bavins cloſe adjoyning to the Tower, making them to leave a little path, at which they wrought ſo hard, that as the hole was pierced, the Traverſe was alſo brought to perfection. The Enemy had laid a great number of planks upon the Tower in manner of a Trench, and the night before we gave the aſſault, going up by the little path of the Traverſe, and with the help of ſome Ladder, we took away the planks of their Trench from the top of the Tower, which did us more harm than good; for when the planks were taken away, the great Platform which was cloſe by the Tower, there being only five or ſix paces betwixt them, ſo ſoon as any of us popt up a head, diſcover'd us.

Monſieur *de Guiſe* unfortunately detains the Marſhal *de Strozzy* all night in his Quarters.

Now as I have already ſaid the Mareſchal was only gone to ſhift himſelf, but Monſieur *de Guiſe* made him ſtay ſupper with him, and with great importunity kept him all that night, to his great misfortune: for Monſieur *de Guiſe* detain'd him the next morning, to ſee where they ſhould plant four Culverines on that ſide where they were to play into the Enemies defences, when we ſhould the next day give the aſſault. The Mareſchal ſeveral times begg'd of him to give him leave to return, telling him, that ſhould any buſineſs befal me that night, he ſhould be extreamly troubled if he ſhould not be there. At laſt the ſaid Mareſchal, to his great grief, was conſtrained to ſtay, and ſo much contrary to his mind, that ſo ſoon as he was retir'd into his Tent, he ask'd the Sieur *Adrian Bailon* and Count *Theophile*, if they had the word to paſs thorough the *Germans*: for as for our people he did not care, and could paſs well enough without. They told him they had none, whereupon he ſaid to them theſe words, *It runs in my head, that Monſieur* de Montluc *will this night have ſomething to do, and that the Enemy will come to attaque him over the Counterſcarp of the Ditch of the Town, which ſhould it ſo fall out, it would trouble me the longeſt day I have to live, that I was not there.*

To which they made anſwer, that he ought not to fancy any ſuch thing, for that I had plac'd a Court of Guard of four hundred men within twenty paces of the Gate of the City, which they muſt of neceſſity fight withal, before they could come to me. To which he reply'd, *I know not what it is, but I am ſtrangely poſſeſs'd with an opinion, that ſome misfortune will happen this night.* They endeavour'd all they could to put this conceit out of his head; for the Sieur *Adrian* had no mind to repaſs the River, and go to lie all night at the Tower, he having been lately very ſick, and not yet perfectly recover'd; for had they told him, as they afterwards told me, that he might have paſt thorough the *German* Guards well enough without the word, being as well known to all the *German* Officers, as to thoſe of our own Nation, he would have gone, what promiſe ſoever he had made to the Duke of *Guiſe* to the contrary; but when the hour is come, I think God will have it ſo, that death ſhall follow, and 'tis to no purpoſe for a man to fly, or to hide himſelf. He moreover ſaid to them theſe words, *Monſieur* de Montluc *is not yet well known to the King and Queen, although the King loves him very well; but if I eſcape from this ſiege, I will make both the King and the Queen underſtand his worth*, and the next day when he was dead, the Sieur *Adrian* and Count *Theophile* told me, that I had loſt the beſt Friend I had in the world, which I eaſily believ'd, and do ſtill believe it, and might well ſay, that having loſt the Duke of *Ferrara* and him, I had loſt the two beſt friends I had in *Italy* and in *France*. He was kill'd the next day, as he was looking and conſulting with Monſieur *de Guiſe* where to place the four Culverines. Before dinner he had been looking long, but Monſieur *de Guiſe* would needs return again in the afternoon to conſider of it better, having Monſieur *de Salcede* with them. He was ſlain by a Muſquet ſhot from a little Bulwark, that was at a Corner of the Town, pointing along by the River towards *Metz*. Thus when a mans hour is once come, he cannot avoid it. This poor Lord had paſt thorough above ſix thouſand Canon, and above fifty thouſand Harquebuz ſhot, which could not all kill him, and yet this accurſed Muſquet ſhot could do it, at the diſtance of above five hundred paces, Monſieur *de Guiſe* being cloſe by him. The King there loſt a good ſervant, and as valiant a man dyed as any was in *France*. Two hours after, Monſieur *de Guiſe* came to the Tower, but gave expreſs charge that no one ſhould ſpeak a word of his death, when ſeeing the Sieur *Adrian* and Count *Theophile*, I ask'd them where he was, to which they made anſwer, that the laſt night he had not been very well, but that to night he would come to me; but perceiving

The Mareſchal *de Strozzy* ſlain.

Monſieur *de Guiſe* to be ſad, and all thoſe who were with him very grave, my heart miſgave me, that ſomething was amiſs, when Monſieur *de Guiſe* being return'd, and having left Monſieur *de Bourdillon* with me in the Mareſchal's ſtead, I earneſtly entreated him to tell me what was become of Monſieur *de Strozzy*; who made anſwer, *Why, I will tell you, and alſo if you know it not to day, you will know it to morrow*, and thereupon gave me the relation of his death, and how Monſieur *de Guiſe* had forbid them to tell me, fearing my grief would hinder me the next day from performing my duty in the fight. To which I reply'd, *That it was true, no man under Heaven was more afflicted for his death than I was, yet that I would endeavour to forget him for that night, and the day following; but it ſhould be to lament him ever after whilſt I had an hour to breath:* Count *Theophile* and the Sieur *Adrian* ſtay'd with me all this night, during which we paſt together our lamentations, and by break of day began to play our Canon at the Hole. Monſieur *de Guiſe* had caus'd an Engine of planks above a foot thick to be made, to put before the Canon ſo ſoon as it had fir'd, to the end that the Enemy from their Loop-holes might not kill our Canoneers. At the foot of this Engine there were two little wheels for it to move upon, and it was drawn with a little cord, which ſo cover'd the muſſel of the Canon, that no Harquebuz ſhot could pierce it. After this manner we made twenty ſhot at this Hole, which we broke thorough, and made ſo wide, that a man might eaſily paſs thorough; but the Canon could do no hurt to their Caſemats, foraſmuch as they were a little on the right hand, and no man could approach the Hole, without being kill'd or wounded. Monſieur *de Guiſe* then ſent me order, that I ſhould try to lodge three or four hundred men betwixt the Tower and the Ravelin, and that he would to that purpoſe ſend me Gabions and Pioneers. He had caus'd Mantelets to be made, to place from the great Tower to the River, which might be ſome ſeven or eight paces, and from thence our Harquebuzeers ſhot at thoſe who appear'd upon the Courtine; our Enſigns planting themſelves all along by the wall, from the Tower to the Raveline. Thoſe upon the Platform ſaw all along by the Courtine, and ours who were by this Raveline on that ſide by the Hole, fir'd at them, whilſt I made them ſhoot from behind the Mantelets. Monſieur *de Nevers* the Father of theſe three daughters now living, was come thither, and ſtood by our Traverſe that was at the foot of the Great Tower, and Monſieur *de Guiſe* was on the other ſide of the River, by the Artillery. *Poton Seneſchal* of *Agenois* commanded one of the four Culverines, who made very brave ſhots, and did us great ſervice, for he play'd continually upon the top of the Courtine and the Platform, at thoſe who ſhew'd themſelves to ſhoot at our people below, and this continued four or five hours at leaſt. Monſieur *de Guiſe* then ſent to me by Monſieur *de Cipierre* to try if we could by any means place the Gabions he had ſent me, betwixt the wall and the Hole, but all thoſe who preſented themſelves to plant the Gabions, were either kill'd or hurt. I then bethought my ſelf to put a hundred or ſixſcore Pioneers into the water, under the bank of the River, to caſt up a Trench all along by the water ſide towards the *Ravaline*. Monſieur *de Cipierre* ſaw the great difficulty and impoſſibility there was in executing the Dukes command, and found Captain *Bordeziere* dead, and his Enſign wounded who dyed after. You could have ſeen nothing but wounded men carrying off to be dreſt, and the Mantelets ſhatter'd all to pieces with ſtones, ſo that we lay all open ſhooting at one another as one ſhoots at a mark. I had order'd our affairs pretty well; for I had plac'd moſt of the Harquebuzeers by hundreds, ſo that as one hundred had ſpent all their powder, another hundred came to ſupply their rooms, and ſtill all the danger and miſchief fell where I was; for as well the Culverines that plaid from the other ſide of the River, as thoſe men of ours that ſhot openly, and without ſhelter, kept the Enemy in ſuch aw, that not one durſt pop up his head to ſhoot at our people who were under the wall below, but plaid continually upon us, who were almoſt in a level right over againſt them. Monſieur *de Bourdillon* then at the bidding of Monſieur *de Nevers*, came and caught me by the arms behind, and hal'd me above ſix paces backwards, ſaying, *What will you do man, in the name of God, what do you intend to do, do you not ſee, that if you be kill'd, all this labour's loſt, and that the Souldiers will be diſcouraged?* to which, diſengaging my ſelf from him, I reply'd, *and do you not alſo ſee, that if I be not with the Souldiers, they will abandon this poſt, and the Enemy will kill all thoſe that are under the wall? for then they will ſtand up at their eaſe, and ſhoot plum down upon them.* Monſieur *de Nevers* then call'd to me alſo from the other ſide of the hole, to make me retire, which nevertheleſs I would not do, but ſaid to Monſieur *de Bourdillon* theſe words, *What God will do with me this day is already determin'd, I cannot avoid it, and if this place be appointed for my grave, it is in vain to ſhun my deſtiny*, and ſo, without ſaying any more to him, return'd back to the place from whence he had drawn me, when on a ſudden I bethought my

Engin of planks to defend the Caponeers.

The reſolution of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

ſelf

ſelf of an Enterprize, bidding Captain *Volumat* to take ſix Harquebuzeers, and two Halberts, and go place himſelf behind a Canton of the Wall, that remain'd of the Tower when it was beaten down, and there trie if ſuddenly leaping out from behind this Wall, he could not throw himſelf headlong upon the Caſemats, a deſign grounded upon my belief that they could not be cover'd with any thing but plancks, for they made them after the ſame manner that we made the Hole, or elſe that they were totally open. But be it how it would, I intreated him without diſpute to throw himſelf upon them, aſſuring him, that I would go make another Captain fall on by the path of the Traverſe, which lead up to the top of the Tower, and that both of them at the ſame time ſhould throw themſelves headlong upon the Caſemates. I then call'd to me a *French* Captain (I do not remember his name) and ſaid to him in the preſence of Monſieur *de Nevers* and Monſieur *de Bourdillon*, the ſame things I had ſaid to Captain *Volumat*, and that ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould be up, without pawſing upon the matter, he ſhould throw himſelf upon the Caſemats, deſiring Monſieur *de Nevers*, *and* Monſieur *de Bourdillon* to encourage the Soldiers to follow this Captain, whilſt I went to Captain *Volumat* to do the ſame. But ſo ſoon as ever this poor Captain thruſt up his head, he was kill'd by thoſe of the great Platform, and another after him, ſo that they fell dead betwixt the legs of Monſieur *de Nevers*, and Monſieur *de Bourdillon*. I then cried out to Captain *Volumat*, being ſome fifteen paces from one another, that the Captain who fell on by the Traverſe was already upon the top of the Tower (to beget in him an emulation, which ordinarily ſharpens the nobleſt courages) whereupon the ſaid Captain *Volumat* ſtart up, for before he was kneel'd down behind the Canton, and ran up to the brink of the Wall. Now there was another Wall betwixt the Caſemats and the Corner of the Tower; ſo that although he ſhould leap into the firſt only, he was never the nearer; yet ſo it was, that this very thing was cauſe of the winning of the place, for the Caſemat was all open and very low; ſo that ſo ſoon as ever they ſaw Captain *Volumat* upon the top, making ſhew as if he would leap in betwixt the two Walls, they acquitted the Caſemats, and fled away along by the Curtain of the Wall and the Terraſs, betwixt which and the Wall five or ſix men might march abreaſt, and then a Soldier of Captain *Volumats* at two leaps was with me, telling me in great haſte that the Enemy had abandon'd the Caſemat. Whereupon I immediately ran up to the ſide of the hole, and taking the Soldier by the arm cried to him, *leap in, Soldier, leap in*, and I will give thee twenty Crowns: but he told me flatly he would not do it, for that he ſhould certainly be kill'd, and thereupon ſtruggled with all the force he had to get away from me. My Son Captain *Montluc*, and thoſe Captains I nam'd before, who always uſ'd to bear me company, were behind me, at whom I began to ſwear and curſe, that they did not help me to truſs this Gallant, when immediately we thruſt him in with his head forwards, and made him hold, in ſpite of his teeth, and ſeeing they ſhot no more from the Caſemats we put in two Harquebuzeers more, partly with their conſent, and partly by force, firſt taking from them their Flaſk and their Matches, for there was water within up to the armpits, and immediately after Captain *Montluc* leapt in, then the Captains *Coſſil*, *La Motte*, *Caſtet*, *Segrat*, and the *Anſillions*, having all Targets, took the leap to ſave my Son, and three or four Harquebuzeers after them, when ſo ſoon as I ſaw they were nine or ten, I cried out to them, *Courage Camrades, now ſhew your ſelves true Gaſcon Soldiers, and fall upon the Caſemats*, which they did, whilſt the Enemy upon the Terraſs threw ſtones at their own people, to make them return to the Caſemats, and as Captain *Montluc* came to the door of the ſaid Caſemats he met with the Enemy, who would have re-entred into it, but a Harquebuzeer of ours kill'd the Chief of them, who was arm'd with a Mail cover'd over with green velvet, a gilt Morion upon his head, and a damaſk Halbert in his hand. Two others were alſo kill'd by hand, and then our people leapt into the Caſemat, and call'd out to me thorough the hole, *Succours, ſuccours, we are in the Caſemat*: Monſieur *de Nevers* then and Monſieur *de Bourdillon* help'd me in all haſte to put more Soldiers in: we took their flasks and their fire, and ſo ſoon as they were in the water, they took them again in their hands, and paſt over throwing themſelves into the Caſemats, and ever after that time Monſieur *de Nevers* call'd me his Captain ſo long as he liv'd, ſaying he had there ſerv'd under me in the quality of a private Soldier.

The Enemy quit the Caſemat.

Gaſcon Captains.

Honor done by Monſieur de *Nevers* to the Sieur *de Montluc*.

We had there two Captains of the Garriſon of *Metz*, called *le Baron d'Anglure*, and *Valon-Ville*, who at my requeſt had obtein'd leave of Monſieur *de Guiſe* to be at the Aſſault, with five and twenty Harquebuzeers each, whom I had all this while kept under the Traverſe, ſo that as yet they had not ſpent one ſhot. I call'd them, and they were with me at a leap, and threw themſelves into the hole, and their Soldiers followed after, when as faſt as they entred I made them put to the door of the Caſemat, and to

enter into it. The door was little and very low, and the Enemy durſt not deliver their ſhot plum down, becauſe our men who were all along by the Wall would ſee them as ſoon as they put up their heads, as alſo would thoſe who were there where I had been: but they tumbled down a great quantity of ſtones, for all which our people deſiſted not from going in and out of the Caſemat as occaſion requir'd; and as the Soldiers of the Baron *d'Anglure* and *Valon-Ville* entred the Caſemat, I made thoſe come out who had gain'd it before, the place not being capable to contain above forty or fifty perſons. Now as God would have it, and to our great good fortune, the Defendants could not agree amongſt themſelves about the defence of the Caſemats; for the *Spaniards* who were in the Town would keep them, but the *Flemings* would not ſuffer it, and the Governor would that ſome of his own Company ſhould defend them; for which he lay a long time in priſon, and the King of *Spain* would have put him to death, the *Spaniards* accuſing him that he had put in corrupted people purpoſely to loſe the place. The Governor defended himſelf, ſaying, that he had ſeen *Joanne Gayetano* and his *Spaniards* behave themſelves ſo ill, that he durſt not truſt them with the defence of the Caſemat, and ſo they accuſed one another; all which we knew from the Conſtable, and the Mareſchal *de St. Andre* at their return out of priſon, who left this Governor ſtill a priſoner. I have in my time obſerv'd the *Spaniards* to be ſevere puniſhers of thoſe who by cowardiſe or treachery have loſt or ſurrendred places, and it were well and prudently done, if all Princes would puniſh ſuch as commit ſo important offences; at leaſt by degradation from arms, which is worſe than death: but then they ought to be cenſur'd without prejudice or paſſion; for I have known a man accuſed by another who could not himſelf have done better.

Diviſion amongſt the Defendants.

Severity of the *Spaniards*.

But to return to our Siege, Monſieur *de Guiſe* being with the Culverins, and making them continually to ſhoot at the Enemies defences, perceiv'd that the Soldiers of the Trenches run ſtraight up to the Tower (which were the two Captains, *Anglure* and *Valon-Ville* that I had call'd up to me) and *Lunebourg* (Colonel of a Regiment of *Germans*, who was at the fartheſt end of the Trench, to whom I had ſent to ſend me a hundred of his Harquebuzeers in all haſte, for ours had ſpent all their powder) came alſo running himſelf with the hundred Harquebuzeers, and a hundred Pikes to me to the Tower; whom Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſeeing to run after this manner, and ſeeing the others that were by the Tower run to the hole, he cried out (as they told me afterwards) *O good God the Tower is taken, do you not ſee how every one runs to the place?* which having ſaid he immediately mounted a bay Curtal he had ready by him, and ran full ſpeed to paſs the Bridg, galloping all the way till he came to the Trenches. So ſoon as I ſaw that *Anglure* and *Valen-Ville* were in the Tower, I ſpoke to a Gentleman that ſtood by, and ſaid *run to Monſieur* de Guiſe, *and carry him news that the Tower is taken, and that now I think he will take* Thionville, *which till now I did never believe.* The Gentleman ran as faſt as he could, and met him juſt as he was entring the Trenches, where he ſaid to him, *Sir, Monſieur de* Montluc *ſends you word that the Tower is taken*, who ſtill galloping on made anſwer, *I have ſeen all my friend, I have ſeen all*, and ſome fifty or threeſcore paces from the Tower alighted, and leaving his horſe came running to us on foot; when ſo ſoon as he came I began to ſmile upon him, and ſaid, *O Sir I now think you will take* Thionville. *Mas bous hazets trop bon marcat de noſtre pet, & de boſt monſeignè*; whereupon he threw his arms about my neck, and ſaid, *I now ſee, my heart, that the old Proverb is true*, That a good horſe will never tire. Now *Lunebourg* was already got in, and fifteen or ſixteen *Germans*, and the reſt were entring in file, when Monſieur *de Guiſe* alſo put himſelf into it, and by the little door entred the Caſemat, and ſo ſoon as he was in call'd to me through a loop-hole, that I ſhould put him ſome Pioneers into the Tower to beat down the Caſemats, and that I ſhould ſee that no more Soldiers entred, they being already ſo many, that they began to be crowded. I then put Pioneers into the Tower, who preſently fell to breaking the Wall of the Caſemat, when the *Germans* ſeeing the raſcals lazy at their work, themſelves took the picks, and fell to cutting the Wall, Monſieur *de Guiſe* then ſent out *Lunebourg* to look that no more entred into the Tower, telling him, that he would ſee that they ſhould ply their work in the Caſemats, as they alſo did, and ſo well, that in leſs than half an hour all the Caſemats was overturned into the water that was in the Tower, the ruines whereof drank it all up, and then we had room enough, and every one entred that would, and then Monſieur *de Guiſe* came out, as he alſo made the *Germans* to do, and to return to their Poſt; and then I drew off Captain *Sarlabous* and all his Companions, who was along by the Courtin, and under the Ravelin, and put them into the Trenches.

The great Tower taken.

Now ſo ſoon as the Enemy ſaw the Tower loſt, they ſhot no more ſo ſmartly as before,

and

and we very well perceiv'd them to be down in the mouth. The *Engliſh* Miners the Duke of *Guiſe* had, had never ſtirr'd from me of all this while, and Monſieur *de Guiſe* before he came out of the Tower had conſulted with them whereabouts to begin the Mines, and found that it was under the great Platform, marking the places where they were to be made, and ſo went back with Monſieur *de Guiſe*, who ſaid to me, *My heart, I will gallop home to my Quarters to ſend the King word of the taking of the Tower, and aſſure your ſelf Monſieur* de Montluc, *I will not conceal from him the brave ſervice you have perform'd at this Siege; I will ſend the Miners back to you at night, and I pray appoint ſome Gentlemen to be continually with them, that by them they may ſend you word what they want*; and ſo he went away to diſpatch a Courrier to the King; for theſe great ones think the time long if news do not fly. His Majeſty had the day before made them read the Prophecies of *Noſtredamus*, and found for the next day *Good news for the King*; people may ſay that theſe are fopperies, and idle things, but I have ſeen many of his predictions come to paſs. The Tower was taken betwixt four and five a clock in the afternoon, and we had diſputed it from ten of the clock in the morning, ſo that we made account the Fight laſted betwixt ſix and ſeven hours. This fight, and that of the Fort *Camoglia* at *Sienna* were the longeſt, and the moſt dangerous wherein Battail or no Battail I have ever been; for upon my word it was very hot, and many were left dead upon the place. In the beginning of the night the Miners came, and I my ſelf went with them to ſee them begin; of all night long I never ſlept, becauſe ſeeing them ply their work ſo well, I would not that any thing ſhould be wanting, but immediately be brought them, that they might not loſe a quarter of an hour for want of materials; ſo that by break of day they had perfected two Mines, and charg'd them with powder ready to be ſprung, and the third they made account would be perfected by ten of the clock; wherein my preſence ſerv'd not a little to the advancement of the work, neither indeed had I any more mind to ſleep than to dance. Monſieur *de Nevers*, and Monſieur *de Bourdillon* were gone back over night with Monſieur *de Guiſe*, and return'd the next day by Sun-riſe, and at eight of the clock the ſaid Sieur *de Nevers* cauſed his dinner to be brought, when as we were eating upon three Drum-heads, upon which his people had laid the Cloth, ſitting upon three others, we had ſcarce drank each of us a draught of wine when the Centinels came to tell me, that a Trumpet from a Canton of the Town ſounded a Parley; whereupon I ſtart up, and delivering the Drum I ſate upon to his Maſter, bad him go anſwer the Parley. The Drum preſently return'd, and brought me word, that the Trumpet entreated me, knowing I commanded there to ſend word to Monſieur *de Guiſe*, that they deſir'd to parley, which ſo ſoon as Monſieur *de Nevers* and Monſieur *de Bourdillon* heard, they gave over eating, and mounting to horſe galloped away to the Dukes Quarters, to carry him the news. The Duke then ſent away a Trumpet of his own, by whom they ſent word, that if Monſieur *de Guiſe* would pleaſe to ſend four Gentlemen to parley, they would deliver him four others in hoſtage. Whereupon the Duke ſent thither Monſieur *de la Broſſe*, Monſieur *de Bourdillon*, or elſe Monſieur *de Tavannes*, *Eſclaboſſe*, and another, but whom I have forgot. They capitulated to march out with what money they could carry about them; and not to lie, I remember nothing of the other Articles; as indeed I never uſed much to trouble my ſelf with theſe ſcribble ſcrawls, having enough to do to provide that no body might be unſeaſonably ſlain during the time of the Treaty, as it oft falls out. But the next day they marched out, and I dare boldly ſay, that of four parts three were wounded, and almoſt all in the head, which was done when they ſtood up to ſhoot at us there, where I had planted my Harquebuzeers, for they could not ſhoot at thoſe who were under the Wall, but they muſt diſcover themſelves from the girdle upwards, and all their harm came from thoſe of ours who were under the Ravelin, and thoſe that I commanded where we ſhot point-blank. The ſame night that the Capitulation was ſign'd, Monſieur *de Guiſe* diſpatched away Monſieur *de la Freſne*, who before he went came to take his leave of me on horſeback, asking me if I would command him any ſervice to the King, to which I made anſwer, *that he himſelf had ſeen how all things had paſt, and that I had ſo much confidence in Monſieur* de Guiſe, *that he would not conceal my ſervice from the King*, who thereupon told me, *that he had expreſs charge to give his Majeſty a particular relation of the fight, and that amongſt other things, the Duke had commanded him to tell the King, that three men had been the cauſe of the taking of* Thionville, *of which I was one, and that his Majeſty ought to acknowledg my ſervice.* And I perceiv'd afterwards that he had done me right to the King, for he brought me back letters from his Majeſty full of very obliging expreſſions, of which one among the reſt was, *that he would never forget the ſervice I had done him.* I ſhall not I hope deprive other men of their due honor, relating what I did my ſelf, I believe the Hiſtorians who write of none but Princes and

The Prophecies of *Noſtredamus*.

The Defendants ask to Parley.

The Surrender of *Thionville*.

Honor done to the Sieur *de Montluc* by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

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great perſons will ſpeak enough, and paſs over in ſilence thoſe of a more moderate ſtature.

Behold then the City of *Thionville* taken. Notwithſtanding that, ſome who had no very great kindneſs for the Duke of *Guiſe*, had paſted a Libell at the Gates of the Palace, and upon the Corners of the ſtreets of *Paris*, that he ſhould not find that at *Thionville* he had done at *Calice*, where there were none but raſcally people to oppoſe him, it went in Rhyme, though I remember nothing of it; but it muſt be contriv'd by the envy ſome unworthy people bare to this brave and valiant Prince, for the honorable command the King had conferr'd upon him, which I have nothing to do to treat of, neither do I intend to trouble my ſelf with ſuch trumpery. Envy has ever reign'd upon the earth, before we were born, and will do after we are dead and gone, unleſs God would pleaſe to mold us anew. There were ſome who were ready to burſt for ſpite that Monſieur *de Guiſe* had ſo good ſucceſs; for there are ſome, and too many of ſuch a vertuous diſpoſition, that they had rather ſee the ruine of their King and Countrey, than behold the Triumph not only of their Enemy, but of their Friend and Companion, and if any diſgrace befal him (for men are not Gods) they laugh, rejoyce, and make an Elephant of a Gnat. Let us leave ſuch to ſwell with their own poyſonous envy till they burſt. In the mean time *Thionville* was ours with a great deal of honor. The night before the Enemy march'd away, Monſieur *de Guiſe* put Monſieur *de Vielle-Ville* into the City, who refus'd to enter, unleſs I went along with him, becauſe he ſhould not, he ſaid, be maſter of the Souldiers, but they would enter by force over the walls: I therefore took two or three hundred Souldiers, and three Captains, and went in with him, he having his own Company of *Gens d' armes*, where we were fain to play the Centinels all night, to watch that the Souldiers did not climb over the walls, and never ſlept one wink. I wonder at what we read in the Roman Hiſtories, of thoſe who before the day of a pitcht Battel, ſlept as profoundly, as it had been the day of their wedding. I have never, I confeſs been ſo indifferent and inapprehenſive: but on the contrary, have paſt three days and nights without ſleeping, or ſo much as having any great inclination to it. The next day I adviſ'd Monſieur *de Guiſe* to remove his Camp from thence, for otherwiſe it had been impoſſible to govern the Souldiers, and to ſpeak the truth, they very well deſerv'd to have had the ſack of the Town given them, for it is to diſcourage Souldiers, not to give them ſome reward, and the leaſt thing they gain from the Enemy gives them better content than four pays. But Monſieur *de Guiſe* would by no means permit it, ſaying, that the Town muſt be preſerv'd for his Majeſties Service, being that thorough the Vicinity of this City to *Germany*, he might at all times draw what forces he pleas'd from thence; and that moreover, *John William* Duke of *Saxony*, being to paſs that way, the proviſions muſt be preſerv'd, and ſo ſent away the Army to encamp about half a mile from thence, and Monſieur *de Veille-Ville*, with three or four Enſigns of Foot, and his own Company of *Gens d' armes* was left Governor there.

The Duke of *Guiſe* envy'd.

Here (Captains my Companions) you have an example, if you pleaſe to take notice of it, by which you may ſee of what uſe promptitude is; this place being won by the great haſte I made, immediately upon Captain *Volumat's* Souldiers telling me, that the Enemy had quitted the Caſemats; I had not patience to put in above nine or ten men, but immediately I put in my Son the firſt, and after him the Gentlemen that had follow'd me at the ſiege of *Sienna*, and at *Montalſin*, and it ſtood me upon to make haſte, and to make them go ſpeedily to the fight; for had I ſtay'd till there had been as many in the Tower, as in appearance were neceſſary for ſuch a ſervice, the Enemy had re-entred into it, and been ſuddenly re-inforc'd, ſo that it had been impoſſible ever to have taken it. I have been at many Sieges, but never without ſome hopes of taking the place, excepting at this; for having diſcover'd and conſider'd all that was to be done for the taking of it, I found my ſelf as far off, as Heaven is from Earth, and in plain truth the glory of it is due to Monſieur *de Guiſe* alone, who was ſo obſtinately bent upon it, that the fight laſted ſix or ſeven hours, and I do verily believe, that without the continual ſolicitation I had almoſt every moment from him, we had all retir'd, knowing that we might to as much purpoſe have invaded Heaven; and we ought to believe, that through his good fortune, and the aſſiſtance of God who would have it ſo, this ſiege was brought to a good iſſue, and not by the power of men; being certain, that there was more Canon ſhot fir'd from within, than we ſpent from without.

The honor of this Victory due to the Duke of *Guiſe*.

When (Camrades) then you ſee an opportunity, haſten the execution, and never give your Enemy leiſure to recollect himſelf, take that advice from me. I have three qualities that are not common to all, one whereof is, to be good at numbring of men, wherein I never met with any Serjeant Major or other that ſurpaſs'd me, and provided the Enemy

was

was not divided part ſloping, and part in plain, let the Body be never ſo great, I could number them to fifty men, at the diſtance of almoſt half a mile. The ſecond is, to know by an Enemies behaviour, whether or no they be in fear, either by their motion, their order, or their manner of firing, a thing from which you may derive very great advantages: So ſoon as ever I perceiv'd my Enemy never ſo little in doubt, I concluded him preſently for loſt. And the third, a readineſs I always had to fight them in their apprehenſion, whether ſtronger or weaker; for if you know not how to make an advantage of your enemies fear, you can never hope to derive any from your own, and I have ever had *Alexanders* device in my head, though I never wore it any where elſe, which is, *Defer not till to morrow what thou canſt do to day*; and am of opinion, that next to the Divine aſſiſtance, all the ſucceſſes I have had, have proceeded from theſe three things. If you have not the judgement, ſeeing your opportunity, to preſs and ſolicite your men, and without further deliberation, to fall roundly to your work, you will never perform any thing of moment, either for your ſelves, or for him you ſerve: Fear not in a perilous leap to hazard the life of a Souldier. (There is no remedy, ſome muſt be ſacrific'd to the Publick, the world would otherwiſe be over peopled) provided it be in a place from whence he cannot retire, as I did to the Souldiers I thruſt into the Caſemats, for then they take courage, ſeeing themſelves loſt, and make a virtue of neceſſity. Had I retir'd then when Monſieur *de Bourdillon* pull'd me back by the arms, I think our enterprize had been deferr'd till another time. I have ſeen ſuch as are glad when they are compell'd after that manner to retire, eſpecially in a place of danger, and yet will keep a great clutter at other times. I know thoſe men by their looks, Camrades, Friends, after having ſaid your *in manus*, never think of any thing more, but of doing well; if your hour be come, 'tis to much purpoſe to hide your heads, ſince you muſt once dye, 'tis beſt to dye like men of honor, and to leave a good name behind you.

I loſt, by the relation of the Captains, above five hundred Souldiers, kill'd and hurt, and caus'd all the wounded men to be carried to *Metz*, to which place Monſieur *de Vielle-Ville* (who at this time is Mareſchal of *France*) ſent to recommend them, for he was the Kings Lieutenant there, cauſing money to be diſtributed amongſt them out of the Revenue of the Hoſpital the Admiral founded there, which has been the preſervation of a great many wounded Souldiers, and alſo an encouragement to others to venture more boldly in fight, hoping that in caſe they ſhould be hurt, they are ſure to have a relief of money out of the Hoſpital for their cure. And truly Sir, both you and the other great Princes of the world, ought to make it one of your chiefeſt concerns to eſtabliſh a Revenue for your poor maim'd and wounded Souldiers, as well for their preſent cure, as their future ſupport, and that ſome penſions may be ſet apart for them. Can you do leſs for them, who expoſe and offer up their lives for you; this hope makes them more willing to hazard their perſons. And doubtleſs your own ſouls will one day anſwer for all, for they will be no more piviledg'd than ours; nay, you will have a great deal more to anſwer for than we, for you make us do all the ills we commit, to ſatisfie and execute your paſſions, and if God be not merciful both to you, and to us, we are in a ſad condition. For the honor of God then, Sir, provide for your poor Souldiers, that loſe their arms and legs in your ſervice; it is not you that gave them their limbs, but God, and can you then do leſs than maintain them, when they are lam'd in your ſervice. Do you think that God will not hear the Maledictions they curſe us withal, who have made them miſerable all their lives? I have heard the Grand Signior has a very good order, as to that particular, and accordingly he is the beſt ſerv'd of any Prince in the world.

Monſieur *de Vielle-Ville* Mareſchal of *France*.

Advice to the King.

Three days after the taking of *Thionville*, the Army march'd directly to *Arlon*, a little Town, but a very neat one for its circuit. 'Tis a great fault in a General to lie ſtill after the taking of a place, as I have known them often do. This both encourages your Enemy, and gives your own men opportunity to ſteal away; whereas their honor will oblige them to ſtay, when they ſee themſelves employ'd: I mean, if the Army be not totally broken or ruin'd, for then neceſſity compels you ſo to do: but otherwiſe to repoſe after a Conqueſt, and to loſe never ſo little time, is very prejudicial to his Majeſties ſervice. I with our foot quarter'd round about the Town, Monſieur *de Guiſe* lay a quarter of a League behind, and told me he was almoſt moap'd for want of ſleep; for that ſince the beginning of the ſiege of *Thionville* till now, he had not had ſo much ſleep in all, as he was wont to have in one night at other times (and I had had leſs than he) entreating me to make the approaches that night, that he would ſend me the Commiſſaries of the Artillery with four pieces of Canon, to conſult where they ſhould be planted, and that he would give the ſack of this Town to the Souldiers, in recompence of that of

Thionville

Thionville: Which having ſaid, he retir'd himſelf into a little thatch'd houſe, where he was to lie.

The Forces in *Arlon.*

There was in the Town a hundred and fifty *Germans*, and four hundred Walloons, the *Germans* kept one Gate, and the Walloons another; when (ſo ſoon as I had placed the Centinels, and the Courts of Guard very near to one another (becauſe it was ſaid that ſome ſuccours would enter in that night) they within ſet a very good face on the matter, which made us think that they lookt for ſome relief) I began to make the Eſplanade by the Gardens of the Town, to bring up the Artillery, reſolving to make my Battery a little on the left hand the Gate, to aſſiſt my ſelf at the aſſault with the Ladders of a little Breach they had made themſelves, thorough which to carry up earth to the Terraſs they were making in that place; which to do they had made ſteps in the very earth it ſelf, both at the deſcent into the Graffe, and likewiſe in the aſcent on the other ſide up to the Terraſs. I came up cloſe to the Ditch of the Town, and to another little Ditch there was near unto the way, which I cauſed to be diſcover'd by a Soldier; and I had three or four Captains with me in this little Ditch. The Soldier found the ſteps, by which he went down, and afterwards mounted three or four of thoſe that went up to the Terraſs, and there ſtayd without being perceiv'd: when having ſtayed a while he return'd to me, and told me, that there was no Centinel upon the Terraſs; ſo that he thought if we ſhould throw our ſelves deſperately upon the Terraſs we ſhould carry the Town. Hearing this, I cauſed a Court of Guard (that was much ſtronger than the reſt, it being deſign'd to guard the Artillery) to come up to me, making the Soldiers to creep on their hands and knees, and to put themſelves into the Ditch. I then made the Soldier return to the Ditch, with three or four Harquebuzeers, and two Captains with Targets, of which Monſieur *de Goas* was one. The night was ſo very dark, that a man could not ſee a ſtep from him, and this Soldier was a Fleming. He goes down into the Ditch, the Captains after him, and the three or four Harquebuzeers after them; and ſo ſoon as they were in the Ditch they planted themſelves on that ſide of it towards the Town, and as near as they could to the ſteps. The Enemy hearing the noiſe began to cry *who goes there?* and the Soldier anſwer'd them in their own language, *a friend, a friend*; they then demanded of him what he was, to which he made anſwer, that he was a *Fleming*, and that being their Countryman, he very much lamented their ruine, for that all the Artillery Monſieur *de Guiſe* had would be planted in battery by morning, and that they were not to truſt to the *Germans* who were with them in the Town, for they were aſſur'd to have no harm, nor the leaſt offence from our people, they having already made them that promiſe by a *German* Soldier, who ſtole out in the cloſe of the evening to ſpeak with us; ſo that all the ſlaughter would fall upon them if they did not ſurrender, which alſo would be too late after the Canon had once playd. Upon this they ſent immediately to the *Germans* Quarters, and found that a Soldier of ours who ſpake Dutch was talking to them; ſo that ſo ſoon as their Meſſenger return'd, this Souldier heard them all in a hurly-burly within, and began to ask them, if they would make him drink, to which they anſwered they would, and bad him come up boldly upon their word and faith. I heard every word, for I was not above ſix paces from the brink of the Graffe, and made the other two Captains go one after another into it, and three or four Serjeants with Halberts after them: The Soldier then mounted the ſteps till he came to the edge of the Terraſs, where he again ſpoke to them, ſaying that Monſieur *de Guiſe* had made fair War with thoſe of *Thionville*, and would do the ſame by them, ſtill amuſing them with fair ſpeeches, and they fetcht him ſome drink. Monſieur *de Goas* was juſt behind the Soldier, and three Harquebuzeers one after another (for they could mount but one by one) in heels of him whom this firſt Soldier ſo ſhaded with his body, that they could not ſee down the ſteps. The other Captain followed in the rear of the three Harquebuzeers, and the Serjeants after him, inſomuch that all the ſteps were full from the top to the bottom; which when Monſieur *de Goas* ſaw, he puſht the Soldier that was before him upon the Terraſs, and the other Captain the other three Harquebuzeers, and and then the Soldier began to cry *goot Krich*, which is to ſay, *good Quarter, good Quarter*, the Harquebuzeers gave fire, and the Captains threw themſelves upon the Counterſcarp, and every body after them, and theſe poor people fled to their Quarters, the Soldiers chaſing them thorough the ſtreets. I then leapt into the Ditch with the reſt of my men, mounting the Souldiers as faſt as I could one after another. The *Germans* who ſaw themſelves ſurpriz'd behind, at the requeſt of the Soldier that ſpoke Dutch very courteouſly open'd a Poſtern, and gave themſelves up to the diſcretion of the Soldiers, wherein our men did an act worthy the higheſt commendation, and by which they ſhewed themſelves to be old Soldiers, for there was not four men kill'd in the whole Town: but on the contrary they themſelves led our people to the houſes where the beſt booty was to be had: And thus the Town was taken.

Arlon diſcover'd.

Arlon ſurpriz'd.

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Monſieur *de Guiſe* who had given order that no one ſhould diſturb him, but let him that night ſleep his fill, knew nothing of all this till break of day, that asking if the Artillery had begun to play, they told him the Town was already taken, from about midnight, and the Artillery return'd back to its place, which made him make the Sign of the Croſs, ſaying *this is quick work*, when preſently making himſelf ready, and mounting to horſe he came up to us. Now by misfortune the fire had taken in two or three houſes by reaſon of ſome powder that was found in them, which in removing thence accidentally took fire, and burnt four or five Soldiers, ſo that the Town being almoſt full of flax ready dreſt for ſpinning, and the wind being very high, no ſo good means could be uſ'd, but that above half the Town was reduc'd to aſhes, by reaſon whereof the Soldiers did not get ſo much as otherwiſe they had done. *Arlon* burnt.

The next day Monſieur *de Guiſe* marched away with all his Army, and never ſtaid till he came to *Pierre pont*, where himſelf and all the Gentlemen of his Train lodg'd in the Town, which was very large, whilſt we encampt without on both ſides the River; and there it was that the *Swiſs* came to us, and *John William* Duke of *Saxony*, who brought a great and very brave Troop of *Reiters* along with him, and, if I miſtake not, a Regiment of *Germans* alſo. The King himſelf likewiſe came, and lay at *Marches*, a houſe belonging to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, which altogether made up the greateſt and the braveſt Army that I think ever King of *France* had; for when the King would ſee them all drawn into Battalia, they took up above a league and a half in length, and when the Van began to march to go back to the Rear, and to return back to the Front took up three hours time. The Duke of *Saxony*.

Two hours before day Meſſieurs *de Bourdillon* and *de Tavannes*, Mareſchaux de Camp, came to the place aſſign'd for the Rendezvouz, where as we came they ſtill drew us up, and before all the Army was in Battalia it was above eight hours, and was exceſſively hot; Monſieur *de Guiſe* came himſelf by break of day, and helped to put the Army into Battalia. I with my *French* Foot was placed betwixt the *Swiſs* and a Battalion of *Germans*; where as Monſieur *de Guiſe* paſt by the head of our Battalion, he ſaid, *Would to God we had ſome good fellow here with a bottle of wine, and a cruſt of bread, that I might drink a glaſs or two, for I ſhall not have time to go dine at* Pierre-pont, *and be back again before the King comes*; whereupon I ſaid to him, *Sir will you pleaſe to dine with me at my Tents?* (which was not above a Harquebuz ſhot off) *I will give you very good French and Gaſcon wine, and a whole Covy of Partridges; yes my heart*, ſaid he, *but they will be Garlick and Onions*; to which I made anſwer, *that they ſhould neither be the one, nor the other, but that I would give him as good a dinner as if he was in his own Quarters, and wine as cool as he could deſire, and moreover Gaſcon wine, and admirable good water. Are you in earneſt my heart*, ſaid he? *yes upon my faith am I*, ſaid I, *why then*, ſaid he, *I would willingly come, but I cannot leave the Duke of* Saxony; *why Sir*, ſaid I, *in the name of God bring the Duke of* Saxony, *and who you pleaſe: I but*, ſaid he, *the Duke will not come without his Captains*; *why*, ſaid I, *bring his Captains too, I have belly-timber for you all.* Now I had over-night promiſed Meſſieurs *de Bourdillon* and *de Tabannes* to treat them at dinner, after they had drawn the Army up in Battalia; but they could not come, by reaſon that part of the Cavalry, who were quarter'd a great way off, were not yet come up; and on the other ſide, I had one of the beſt Providores in the Army. Monſieur *de Guiſe* then went to find out the Duke of *Saxony* and his Captains, and I ſent in all haſte to my Steward to get all things ready. My people had made a Cellar in the earth, where the wine and the water was as cool as ice: and by good fortune I had got a great many Partridges, Quirles, Turkies, Leverets, and all that could be deſir'd, wherewith to make a noble Feaſt, with bak'd-meats and Tarts: for I knew that Meſſieurs *de Bourdillon* and *de Tavannes* would not come alone, and I had a mind to entertain them very well, they being both of them very good friends of mine. They were ſo well treated that Monſieur *de Guiſe* asking the Duke of *Saxony* by his Interpreter, what he thought of the French Colonel, and whether or no he had not treated them well, and given them good wine? the Duke made anſwer, *that if the King himſelf had treated them, he could not have done it better, nor have given them better, nor cooler wine.* The Duke of *Saxony*'s Captains ſpared it not, but drank freely to our *French* Captains, that I had brought along with me, neither though Meſſieurs *de Bourdillon* and *de Tavannes* had alſo come had I been ſurpriz'd, for next to the Duke of *Guiſe* his own Table, there was not one in the whole Army longer, or better furniſht than mine. A way that I have always uſed in what command ſoever I had been, being willing thereby to honor the Employments I have had from my Maſters, to encreaſe my expence; and have always obſerv'd ſuch as have liv'd after this manner to be in greater reputation, and better followed than others; for ſuch a Gentleman may be, The Sieur *de Montluc* invites Monſieur *de Guiſe* to dinner.

and of a good family, that ſometimes knows not where to dine, and knowing where a good Table is kept, will be glad to be there, who if he follow you at your Table, will follow you any where elſe, if he have never ſo little good blood or breeding in him. But to return to my Gueſts, ſo ſoon as they roſe from Table Monſieur *de Guiſe* asked me, what Laundreſs I had that kept my Table-linnen ſo white, to which I made anſwer, that they were two men I had that did it; *believe me*, ſaid he, *you are ſerv'd like a Prince*; and thereupon entertain'd the Duke of *Saxony* upon that ſubject, ſpeaking better things of me than I deſerv'd; whereupon I took occaſion to tell him, *that he would do well to perſwade the King to give me money to buy ſilver Veſſel, that another time, when he and the Duke of* Saxony *would do me the honor to come eat in my Pavillions, I might ſerve them according to their quality.* Monſieur *de Guiſe* told the Duke of *Saxony* what I ſaid, who made anſwer, *that he would tell the King*; when being about to mount to horſe to return to the Camp, word was brought that the King was upon his way from Marches, and coming to the Camp; whereupon they two went out to meet him, and we return'd every one to his place, all of us I aſſure you very well drunk, and our pates full. About a quarter of a league from the Battalions they met the King, where his Majeſty asked them, if they had din'd, to which Monſieur *de Guiſe* made anſwer, that they had, and as well as they had done of a year before: *why*, ſaid his Majeſty (ſeeing them come from wards the Battalions) *you did not dine at* Pierre-pont, *no Sir*, ſaid Monſieur *de Guiſe*, *neither can your Majeſty gueſs where we din'd, nor by whom ſo well entertain'd; I pray by whom* ſaid the King; *Marry Sir*, replyed Monſieur *de Guiſe*, *by* Montluc; *I believe then*, ſaid the King, *he feaſted you with his own Countrey diet, Garlick and Onions, and Wine as warm as milk:* whereupon Monſieur *de Guiſe* up and told him how I had entertain'd them, when the King asking the Duke of *Saxony* by his Interpreter if it were true, the Duke made anſwer, *that if his Majeſty himſelf had treated them, they could not have had better meat, nor cooler wine; and that ſince I was ſo good a fellow, his Majeſty might do well to give me money to buy Plate, nothing having been wanting but that, and that Monſieur* de Guiſe *and he had both promiſed me to make that requeſt to his Majeſty in my behalf*; which the King promiſed them to do, and that ſince I was ſo honorable in my expence, he would give me means to do it, more than hitherto he had ever done.

The Duke of *Saxony* entreats ſilver veſſel of the King for the Sieur *de Montluc.*

Though this paſſage be not much to the purpoſe, yet I thought fit to inſert it here, to the end every one may know, that Avarice had never ſo great a dominion over me, as to hinder me from honoring the Employments I have had from my Kings and Maſters; and I would adviſe you, fellow Captains, who command over a great many men, to do the ſame, and never to ſuffer avarice to be predominant over you; the little you ſpend will procure you ſeveral and conſiderable advantages. A Captains handſome Table invites worthy men, eſpecially that of a Lieutenant of the King, to which the Nobility and Gentry repair, either for want of commodious Quarter, or ſometimes perhaps upon the account of other inconveniences, where if the ſaid Lieutenant be miſerable and narrow ſoul'd, they will look upon him as a man unworthy to be follow'd. I never did ſo, but on the contrary alwayes ſpent more than I had, and have found that it has done me more good than harm: yet was not this my only way of ſpending, but I had a trick of giving Horſes and Arms alſo, and oftentimes to men that were better able than my ſelf. If the King or the Prince you ſerve under know you to be of this humour, he ought alſo to be open-handed to you, knowing you to be of a liberal nature, and that you reſerve nothing to your ſelf.

Every one avoids an avaricious Captain.

Now, as I was ſtanding at the head of our Battalion, and every one of our Captains in his place, the Prince of *Joinville*, who is now Duke of *Guiſe*, came up to me, together with the Son of Monſieur *d'Aumale*, both little boyes, and delicately handſome, having their Governors and three or four Gentlemen attending on them. They were mounted upon two little Pad Nags, to whom I ſaid, *Go to, little Princes, alight from your horſes; for I have been bred up in the family from whence you are deſcended, which is the houſe of* Lorrain, *where I was a Page, and I will be the firſt who ſhall lay a Pike upon your ſhoulders.* Upon which their Governors preſently alighting, cauſed them alſo to alight: they had little Taffata Ribbons over their ſhoulders, which I took off, laying each of them a Pike upon his neck, and ſaying to them, *I hope God will give you the grace to reſemble your Anceſtors, and that I ſhall bring you good fortune, for being the firſt that has laid arms upon your ſhoulders. They have hitherto been favourable to me, and God make you as valiant as you are handſome, and the Sons of brave and generous Fathers*: And ſo I made them march ſide by ſide at the head of, and before the Battalions, and return again into the ſame place. Their Governors and all the Captains were ſo raviſht to ſee theſe pretty Children march ſo gracefully as they did, that there was not one who did not look upon that

The Sieur *de Montluc* puts the firſt arms into the hands of the Prince of *Joinville*, and the Son of the Duke of *Aumale*. His ſpeech to them.

action

action as a happy preſage: But I fail'd in one, which was that of Monſieur *d' Aumale*, for he dy'd preſently after; and yet as I have been told, this little Prince was as ſound within as any child could poſſibly be: but I think Phyſicians kill Princes, with keeping too much clutter about them in their ſickneſs; they are men as we are, and yet they will have them to have ſomething particular from others. Monſieur *de Guiſe* is yet living, and I hope will accompliſh the good fortune we that day wiſh'd him. The beginning is good and hopeful, I hope the end will crown it; that ſo ſince God has been pleas'd to take one he may remain ſole Heir to that happineſs, that at that time we joyntly wiſh'd to his Couſin and to him. I have ever conceiv'd great hopes, from the little knowledge I have had of this young Prince, neither was there ever Poltron of that brave Race, which is rarely ſeen in a numerous Family. In brief, our Army was a very brave one, and the King was very much pleas'd with the ſight of it.

A few days after, his Majeſty was advertis'd, that the King of *Spain* had taken the Field, and was marching his Army in all diligence towards the borders, which made his Majeſty doubt, that he was going to ſurprize either *Corbie* or *Dourlans*, or elſe *Amiens*; never a one of which having above two Foot Companies in Gariſon. The night that this news was brought, they did nothing but diſpute upon the means to relieve theſe places, but concluded it impoſſible in the end, conſidering that the King of *Spain* was ſo far advanc'd. Monſieur *de Guiſe* upon this occaſion, ſtaid that night at *Marches*, and ſent back Meſſieurs *de Bourdillon* and *de Tavannes* to *Pierre-pont*. It was my conſtant cuſtom to go every day to give Monſieur *de Guiſe* the good morrow, and thence to return back to my Tent, not ſtirring of all day after from my command, neither did I uſe to ſpend much time in Courtſhip. That has never been my Trade, for which both the King, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and all the Princes of the Army, lik'd me the better, and were pleas'd to ſay, that no diſorder could happen on our ſide. The next morning I went to give the good morrow to Monſieur *de Guiſe*, believing that he had return'd overnight to *Pierre-pont*; but at my entring into the Town, I met Meſſieurs *de Bourdillon*, and *de Tavannes*, and *d' Eſtree* on horſeback going out, and ask'd them whither they were going; to which they made anſwer, that they were returning to the Council at *Marches*, being that over night they had not been able to reſolve upon the means to relieve *Corbie*, for the King of *Spain* was marching in all diligence that way, and that Monſieur *de Guiſe* had ſtaid all night at *Marches*. I then ask'd him how far it might be from thence to *Corbie*, and I think they told me thirty Leagues or more: Whereupon I ſaid to them, *I pray gallop away full ſpeed, and tell the King, that it is not now a time to inſiſt upon Councils and Conſultations, and that perhaps whilſt he is in debate what to do, the Enemy is upon his march: but that he muſt ſuddenly reſolve, and that if he pleaſe, I will take ſeven Enſigns; and march night and day to put my ſelf into it: and tell him that no graſs ſhall grow under my feet, but that I will make ſuch haſte, that I will be there before the King of* Spain, *or any part of his Army. And tell Monſieur* de Guiſe, *that I will only ask him five and twenty Mules laden with bread, for I will carry along four Wagons of wine of the Merchants Volunteers of our Regiments, to make our Souldiers eat and drink upon their march, without entring into either Town or Village, and that therefore he give preſent order to Monſieur* de Serres, *ſpeedily to ſend me the Mules loaden with bread. In the mean time I will run to the Regiment, to chooſe out the ſeven Enſigns, ſo that at your return you ſhall find me ready to depart; but you muſt make very great haſte, and the King muſt ſuddenly reſolve, for if they do not immediately conclude, without further delay, I will not undertake it.* Monſieur *de Bourdillon* then began to ſay that the King would think it a matter of great difficulty, that the relief could be there ſo ſoon as the King of *Spain*; at which I flew out into a rage, and ſaid ſwearing, *I ſee very well, that when you come there, you will ſpend all the day in diſputes: but in deſpite of diſputes and conſultations, let the King but leave it to me, and I will relieve it, or break my heart for haſte.* Monſieur *d' Eſtree* then ſaid, *Let us go, let us go, the King cannot but like of it*, and ſo they ſpur'd away directly to *Marches*, and I ſtreight to my own Regiment. So ſoon as I came thither, I ſuddenly made choice of my ſeven Enſigns, bidding them preſently to take ſome repaſt, and telling them, that without baggage they muſt immediately depart to perform a good piece of Service. I gave them not half an hour to eat in, but drew them out preſently into the Field, one part of the Harquebuzeers before, and another in the rear of the Pikes. I then took four Wagons loaden with wine, of thoſe that had the beſt Horſes, which I plac'd in the head of the Captains, commanding the Waggoners to take two or three ſacks of Oats, and to throw them upon the Punchions, and a little hay: Which being done, I ran to my own Tents, which were behind the Regiment, and fell to eat, taking the Captains of the ſeven Enſigns to dinner with me.

Meſſieurs *de Tavannes*, *de Bourdillon* and *d' Eſtree* made ſo good haſte, that they found the King but newly riſen out of his Bed, where they preſently propos'd the buſineſs to him: Whereupon the King would have call'd all the Council, at which Monſieur *d'Eſtree* began to curſe and ſwear, as he told me afterwards (and he is as good at it as I) ſaying, *Sir*, Montluc *told us true, when he ſaid you would ſtill delay time in debates and conſultations, whether it be to be done or no, whereas if your Majeſty had reſolv'd laſt night, the relief had by this time been ten Leagues upon their way; and he ſays moreover, that if he have not what he demands immediately ſent him, he will not ſtand to his word, for the* Spaniards *ſhall not triumph over him.* Monſieur *de Guiſe* then proſecuted the affair with great vehemency and vigour, and Meſſieurs *de Bourdillon* and *de Tavannes* did the ſame, when upon the inſtant, without further deliberation, it was concluded, and Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſent to Monſieur *de Serres* immediately to ſend the five and twenty Mules loaden with bread. The King then ſent me word by Monſieur *de Broilly* (a Gentleman belonging to the Duke of *Guiſe*) *that he had approv'd of my opinion, ſaving that he could not conſent I ſhould go, becauſe he had no other perſon to command the Regiments, in caſe he ſhould be put to the neceſſity of a Battel* (for no body knew whether or no the King of *Spain* was not coming with a reſolution to preſent it, he making a ſhew of attempting great matters) *but that he was going to make choice of one to lead the ſuccours, and that I ſhould make all things ready in the mean time.* The ſaid *Broilly* return'd in all haſte to the King, to tell his Majeſty that he had ſeen the ſeven Enſigns drawn out into the Field ready to march, and that I ſtaid for nothing but the Bread; and at the ſame time that *Broilly* was return'd towards the King, the Mules arriv'd, and by the way he met with Captain *Brueil* Governor of *Rue*, and Brother in Law to *Salcede*, who told him that the King had made choice of him to conduct the relief to *Corbie*. Captain *Brueil* ſtaid to eat four or five bits only, whilſt waiting for two ſervants he had ſent for, who preſently came, and ſo they began to march. I accompanied them above a long League on their way, ſtill talking to him and the reſt of the Captains, repreſenting to them, that God had given them a fair opportunity, which alſo they ought to have purchas'd at the price of half their eſtates, wherein to manifeſt to the King the affection they bore to his ſervice, and alſo to give a teſtimony of their own valour, in the ſight, as it were, of the King himſelf, who would be ready to relieve them, and to fight a Battel rather than ſuffer them to be loſt. I found by their anſwers that they went with great chearfulneſs, which made me leave them, to go through the files of the Souldiers, and to remonſtrate to them, that it was their own faults, if they did not ſignalize themſelves for ever, that the King ſo long as he liv'd would acknowledge their ſervice, and that I had done them a great honor in chooſing out them from the reſt of the Regiment, entreating them not deceive the good opinion I had of them, and that I would deliver to the King the names of thoſe who ſhould beſt acquit themſelves of their duty, in obeying what ſhould be impos'd upon them, after which I made them all lift up their hands and ſwear, that they would march day and night: which being done, I return'd to the van to embrace Captain *Brueil*, and the reſt of the Captains and Lieutenants, promiſing them immediately to go to the King, and to acquaint his Majeſty with the election I had made of their perſons above all others of the Regiment, for this ſervice, and ſo left both Officers and Souldiers chearful, and very well reſolv'd upon this long march, ſaying to them at parting, *Remember Fellow Souldiers, the diligences you have formerly ſeen me make in both* Piedmont, *and in* Italy (for many of them had ſerv'd under me in thoſe expeditions) *and believe that upon your diligence now depend both your lives and honors.* Now being I am not of that Countrey, nor was ever there, but at this time, I am not able to make any judgement of their diligence: but the King and all thoſe who were acquainted with the Countrey, ſaid, that never Foot before perform'd ſuch a prodigious march; neither did they ever enter into either Town or Village, but when by day they met with a little River, they made a halt, and refreſh'd themſelves two hours at moſt, taking a little nap and away again, but march'd continually all night. They were out but two nights, and arriv'd by Sun-riſe within a quarter of a League of *Corbie*, where they met a Gentleman who was riding poſt to the King, to give him notice that the King of *Spain*'s Camp was juſt coming before the Town; and who moreover told them, they muſt run full ſpeed if they intended to get in, for that the Cavalry already began to arrive. They then began to mend their pace, the Gentleman returning back with them almoſt to the Town, that he might be able to give the King an account that they were entred; when ſo ſoon as they came within two or three hundred paces of the walls, the Enemies Cavalry began to appear, and our men run full carreer to throw themſelves before the gate, and upon the edges of the Graff where they made head. The Enemy kill'd ſeven or eight Souldiers in the rear, who were not able

Captain *Brueil* leads the ſuccours to *Corbie*.

to

to keep pace with the reſt, and ſo all our people got ſafe into the City, without loſing any of their Mules or Waggons, for they had made an end of all their bread and wine four Leagues from thence, and had ſent them back. I had alſo given them one of my ſix Cheſts, that I had contriv'd to carry powder in, which was drawn by three horſes, and that arriv'd at the Gates as ſoon as the Souldiers. There are yet living ſeveral Princes and Lords, who were then of the Kings Council, that can bear witneſs whether I ſpeak the truth or no, eſpecially Meſſieurs *de Tavannes* and *d' Eſtree*, who carried my deliberation to the King.

When ever (Camrades) the King or his Lieutenant ſhall put you upon a deſign, that requires extraordinary diligence for the relieving of a place, you ought not to loſe ſo much as a quarter of an hour, and you had much better work your body and your legs to the utmoſt of what you are able to perform, and enter into the place with ſafety, than walking at your eaſe to be kill'd, and not to enter into it; wherein your ſelves will be the cauſe of your own death, and the loſs of the place; and where you might by your diligence gain a brave reputation, you will by loytering at your eaſe, finiſh your life and your renown together: and never excuſe your ſelves upon the Souldiers, nor make the Enterprize ſeem difficult unto them, but always eaſie; and above all things be ſure to carry proviſion along with you, eſpecially bread and wine, wherewith to refreſh them by the way (for as I have ſaid before, humane bodies are not made of iron) always ſpeaking chearfully to them by the way, and encouraging them to go on, repreſenting to them the great honor they will acquire to themſelves, and the ſignal ſervice they ſhall perform for the King, and doubt not, but (proceeding after that manner) men will go as far and farther than horſes. I adviſe you to nothing that I have not often done my ſelf, and caus'd to be done, as you will find in the reading my Book; for after horſes are once tir'd, you ſhall not make them budge a ſtep with all the ſpurs you have; but men are ſupported by their courage, and require not ſo much time for refreſhing, they eat as they go, and chear one another upon their march. It will therefore (Fellow Captains) ſtick only at you; do then as I have often done; forſake your horſes, and fairly on foot at the head of your men, ſhew them that you will undergo the ſame labour they do, by which means you will make them do any thing you will, and your example will enflame the courages, and redouble the Forces of the moſt tir'd and overſpent of all the Company.

Foot will make a longer march than horſe.

Two or three days after the King mov'd with all his Army directly towards *Amiens*, and in his firſt or ſecond days march, arriv'd the Gentleman from the Governor of *Corbie*, who found his Majeſty marching his Army in the field, where he brought him news, that Captain *Bruell* was entred ſafe into *Corbie*, which was a great ſatisfaction both to his ſaid Majeſty, and the whole Army, to know that this place was ſecured; whereupon his Majeſty merrily ſaid to Monſieur *de Guiſe*, *Who ſhall be the firſt to tell* Montluc *this news? for I for my part will not be he; Nor I neither*, ſaid *Monſieur de Guiſe*, *for ſo ſoon as he ſhall hear it, he will ſo crow, there will be no dealing with him:* which they ſaid, becauſe they had all of them been of opinion, that it was impoſſible for foot to perform ſo long a a journey. The next day his Majeſty was advertiſed, that the King of *Spain* had made a halt a little League from *Corbie*, and made no ſhew of having any intention to beſiege that place; which made the King think, that by reaſon of the ſuccours it had receiv'd, he would make no attempt againſt it, and thereupon it preſently came into his head, that he would march directly to *Amiens*, which having no more than one or two foot Companies in Garriſon, he immediately ſent away the Marquis *de Villars*, who is yet living, with three hundred men at arms, to go in extreme diligence, and put himſelf into it, commanding me to ſend away other ſeven Enſigns to follow after him, with all the haſte they poſſibly could make; which I accordingly did, and gave the charge of conducting them to Captain *Forces*, who is yet living, and being the Captains and Souldiers had all heard what commendations both the King and all the Army had given Captain *Bruell* for the haſte he had made in going to relieve *Corbie*, they would do the ſame, and arriv'd as ſoon as the ſaid Marquis at *Amiens*; for nothing ſo much excites men of our Trade, as glory, and the deſire to do as well, or better, than another. Two or three days before this his Majeſty had ſent three Companies alſo into *Dourlans*, and ſo with all great eaſe provided for the ſafety of theſe three important places.

News brought to the King of the relief of *Corbie*.

The Marquis *de Villars*.

So ſoon as the King was come to *Amiens*, the King of *Spain*'s Army alſo arriv'd and encamp'd within a League, the River betwixt them, and there the Treaty of peace was fer on foot, of which the Conſtable and the Mareſchal *de S. Andre* had made the firſt overtures, during the time of their impriſonment in *Spain*; in order to which I think there was a truce from the beginning, becauſe nothing of action paſt on either ſide, at leaſt that I remember: for I fell very ſick of a double Tertian Ague, which I got not by

Treaty of peace betwixt *France* and *Spain* concluded.

exceſs

exceſs of revelling and dancing, but by paſſing the nights without ſleep, ſometimes in the cold, ſometimes in the heat, always in action, and never at reſt. It was well for me that God gave me an able body, and a ſtrong conſtitution; for I have put this careaſs of mine as much to the proof as any Souldier whatſoever of my time. After all the going to and again, that laſted for above two months, the peace was in the end concluded, to the great misfortune principally of the King, and generally of the whole Kingdom. This peace being cauſe of the ſurrender of all the Countreys conquer'd, and the Conqueſts made both by King *Francis* and *Henry*, which were not ſo inconſiderable, but that they were computed to be as much as a third part of the Kingdom of *France*; and I have read in a Book writ in Spaniſh, that upon this accomodation, the King deliver'd up an hundred fourſcore and eighteen Fortreſſes wherein he kept Gariſon, by which I leave any one to judge how many more were in dependance, and under the obedience of theſe. All we who bear Arms may affirm with truth, that God had given us the beſt King for Souldiers that ever Reign'd in this Kingdom; and as for his people, they were ſo affectionate to him, that not one of them ever repin'd to lay out his ſubſtance to aſſiſt him in the carrying on of ſo many Wars, as he had continually upon his hands. I ſhall not condemn thoſe who were the Authors of this peace, for every one muſt needs believe they did it to good intent, and that had they foreſeen the miſchiefs that enſu'd upon it, they would never have put a hand to the work: for they were ſo good ſervants of the Kings, and lov'd him ſo well, as they had good and juſt reaſon to do, that they would rather have dy'd in Captivity than have done it; which I ſay, becauſe the Conſtable and the Mareſchal *de S. Andre* were the firſt movers and promoters of it, who themſelves have ſeen the death of the King, and themſelves ſhar'd in the miſhaps that have ſince befallen this miſerable Kingdom, wherein they both dyed with their ſwords in their hands, who otherwiſe might yet perhaps have been alive, by which any one may conclude, that they did not make this peace, foreſeeing the miſchiefs it has ſince produc'd, which rightly to comprehend, let us conſider the happineſs wherewith God was pleas'd to bleſs this Kingdom, in giving it ſo brave and magnanimous a King, his Kingdom rich, and his people ſo affectionately obedient, that they would deny him nothing to aſſiſt him in his Conqueſts, together with ſo many great and brave Captains, moſt of which had been yet alive, had they not devour'd one another in theſe late civil Wars. Oh had this good King but liv'd or this unlucky peace never been made, he would have ſent the *Lutherans* packing into *Germany* with a vengeance. As to the reſt, our good Maſter had four Sons, all Princes of great hope and ſingular expectation, and ſuch, as from whom his Majeſty in his declining years, might expect the repoſe, and comfort of his old Age, and conſider them as proper inſtruments for the execution of his high and generous deſigns. The other Kings his neighbours could not boaſt of this, for the King of *Spain* had one Son only, of which never any one conceiv'd any great hopes, and he prov'd accordingly; the Kingdom of *England* was in the Government of a Woman, the Kingdom of *Scotland* neighbour to it, ſtood for us, and was ours, *France* having a Dolphin King; by all which any one may judge, that had not this unlucky peace been concluded, the Father or his Sons had ſway'd all *Europe*. *Piedmont*, the Nurſery of brave men had been ours, by which we had a door into *Italy*, and perhaps a good ſtep into it, and we had ſeen all things turn'd topſie turvy: Then thoſe who have ſo brav'd and haraſſed this Kingdom, durſt not have ſhew'd their heads, have ſtirr'd, nor ſo much as projected or thought of what they have executed ſince. But 'tis done and paſt, without any poſſible remedy, and nothing remains to us but ſorrow and affliction, for the loſs of ſo good, and ſo valiant a King, and to me of ſo gracious and liberal a Maſter, with the miſhaps that have ſince befallen this miſerable Kingdom, well may we call it ſo, in compariſon of what it was before, when we ſtil'd it the moſt great and opulent Kingdom in Arms, good Captains, the obedience of the people, and in riches, that was in the whole world.

The miſchiefs that enſu'd upon this peace.

The praiſes of King *Henry* the ſecond.

After this unhappy and unfortunate peace the King retir'd himſelf to *Beauvais*, but Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſtill remain'd in the Camp to diſmiſs the Army. Before his Majeſties departure, I ſurrendred up the Commiſſion he had made me to accept by force: Neither ought it to appear ſtrange, that I diſputed it ſo long, before I would take that employment upon me; for I doubted well that would befal me, which afterwards did, which was to incur the perpetual diſgrace of the Houſe of *Montmorency* more than that of *Chaſtillon*, which was more nearly concern'd in the affair than the other. But there is no remedy, a man cannot live in this world, without contracting ſome Enemies, unleſs he were a God. I accompanied Monſieur *de Guiſe* as far as *Beauvais*, and from thence retir'd to *Paris*, he having firſt promis'd to obtain me leave to go into *Gaſcony*, and moreover to cauſe money to be given me to defray my journey thither; for he knew very well

Monſieur *de Montluc* not much belov'd by the Houſe of *Montmorency*.

I had not one peny. Both which I am confident he would have perform'd: but ſo ſoon as he came to *Beauvais*, he found a new face of affairs, others having ſtept in betwixt him and home, and undermined him in his credit with the King. Thus goes the world, but it was a very ſudden change, and much wondred at by thoſe who had follow'd him in the Conqueſts he had made, he having repair'd all the diſaſters of others, and manifeſted to the King of *Spain*, that neither the loſs of the Battel of S. *Quintine*, nor that of *Graveline*, had reduc'd the King to ſuch a condition, but that he had yet one or two Armies ſtronger than thoſe, having as to the reſt, taken almoſt impregnable places. But let them deal it out. Theſe are things that very often fall out in the Courts of Princes, and I wonder not that I have had my ſhare, ſince far greater than I, have run the ſame fortune, and will do for the time to come.

The Duke of *Guiſe* declining in the Kings favour.

Now the King of *Navarre* had been driving on ſome enterprize or another in *Biſcay*, which in the end prov'd double, and entreated the King to give me leave to go along with him, for that he was reſolv'd to execute it in his own perſon, having an opinion that Monſieur *de Bury* had fail'd through his own default; and ſo I went along with him without any other advantages from Court, than bare promiſes only, and the good will of the King my Maſter: but he was diverted from his liberalities both to me and to others, who deſerv'd it as well, and perhaps better than I. We went then to *Bayonne*, where we found that he who was entruſted to carry on this affair, and whoſe name was *Gamure*, plaid double, and intended to have cauſed the King of *Navarre* himſelf to be taken; whereupon he ſent back Monſieur *de Duras* with the *Legionnaries*, and alſo the *Bearnois* he had caus'd to advance thither in order to his deſign. I had brought with me threeſcore and five Gentlemen all arm'd, and bravely mounted, who were come thither for the love they bore to me, and being return'd home to my own houſe, within a very few days after came the gift the King had been pleas'd to give me of the Company of *Gens d' armes*, become vacant by the death of Monſieur *de la Guiche*, wherein his Majeſty had no little to do, to be as good as his word, and to diſengage himſelf from the ſeveral Traverſes and obſtacles my Enemies ſtrew'd in his way, to hinder me from having that command; nevertheleſs the King carried it againſt them all, more by anger than otherwiſe, he being in the end conſtrained to tell them, *that he had made me a promiſe of the firſt vacancy, and would be as good as his word*; *and that therefore no man was to ſpeak a word more to the contrary.* I made my firſt muſter at *Beaumont de Loumaigne*, one *la Peyrie* being Muſter-Maſter.

The King of *Navarre* carries the Sieur *de Montluc* into *Guienne*.

At this time thoſe unhappy * Marriages were ſolemniz'd, and thoſe unfortunate Triumphs and Tiltings held at Court. The joy whereof was very ſhort, and laſted but a very little ſpace, the death of the King enſuing upon it, running againſt that accurſed *Montgomery*, who I would to God had never been born, for his whole life was nothing but miſchief, and he made as miſerable an end. Being one day at *Nerac*, the King of *Navarre* ſhew'd me a Letter that Monſieur *de Guiſe* had writ him, wherein he gave him notice of the days of Tilting, in which the King himſelf was to be in perſon, his Majeſty with the Dukes *de Guiſe*, *de Ferrara*, and *de Nemours*, being Challengers. I ſhall never forget a word I ſaid to the King of *Navarre*, which alſo I had often heard ſpoken before, *That when a man thinks himſelf to be out of his affairs, and dreams of nothing, but how to paſs his time well, 'tis then that the greateſt misfortunes befal him, and that I fear'd the iſſue of this Tilting.* It was now but juſt three days, reckoning by the date of the Letter to the Tilting, and the next day I return'd home to my own houſe, and the very night before the day of the Tilting, as I was in my firſt ſleep, I dream'd, "that "I ſaw the King ſitting in a chair, with his face cover'd all over with drops of blood, and "methought it was juſt as they paint Jeſus Chriſt, when the Jews put the Crown of "Thorns upon his head, and that he held his hands joyn'd together, I look'd methought "earneſtly upon him, and could diſcover no hurt he had, but only drops of blood trick-"ling down his face. I heard methought ſome ſay, he is dead, and others, he is not "dead yet, and ſaw the Phyſicians and Chirurgeons go in and out of the Chamber; and I "do believe my dream continued a great while, for when I awak'd, I found a thing I "could have never believ'd, which is, that a man can cry in his ſleep; for I found my face "all blubber'd with tears, and my eyes ſtill ſpringing new; and was faiſn to let them take "their courſe, for I could not give over weeping of a long time after. My wife, who was then living, ſaid all ſhe could to comfort me, but all in vain, for I could never perſwade my ſelf any other but that he was dead. Many who are yet living are able to teſtifie, that this is no fain'd ſtory, for I told it them ſo ſoon as ever I awak'd. Four days after a Courrier came to *Nerac*, who brought Letters to the King of *Navarre* from the Conſtable, wherein he writ him word of the King's being wounded, and of the little hopes there

* Of the Siſter and Daughter of *Henry* the ſecond.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* dream.

there was of his life, whereupon the King of *Navarre* ſent a ſervant of his to me, to acquaint me with the diſaſter, and to deſire me to come preſently away to him. The Meſſenger came away in the cloſe of the evening, and was preſently with me, it being no more than four leagues from *Nerac* to my houſe, where he found me juſt going to Bed. I immediately took horſe, and went to take a Neighbour of mine in my way, call'd Monſieur *de Berand* along with me, and ſo we went together at a good round rate to *Nerac*. The Gentleman is yet living, and can witneſs that I told, and foretold him all the miſeries, or very near, that we have ſince ſeen happen in *France*, and ſaid as much to the King of *Navarre*, with whom I ſtaid but two hours at *Nerac*, and return'd to entertain my ſorrows in my own houſe. Eight days had not paſt before the King of *Navarre* ſent me word of the Kings death; by which I got nothing, having never ſince met with any thing but croſſes and misfortunes, as I had been the cauſer of it, and that God would puniſh me for the offence; I am ſure I had little reaſon to be ſo, for ſince his death, I have a hundred times wiſh'd my own, and it evermore ran in my head, that I ſhould never after meet with any thing but misfortune, as indeed I have never had any thing elſe. For I have ſince been ſuſpected to have intelligence with the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, whereas God Almighty knows, I was never of their Council, nor privy to any of their deſigns, as I have ſufficiently manifeſted in the pinch of affairs. 'Tis very true, that I have often heard theſe two Princes complain of the ill uſage they receiv'd, but when ever they fell upon that diſcourſe, I ever wav'd it all I could. God by his good grace has aſſiſted me to demonſtrate to all the world, that I never had intelligence but with the King and the Queen, and with thoſe who have faithfully and loyally ſerv'd them, and have found that thoſe who had receiv'd the deepeſt impreſſions of this ill opinion of me, have been, and at this day are, the beſt Patrons and Friends I ever had, or yet have. There are, who know very well what I ſaid to the Prince of *Conde*, at the fine Conference held at *Poiſſy*, when he attempted to draw me over to his party. After the firſt troubles the Queen of *Navarre* went to *Rouſſillon*, where ſhe carried to their Majeſties a whole ſack full of informations againſt me, that ſpoke of nothing but Treaſons, and Intelligences that I had with the King of *Spain*, to deliver up *Guienne* into his hands, Rapes of Wives and Virgins, Depredations, Impoſitions, and Thefts from the Kings Treaſure: Nevertheleſs, their Majeſties being come to *Tholouſe*, and into *Guienne*, they found neither man nor woman of one Religion or the other, that ever open'd their mouths againſt me, and found *Guienne* ſo abounding in all ſorts of proviſions, that the whole Court wonder'd at it, conſidering that at the ſame time in *Languedoc*, the whole Countrey was ready to dye of famine; and the Chancellor himſelf ſaid, that having for three days ſojourned in that Province, in all thoſe three days time his Clerk of his Kitchin could furniſh him with no more than one Puller only, which he ſpoke openly at Table, at an entertainment he made for ſome Preſidents and Councellors; upon which the firſt Preſident took occaſion to ſay, that notwithſtanding he would find *Guienne* to abound with all ſorts of proviſions. *Yes* anſwer'd the Chancellor, *but how comes it to be ſo, for ſome have poſſeſt the King and Queen, that they would find nothing to eat in* Guienne, *and that Monſieur* de Montluc *had ruin'd the whole Countrey:* whereupon all thoſe who were at the Table atteſted the contrary, and that he ſhould find the Countrey very well govern'd, as he did, by his own confeſſion; the Queen alſo who fear'd ſhe ſhould want proviſion at *Bayonne*, ſaw there with her own eyes, that they were fain to throw the fleſh into the ſtreets, and yet before their coming, *la Graviere* Seneſchal of *Quercy*, returning from Court, call'd at my houſe at *Stillac*, where he made himſelf ſo drunk with the good wine I gave him, that he dream'd in the night I had told him, that I would deliver up *Guienne* to the King of *Spain*, that the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, Meſſieurs *de Terride*, *de Negrepelice* and ſeveral others were of the plot, and that if he would be one, I would make him the greateſt man of his Race, and ſo went with his night-cap to tell this fine ſtory to Monſieur *de Marchaſtel*, who immediately diſpatch'd away *Rappin* to Court, to carry this news to the King, where it was believ'd for ſome days; for the Queen ſent *du Pleſſis* to me poſt, to bid me fear nothing, for that nothing was believ'd: but I had had notice of it before, though I made no great matter of it, having ſo great a confidence in the Queen, that ſhe would not lightly be induc'd to believe any ſuch thing. *Du Pleſſis* (who was of the Bed-Chamber to the King) found me at *Agen* dancing (for we muſt make merry ſometimes) in the Company of fifteen or twenty Gentlewomen, who were come to ſee Madam *de Caupenne* my Daughter in Law, who had never been in this Countrey before. And thus my Treaſon was found to be true. We demanded ſatisfaction of their Majeſties, but could never obtain any, and that's it, that nouriſhes ſo many Tale-Carriers and Slanderers in the Kingdom, for they are never puniſh'd, no more than falſe witneſſes in the Courts of Parliament. But I hope God will one day make them all known to the King,

Henry the ſecond kill'd by *Montgomery*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* unfortunate after the death of King *Henry*.

The King of *Navarre* and his Brother diſcontented.

Jealouſies of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

The Seneſchal of *Quercy* accuſes the Sieur *de Montluc*.

Slanderers in the Courts of Princes.

King, and make him cut off ſo many heads, that he will cleanſe the Kingdom of this Vermine.

Though all things that have been forg'd againſt me have been prov'd utterly falſe, and without any colour of truth, my actions as well of the paſt as preſent time, having clearly manifeſted the contrary; yet could I not nevertheleſs ſo purge my ſelf, but that the Queen believ'd ſomething, or at leaſt retain'd ſome jealouſie of me, and I have ſufficiently felt it, though I believe however it was only to hinder the King from giving me any recompence for the ſervices I have perform'd for his Majeſty and his Crown; which what they have been ſhe very well knows; and knows very well alſo, that I am no *Spaniard*, nor have any practices either out of the Kingdom, or within it, but what point at his Majeſties ſervice. She had no ſuch opinion of me, when ſitting upon a cheſt betwixt the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and of *Guiſe*, ſhe entertain'd me at *Tholouſe* with tears in her eyes. Her Majeſty may call it to mind if ſhe pleaſe, for though ſhe have a great many matters to trouble her head withal, ſhe has a very good memory. It was ſhe her ſelf who told me, that having received news of the loſs of the Battail of *Dreaux* (for ſome brave Cavalier had run away at the beginning, and carried this lying report) ſhe entred into conſultation with her ſelf, what ſhe was beſt to do, and in the end took a reſolution, if certain news ſhould be brought of this defeat, to ſteal away with a ſmall Train, with the King and the Monſieur, and try to recover *Guienne* by the way of *Auvergne*, both out of the confidence ſhe repos'd me (and indeed *Guienne* was clear and entire) as alſo becauſe the King and ſhe might there at great eaſe, have call'd in ſuccours from other places. God be prais'd there Majeſties came not thither, but this will appear better hereafter. In the mean time, her Majeſty may pleaſe to take notice, that hitherto I have not much importun'd her with demands, neither have they much troubled themſelves with finding out ſomething to give me, having refus'd me the County of *Gaure* (which is not worth above twelve hundred Livers a year) after the firſt troubles. Every one knows what ſervices I did the King, and particularly in the conſervation of *Guienne*, not that I complain of his Majeſty, for both his Father and he have conferr'd more honor and advantages upon me than I deſerve, neither did I ever hope for any recompence for the ſervices I had done, or could do, after I was anſwer'd by a perſon who is yet living, when ſome friends ſpoke in my behalf, *that I was already too great in* Guienne. Which I do confeſs I was, not in Riches, but in the friendſhip of all the three Eſtates of the Province, both for the loyalty and fidelity they knew I had ever born to the ſervice of the King and his Crown, as alſo for having evermore endeavour'd to eaſe the Country of Gariſons, and all other Subſides, when I had the power to do it. And I hope at the return of the Commiſſioners who are now come into theſe parts, the truth will appear. I have not corrupted them, for I would not ſo much as ſee them, let them do their worſt; and as to my eſtate, it is now fifty years that I have ſerv'd in command, having been three times the Kings Lieutenant, thrice Camp-Maſter, Governor of places, and Captain both of Horſe and Foot, and yet with all theſe employments, I could never do more than purchaſe three Farms, and redeem a Mill that anciently belong'd to my houſe, all which amount to no more than betwixt fourteen and fifteen thouſand Francks, which is all the wealth and purchaſes that I have ever made; and all the Eſtate that I now poſſeſs could not be farm'd out to above four thouſand, five hundred Francks a year. I ſhould have been glad that any one could have reproach'd me, that I was too great, for the great riches the King had given me, and not for having had nothing, but remaining poor as I am. God be praiſed for all, in that he has made me an honeſt man, and ever maintain'd me in an integrity fit to walk with my face erect amongſt men. I fear no man upon earth, I have done nothing unworthy a man of honor, and a loyal Subject; neither have I ever ſerv'd my Prince in a Vizor, or with diſſimulation, for my words and my actions have evermore gone hand in hand; neither had I ever any intelligence or friendſhip with the Enemies of my King and Maſter, and whoever is mangy, let him ſcratch a Gods name, for I neither itch within nor without, having always kept my nails ſo ſhort, that I had never any uſe of them: for which I praiſe God, and moſt humbly thank him, who has hitherto guided my life ſo as to preſerve it from any manner of reproach, and hope he will do me the grace, that as hitherto he has gone along with my fortune in arms, he will alſo accompany my renown to my grave, ſo that after my death, my Relations and Friends ſhall not be aſham'd to have been my Kinſmen or my Companions, and I doubt not but with this fair Robe of Fidelity and Loyalty to ſignalize my ſelf, in deſpite of thoſe who have ever been envious of my ſucceſs, and emulous of my honor. So it is, that had King *Henry* my good Maſter liv'd, theſe misfortunes had never befaln me, nor which is worſe, the Kingdom: But I ſhall leave this diſcourſe, growing perhaps into too much paſſion for the death and loſs of the beſt King that *France* ever had, or ſhall ever have.

The Sieur *de Montluc* well belov'd in *Guienne*.

Why the Sieur *de Montluc* has written.

I ſhall not meddle with the Factions and Rebellions that have diſcovered themſelves ſince the death of *Francis* the ſecond, though I could ſay ſomething of them, as having liv'd in that time, and been an eye witneſs of many things: for I pretend not to be an Hiſtorian, nor to write in the method of a Hiſtory, but only to give the world an account, that I did not bear arms for nothing; as alſo that my Companions and Friends may take example by my actions, of which there are many that may be uſeful to them, when they ſhall be engaged upon the like occaſions; and moreover, that by reaſon of my writing, my memory may not ſo ſoon periſh: Which is all that men who live in the world, bearing arms like men of Honor, and without reproach, ought to deſire; for all the reſt is nothing. I do believe, that ſo long as the world ſhall endure, men will talk of thoſe brave and valiant Captains, Meſſieurs *de Lautrec*, *de Bayard*, *de Foix*, *de Briſſac*, *de Strozzy*, *de Guiſe*, and ſeveral others, who have flouriſh'd ſince King *Francis* the firſt came to the Crown, amongſt whoſe better names that of *Montluc* may perhaps have ſome place: And ſince God has depriv'd me of my Sons, who all dyed in the ſervice of the Kings my Maſters, the young *Montluc*'s who are deſcended from them, ſhall endeavour to exceed their Grandfire. I will therefore write nothing of the Reign of *Francis* the ſecond, nor of the Factions at Court; neither were they other than Seditions and Rebellions, of which I know ſeveral particulars, as having been very intimate with the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*: but as I have already ſaid, I leave thoſe affairs to the Hiſtorians, to finiſh the reſt of my own life; wherein I ſhall proceed to give an account of the fights in which I have been engag'd during theſe Civil Wars, and wherein I have been conſtrained, contrary to my own nature, to uſe not only ſeverity, but even ſometimes to be cruel.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE COMMENTARIES OF *Meſſire Blaize de Montluc*, MARESCHAL of FRANCE.

The Fifth Book.

KIng *Francis* being dead at *Orleans*, where I then was, I went to wait upon the Queen Mother, who although ſhe was very ill, nevertheleſs did me the honor to command, that they ſhould permit me to enter into her Chamber. I had taken notice of the practices were ſet on foot, which did by no means pleaſe me, and eſpecially thoſe of the Eſtates then ſitting, by which I ſaw we ſhould not long continue in peace, and that was it, which made me reſolve to retire from Court, that I might not be hook'd in, either by one Faction or another; eſpecially conſidering that I had been made guilty that way before (contrary to all truth, as God be my help) which was the reaſon, that taking leave of her Majeſty, and not thinking it fit to trouble her with much diſcourſe in her indiſpoſition, I ſaid to her theſe words, *Madam, I am going into* Gaſcony, *with a determination to do you moſt humble and faithful ſervice all the days of my life, which I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to believe, and if any thing fall out conſiderable enough to engage you to call your ſervants about you, I promiſe you, and give you my faith, I will never take other ſide than that of your Majeſties, and my Lords your Children; but for that will be on horſeback ſo ſoon as ever your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to command me.* The very night of the ſame day on which King *Francis* dy'd, I had given her the ſame aſſurance, for which ſhe now did me the honor to return me thanks, when Madam *de Curſol*, who ſtood at her beds head, ſaid to her, *Madam, you ought not to let him go, your Majeſty having no ſervants more faithful than thoſe of the Family of* Montluc. To which I made anſwer, *Madam, you ſhall never be without* Montluc's, *for you have three yet remaining, which are my two Brothers and my Son, who with my ſelf will dye at your feet, for your Majeſties ſervice.* For which her Majeſty return'd me many thanks. She who had a great deal of underſtanding, and who has given very ample teſtimony of it to the world, ſaw very well, that having ſo many affairs upon her hands, during the minority of her children, ſhe ſhould have uſe for all the ſervants ſhe had, and may her ſelf remember what ſhe ſaid to me, wherein if I have fail'd to execute her commands, it was becauſe I did not underſtand them. And ſo I took my leave of her Majeſty; Madam *de Curſol* follow'd me to the middle of the room, where ſhe took her leave of me, and Madam *de Courton* did the ſame, and thus I return'd to my own houſe.

The death of *Francis* the ſecond.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* words to the Queen Mother.

Some months after my return home, I had news brought me from all ſides, of the ſtrange language, and moſt audacious ſpeeches the Miniſters of the new faith impudently utter'd, even againſt the Royal Authority. I was moreover told, that they impos'd taxes upon the people, made Captains, and liſted Souldiers, keeping their Aſſemblies in the Houſes of ſeveral Lords of the Country, who were of this new Religion; which was the firſt beginning and cauſe of all thoſe Miſchiefs and Maſſacres they have ſince exercis'd upon one an-

Audacious ſpeeches of the Hugonot Miniſters.

other. I ſaw the evil daily to encreaſe, but ſaw no one who appear'd on the King's behalf to oppoſe it. I heard alſo that the greateſt part of the Officers of the Treaſury were of this Religion (the nature of man being greedy of Novelty) and the worſt of all, and from whence proceeded all the miſchief, was, that thoſe of the long Robe, the men of Juſtice in the Parliaments and Senechalſeys, and other Judges, abandoned the ancient Religion, and that of the King, to embrace the new one. I met alſo with ſtrange names of Surveillans, Deacons, Conſiſtories, Sinods and Colloquies, having never before breakfaſted of ſuch viands. I heard that the Surveillans had Bulls pizzles by them called *Iobanots*, with which they miſus'd, and very cruelly beat the poor Peaſants, if they went not to their Conventicles; the people being ſo totally abandoned by Juſtice, that if any one went to complain, they receiv'd nothing but injury inſtead of redreſs, and not a Serjeant that durſt attempt to execute any thing in the behalf of the Catholicks, but for the Hugonots only (for ſo they were call'd, though I know not why) the reſt of the Judges and Officers who were Catholicks being ſo over-aw'd, that they durſt not have commanded ſo much as an Information to be made for fear of their lives. All theſe things together were preſages to me of what I have ſince ſeen come to paſs, and returning from another houſe of mine to that of *Stillac*, I found the Town of *La Plume* beſieg'd by three or four hundred men. I had my Son Captain *Montluc* with me, whom I ſent with all ſorts of fair language (for I had no more than ten or twelve horſe in my company) to try to perſwade them to deſiſt. Wherein he prevail'd ſo far, that he overcame the *Brimonts*, the principal heads of this Enterprize (which was undertaken to reſcue two priſoners of their Religion, that the Magiſtrates of *La Plume* had for ſome diſorders committed.) My Son having promiſed them, that if they would retire, I would cauſe them to be deliver'd; they took his word, and drew off from before the Town. The next day accordingly I went to ſpeak with the Officers of the ſaid City, to whom having remonſtrated, that for theſe two Priſoners they ought not to ſuffer a ſedition to be ſet on foot, they brought them out to me, and let them go.

The miſerable eſtate of *Guienne*.

The Sieur *de Burie* the King's Lieutenant in *Guienne*.

Monſieur *de Burie*, who at this time in the abſence of the King of *Navarre* commanded in *Guienne*, was at *Bourdeaux*, where he had as much work cutting out for him, as in any other part of the Province; but I did not hear that he made any great ſtir, and I believe he was very much aſtoniſht: for my part I had command of nothing but my own Company, nevertheleſs I would once take upon me to meddle at the requeſt of the Court Preſidial, and the Conſuls of *Agen*, about the concern of a Miniſter the Magiſtrates had committed to priſon, which ſet the whole City in commotion one againſt another; whereupon the Conſuls came to entreat me to come to *Agen*, for that otherwiſe the Inhabitants would cut one anothers throats. Which I accordingly did, where, upon my coming, the Hugonots were of themſelves poſſeſt with ſo great a terror, that ſome of them hid themſelves in Cellars, and others leapt over the walls; not that I gave them any occaſion ſo to do, for I had as yet done them no harm; neither did I do any more now, but only take the Miniſter out of a Houſe to deliver him into the hands of Juſtice; but theſe people have ever fear'd my name in *Guienne*, as they have that of Monſieur *de Guiſe* in *France*. But how little ſoever the thing I did was, the King of *Navarre* took it ſo highly ill at my hands, that he mortally hated me for it, and writ to the King that I had diſpoſſeſt him of his Lieutenancy, entreating to know if his Majeſty had given me authority ſo to do, whilſt in the mean time he meditated his revenge at what price ſoever. This hapned in the time when King *Francis* was yet living: for in thoſe times theſe new people began their innovations. Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſent me word by my Son Captain *Montluc*, that I ſhould uſe all the means I could to reſtore my ſelf to his favour, for although the King was ſatisfied with what I had done, he could not nevertheleſs make any ſhew of it, it being requiſite for him to proceed after this manner. This letter might very well have been the cauſe of my ruine, for without this private advice from Monſieur *de Guiſe*, I had never reconciled my ſelf to the King of *Navarre*, as having much rather have choſen to have ſtood upon my Guard, and in my own defence, than to have any tampering with the King of *Navarre* in any thing but what ſhould be by his Majeſties command; but I conceiv'd I could not erre in following the advice of Monſieur *de Guiſe*; for he abſolutely govern'd all things at Court.

The Hugonots dread the name of *Montluc*.

But to return to my firſt ſubject, having heard and ſeen all theſe affairs and novelties which ſtill much more diſcloſed themſelves after my return, and after the death of the King (for they now explain'd themſelves in down-right Terms) than before; I deliberated to return to Court, no more to ſtir from the Queen and her Children, but to die at their feet in oppoſition to all ſuch as ſhould preſent themſelves againſt them, according to the promiſe I had made to the Queen, and put my ſelf upon my way in order to this reſolution.

reſolution. The Court was then at *St. German en l'Aye*. I ſtaid but two dayes at *Paris*, and at my coming to *St. Germains*, found not one perſon of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, nor any other, but the Queen, the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, where I was very well receiv'd by her Majeſty, and by them all. The Queen and the King of *Navarre* drawing me apart, enquir'd of me how affairs ſtood in *Guienne*; to which I made anſwer, that they were not yet very ill, but that I fear'd they would every day grow worſe and worſe, telling them withall the reaſons why I conceiv'd that it would not be long before they would break into open arms. I ſtaid there but five dayes, in which time news came that the Hugonots were riſen at *Marmanda*, and had kill'd all the Religious of the Order of St. *Francis*, and burnt their Monaſtery: immediately came other news of the Maſſacre the Catholics had made of the Hugonots at *Cahors*, with that of *Grenade* near unto *Tholouze*. After that came news of the death of Monſieur *de Fumel*, barbarouſly maſſacred by his own Tenants who were Hugonots; which troubled the Queen more than all the reſt, and then it was that her Majeſty ſaw, that what I had prophecied to her, that they would not long abſtain from arms, was very true. They were ſix dayes before they could reſolve at which end to begin to extinguiſh this fire. The King of *Navarre* would that the Queen ſhould write to Monſieur *de Burie* to take order in thoſe affairs; but the Queen ſaid, that if none but he put their hands to the work, there would be no great matters done, by which ſhe implied ſome jealouſie of him; and I know what he ſaid to me, *A little thing will ſerve to render us ſuſpected*. I perceiv'd alſo that the King of *Navarre* was not ſo kind to me as formerly; which I believe proceeded from my own behaviour, I being not ſo obſervant to him as at other times, and never ſtirring from the Queen. In the end they reſolved to ſend me into *Guienne* with a Commiſſion to raiſe Horſe and Foot, and to fall upon all ſuch as ſhould appear in arms. I defended my ſelf the beſt I could from this Employment, knowing very well that it was not a work done, but a work that was only about to begin, and ſuch as requir'd a great Maſter to execute it as it ought to be; and therefore remain'd at this bout conſtant not to take it upon me. The next morning the Queen and the King of *Navarre* ſent for me, and the Queen had in the interval commanded Monſieur *de Valence* my brother to perſwade me to accept of this Commiſſion; ſo that when I came before them, after ſeveral Remonſtrances they made me, I was conſtrain'd to accept of it, provided that Monſieur *de Burie* might be joyn'd in the Commiſſion, for I would have him have his part of the Cake. But the Queen would by no means hear of it, alledging but too many reaſons (Princes may ſay what they pleaſe) till in the end I was forc'd to tell her Majeſty plainly, that in caſe he was not comprehended in the Commiſſion, he being the Kings Lieutenant as he was, would underhand ſtrew ſo many Traverſes and difficulties in my way, that I ſhould never effect any thing to purpoſe; which at laſt they allow'd to be a ſufficient reaſon, and let it paſs according to my own deſire. The ſame Commiſſion they gave me for *Guienne*, they alſo gave Monſieur *de Curſol* for the Province of *Languedoc*, giving us both in charge, that which of us ſoever ſhould firſt have diſpatch'd our own buſineſs, ſhould go help his fellow, if he ſhould ſtand in need. Monſieur *de Curſol* was no more of this new Religion than I, and without all doubt afterward turn'd to it more out of ſome diſcontent, than for any devotion, for he was no great Divine, no more than I was: but I have known many turn to this Religion out of ſpite, who have afterwards very much repented. We both of us together took our leaves of the Queen and the King of *Navarre*, and went to *Paris*, and Monſieur *de Valence* with us. I demanded two Counſellors of that part of *France* to ſit upon life and death (fearing that thoſe of the Country would do no good, being that ſome of them would encline to the Catholicks, and others to the Hugonots) and had given me two of the damnedſt Rogues in the whole Kingdom, one whereof was *Compain* a Counſellor of the great Council, and the other *Gerard* Lieutenant to the Prevoſt *d'Hoſtel*, who have ſince gain'd no better a reputation, than they had before. I repented me that I had demanded them; but I thought I did well in it, and ſo I came into *Gaſcony* in all diligence.

The Hugonots riſe in *Guienne*.

Monſieur *de Fumel* butcher'd by his own Tenants.

The Sieur *de Montlucs* large Commiſſion.

Monſieur *de Curſol* in *Languedoc*.

I found Monſieur *de Burie* at *Bourdeaux*, where I deliver'd him the Patent, and where all the City was divided againſt one another, and the Parliament alſo, becauſe the Hugonots would that they might preach openly in the City, alledging that by the Conference at *Poiſey* it was permitted them ſo to do; and the Catholicks affirm'd the contrary; ſo that Monſieur *de Burie* and I had for a whole day together enough to do to keep them from falling together by the ears; and thereupon agreed to raiſe ſome men, and that ſo ſoon as our Commiſſioners ſhould be come, we would march directly to *Fumel*, our Patent expreſſing that we ſhould begin there. Now the power of raiſing Forces, and of commanding them was in me, wherefore we concluded together to raiſe two hundred

Harquebuzeers,

* Light-horſe.

Harquebuzeers, and a hundred * Argoulets, the command of which I gave to the younger *Tilladet*, the ſame who is now Lord of *Sainctlorens*.

Barrelle a Miniſter attempts to corrupt the Sieur *de Montluc*.

I had ſcarce been four or five days in my houſe *Eſtillac*, when a Miniſter call'd *la Barrelle* came to me in the behalf of their Churches, telling me, that the Churches were exceeding glad of my coming, and the Authority the Queen had given me, being now aſſur'd to obtain Juſtice againſt thoſe that had Maſſacred their Brethren. To which I made anſwer, that he might be confident all ſuch as ſhould appear in fault, ſhould be certainly puniſh'd. He then told me, that he had in Commiſſion from the Churches to make me a handſome preſent, and ſuch a one as therewith I ſhould have reaſon to be well ſatisfied. I told him, that there was no need of any preſents to me, foraſmuch as my integrity would oblige me to do my duty, and that for all the preſents in the world, I was never to be made to do any thing contrary to it. He then told me, that the Catholicks had declar'd, they would never endure to have Juſtice executed upon them, and that therefore he had in Commiſſion from all the Churches, to preſent me with four thouſand foot in good equipage, and paid. This word began to put me into fury, and made me angerly demand of him, what men, and of what Nation muſt thoſe Four thouſand Foot be? to which he made anſwer, of this very Country, and of the Churches; whereupon I ask'd him, if he had power to preſent the Kings Subjects, and to put men into the Field, without the command of the King, or the Queen, who was at this time Regent of the Kingdom, and ſo declar'd by the Eſtates held at *Orleans*. *O you confounded Rogues*, ſaid I, *I ſee very well what you aim at, it is to ſet diviſions in the Kingdom, and 'tis you Miniſters that are the Authors of this godly work, under colour of the Goſpel*; and thereupon fell to ſwearing, and ſeizing him by the collar, ſaid theſe words, *I know not Raſcal, what ſhould hinder me, that I do not my ſelf hang thee at this window, for I have with my own hands, ſtrangled twenty honeſter men than thou*. Who then trembling, ſaid to me, *Sir I beſeech you let me go to Monſieur* de Burie, *for I have order from the Churches to go ſpeak with him, and be not offended with me, who only come to deliver a meſſage, neither do we do it for any other end, but only to defend our ſelves*. Whereupon I bade him *go and be hang'd to all the Devils in Hell, both he, and all the reſt of his fellow Miniſters*, and ſo he departed from me, as ſufficiently frighted as ever he was in his life. This action got me a very ill repute amongſt the Miniſters, for it was no leſs than high Treaſon to touch one of them.

The offers of the Churches.

Nevertheleſs a few days after came another Miniſter call'd *Boenormant*, alias *la Pierre*, ſent in the behalf of their Churches (as he ſaid) to entreat me to accept the preſent and offer that *Barelle* had made me, ſaying, that it was not for the intention I imagin'd, and that without coſting the King ſo much as a * Liard, I might render equal Juſtice both to the one party and the other. At this I was almoſt ready to loſe all manner of patience, and with great vehemency reproach'd him with the levying of money, and the liſting of men, but he deny'd it all. Whereupon I ſaid to him, *But what if I prove to you, that no longer ſince than yeſterday, you liſted men at* la Plume, *what will you ſay?* To which he made anſwer, *That if it was ſo, it was more than he knew*. Now he had a Souldier with him, that had formerly been in my Company in *Piedmont*, call'd *Antragues*, which made me turn to him, ſaying, *Will you Captain* Antragues *deny, that you yeſterday liſted men at* la Plume? To which, ſeeing himſelf caught, he made anſwer, *That indeed the Church of* Nerac *had made him their Captain*. Whereupon I began to ſay, *What the Devil Churches are thoſe that make Captains?* and fell to reproach him with the good uſage and reſpect I had ſhew'd him when he was in my Company; forbidding them ever again to come to me with the like Errand, which if they did, I ſhould not have the patience to forbear laying hands upon them; and ſo they departed.

* A farthing Engliſh, or the fourth part of a peny, a Liard containing three Deniers, whereof twelve go to a penny.

The Churches make Captains.

The Sedition of *Agen*.

They afterwards began to riſe at *Agen*, and to make themſelves Maſters of the Town, in which were the Seigneurs *de Memi* and *Caſtet-Segrat*, and the Seneſchal of *Agenois*; *Poton* was alſo there, who did all that in him lay to pacifie affairs, and came to me, entreating me to go to *Agen*, and that all obedience ſhould be paid me there; there came a Miniſter alſo along with him, who would engage his honor to me in the buſineſs, but I did not take that for good Security. The Seneſchal proceeded with integrity, and I believe it would have coſt him his life as well as me mine, had I gone thither, for he would have defended me the beſt he could; and it came ſo near it, that at their importunity, I promis'd to be there the next morning. But the Sieurs *de la Lande* and *de Nort* in the mean time diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger in private to me, to give me warning *not to come, if I had any care of my life, for if I did, I was a dead man*; which made me ſend them word, that I would not paſs over the River, but if they would come to a Houſe at the Ferry, I was content to give them the meeting there. When they ſaw they could not inveigle me into their power, they conſented to come to the place appointed, whither I accordingly went to

A plot upon the Sieur *de Montluc*'s life.

meet

meet them with five and twenty Souldiers, whom I order'd not to ſtir from the water ſide, and there we din'd together. After dinner we fell to debate what was beſt to be done; where I told them, "that in the firſt place, and before we proceeded to any further parti-"culars, they were to content themſelves with the Church, that Monſieur *de Burie* had al-"low'd them for their meetings, which was a Pariſh Church, and that they muſt quit the "Jacobins, and permit the Religious to re-enter, to perform their offices there; that they "muſt lay down their arms, and receive the one half of the King of *Navarres* Company "into their City for a Gariſon, and the other half ſhould remain at *Condom*. I could ne-ver perſwade them to condeſcend to this; wherefore taking the Seneſchal of *Agen* aſide, I ſaid to him, *Do you not evidently ſee, that they aim at a ſubverſion, and to make them-ſelves Maſters of Cities? I would not adviſe you to ſtay with theſe people; for you will be neceſſitated, either to let them do what they will, or reſolve to have your throat cut, we have a fair example in Monſieur* de Fumel: *conſider with your ſelf what is beſt for to you do, and ſo farewel:* and ſo without any more words, I abruptly left them, and return'd to *Stil-lac*, where at my coming home I found a Farmer of mine of *Puch de Gontaut* call'd *Labat*, who came to tell me in the behalf of their Churches, *that I was too Cholerick, and had not pa-tience rightly to underſtand what the Miniſters* Barrelle *and* Boenormont *had to ſay to me, and to preſent me withal, which was, that the Churches made me a tender of Thirty thou-ſand Crowns, provided I would not take arms againſt them, but let them alone, without de-ſiring nevertheleſs that I ſhould alter my Religion, and that within fifteen days at the fur theſt, they would bring me the money to my own houſe.* In anſwer to which I told him, *That were it not for the love I bore him, and alſo that he was my Tenant, I would handle him after another manner, than I had done* Barrelle *and* Boenormont, *and clap a dagger in his boſom, that he knew very well I had the knack on't, and therefore henceforward let neither he, nor any other be ſo impudent as to make any ſuch Propoſals to me, for I would infallibly be the death of them if they did.* Whereupon very ſufficiently frighted, he immediately left me to return to *Nerac*, to carry back my anſwer to his Church.

Practices to debauch the Sieur *de Mont-luc.*

Eight days had not paſt after this, before Captain *Sendat* came again to tempt me with much greater offers than before; for he made me an offer of forty thouſand Crowns, he himſelf having made them a promiſe to be of their party, provided I did not take arms againſt them; for which they alſo gave him Two thouſand Crowns. We talk'd a pretty while of the buſineſs, and when he ſaw he could no other way prevail with me to take their money, he preſt and adviſ'd me, to take it, and lend the money to the King, wherewith to make war againſt them. To which I made anſwer, *That I very well perceiv'd he did not underſtand what it was to bring the reputation of an honeſt man in diſpute: For in the firſt place,* ſaid I, *they will not give me this money, without firſt making me take an Oath not to bear arms againſt them, which engagement they will have in writing to ſhew to their Churches, to make them part with their money; and beſides, it is impoſſible but that this muſt come to light, for fire can never be ſo cover'd and conceal'd, but that ſome ſmoak will iſſue out. The Queen will wonder that I ſit ſtill in my own houſe and do nothing, ſhe will ſolicite me to take arms, which if I then refuſe to do, will you not, that both ſhe and all the world believe I have taken money, and am a brib'd corrupted fellow? On the other ſide, ſhould I give this money to the King, his Council muſt needs take notice, that I have taken an Oath not to bear arms, and yet they know, that upon my receiving the Order, I have ſworn to do it, and to defend his Perſon and his Crown againſt all the world. How then can you imagine, that either the Queen now, or the King when he grows up, can look upon me as an honeſt man, when I have taken two Oaths expreſly contrary to one another? Some will ſay, that I took the money at firſt upon the account of infidelity; but that afterwards repenting, I would pal-liate my Knavery, by giving it to the King. Others will ſay, that the Queen ought no more to repoſe any truſt in me, having taken two Oaths poſitively contrary to one another, and that ſince I made no conſcience of cheating the Hugonots with an Oath, I would make as little to de-ceive the King. Thus ſhall my honor be brought in queſtion, and, I with juſt reaſon, ſen-tenc'd for ever incapable of any place amongſt honeſt men, and ſuch as are good and loyal Sub-jects to their Prince. What will then become of me, and what a Monſter of men ſhall I be, when I have loſt the honor I have fought for all my life, and parted with my blood to obtain? I will not only ſay, that the Gentlemen of* France *will avoid my converſation, but even the baſeſt of the people alſo will be aſham'd of my company. See then Captain* Sendat *what a fine condition I ſhould be in, ſhould I follow your advice: In return of which, I will give you better; I pray frequent theſe people no more, you have ever been brought up and born arms with the* Montluc's, *let me entreat you to take them up now for the ſervice of the King, and do not go over to that ridiculous Religion. Our Forefathers were honeſter men than they, and I cannot believe that the Holy Ghoſt is amongſt a people who riſe in rebellion againſt their*

Captain *Sen-dat* treats with the Sieur *de Montluc.*

Conſiderations of the Sieur de *Montluc* upon the Propoſals of Captain *Sendat.*

The Sieur *de Montluc* with-draws Captain *Sendat* from the Hugonots.

their King: Here is a hopeful beginning. He promis'd to follow my counſel, and ſo departed.

By my behaviour in this affair, I ſufficiently manifeſted to all the world, that Avarice could never make me abandon my honor, nor my conſcience to falſifie the Oath I have in the preſence of God made to the King loyally, and faithfully to ſerve him, and to defend his Perſon and his Crown, and yet ſome have not been aſham'd to accuſe me of polling from the Kings Treaſury, and of impoſing taxes upon the Country to enrich my ſelf. God and the truth are on my ſide, and the teſtimony of the Eſtates of *Guienne*, who will make it known to all thoſe, who have made all theſe falſe reports of me to their Majeſties, that I have never done any ſuch thing. But letting this alone, I will return to the Juſtice Monſieur *de Burie* and I did with our vertuous Commiſſioners *Compain* and *Gerard*, who remain'd a long time without appearing in any place, or it being ſo much as known where they were. Which made me ſolicite Monſieur *de Burie* to let us ſpeedily fall to our buſineſs, and that ſince our Commiſſioners did not come, we would make uſe of the Counſellors of *Agen*. Yet ſtill we linger'd away the time in delays, whilſt I had intelligence daily brought me, that the Hugonots continued their damnable Conſpiracies. There was at this time a Lieutenant of the Tribunal of *Condom*, call'd *du Franc*, a very honeſt man, and a good ſervant of the Kings, who was once half in mind to have gone over to this new Religion (for he was not the Son of a good Mother, that was not one of them) this man was one day call'd to a Council, in which there were ſome perſons of very great quality, and where he heard an accurſed and execrable Propoſition, which being once propos'd, he durſt not when it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, ſay otherwiſe than the reſt had done, fearing ſhould he contradict it, they would put him to death, leſt he ſhould diſcover their Council, and was therefore conſtrain'd to go thorough with it as the reſt had done. I ſhall not ſay where this Council was kept, much leſs name the perſons who were preſent at it, for the Council and the Propoſition ſignifie nothing now, and there were ſome in the Company, who are ſince become very honeſt men. He ſent to me to entreat that he might have ſome private conference with me, betwixt *Sampoy* and *Condom*, and appointed an hour. I took no more company with me, but one Footman only, and he another, for ſo we had agreed, and we met in a meadow that lay under the Houſe of Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, where he told me all that had been ſaid in the Council, and what had there been concluded, which was ſuch a Conſpiracy, as (ſo God ſhall help me) made my hair ſtand an end, to hear it. After he had ended his ſtory, he made me the Remonſtrance of an honeſt man, telling me that now an occaſion preſented it ſelf, wherein I might acquire honor to my ſelf, and thoſe who ſhould deſcend from me for ever, which was with a couragious and magnanimous heart to take arms, and to expoſe my life to all dangers, for the ſafeguard of thoſe poor children who were the ſons of ſo good a King, and as yet in no better an age to defend themſelves, than if they were in their cradles, and that God would aſſiſt me, ſeeing me take arms to protect the innocent, and thoſe who were no way able to defend themſelves. To this, this good man added ſo many, and ſo powerful Remonſtrances, that (as I ſhall be ſav'd) the tears came into my eyes, entreating me withal, not to diſcover him, for if I ſhould, he was a dead man. He told me further, that as to what concern'd my ſelf, they had conſulted about me, and determin'd to ſurprize me in one place or another, and that if they could get me into their hands, they would deal worſe by me, than they had done by Monſieur *de Fumel*. Nothing of all their Conſpiracies was conceal'd from the ſaid Lieutenant, becauſe they thought him ſure of their ſide, ſo dexterouſly did he behave himſelf amongſt them; but he afterwards ſhew'd them the contrary, ſeveral times expoſing his life in the City of *Condom*, with his Sword in his hand, in defence of the Kings Authority: But however it came to paſs, he was afterward either by poyſon, or ſome other violent means, diſpatch'd out of the world for this very buſineſs. I thought he had never diſcover'd himſelf but to me only, but I found that he had told the ſame thing to Monſieur *de Gondrin*, who was a very intimate friend of his, and to Monſieur *de Maillac*, Receiver of *Guienne*, for they were both as it were Brothers. For my part, I never open'd my lips concerning it to any one living, but to the Queen at *Tholouze*, by the chimney of her Chamber, at which her Majeſty was very much aſtoniſh'd, as ſhe had very good reaſon to be, for more horrid and Diabolical deſigns were never heard of, and yet very great perſons were of the Conſpiracy.

Du Franc diſcovers the Hugonots Conſpiracy.

A deſign of the Hugonots to kill Monſieur *de Montluc*.

Having heard all theſe abominable deſigns, I retir'd to my own houſe at *Sampoy*; where I concluded with my ſelf to lay aſide all manner of fear, reſolving to ſell my skin as dear as I could, as knowing very well, that if I once fell into their hands, and was left to their mercy, the greateſt piece of my body would be no bigger than my little finger. Moreover, determining to execute all the cruelty I could, and eſpecially againſt thoſe who ſpoke

The Sieur *de Montlu's* deſign.

againſt

againſt the Royal Majeſty; for I ſaw very well, that gentle ways would never reclaim thoſe canker'd and inveterate Raſcals. Monſieur *de Burie* departed from *Bourdeaux*, ſending me word of the day he intended to be at *Clairac*, that we might there together reſolve where we ought to begin our Circuit. He ſent me alſo Letters the Commiſſioners had writ to him, wherein they appointed us to come to *Cahors*, there to begin againſt the Catholicks; in anſwer to which I writ to him back again, that he ſhould well conſider the Parent, and that there he would find the Queen had commanded us to go and begin at *Fumel*. The Letters of theſe two honorable Gentlemen, were of ſo audacious and impudent a ſtile, as that by them they gave us to underſtand, that they were the principal Commiſſioners, and that we had no authority, ſaving to juſtifie their proceedings, and to be aſſiſting in the execution of their Decrees.

Now there was a Village two Leagues from *Eſtillac*, call'd S. *Mezard*, the greateſt part whereof belong'd to the Sieur *de Rouillac* a Gentleman of eight or ten thouſand Livers a year. Four or five days before I came thither, the Hugonots his Tenants were riſen up againſt him, becauſe he offer'd to hinder them from breaking open the Church, and taking away the Chalices, and kept him four and twenty hours beſieg'd in his own houſe; ſo that had it not been for a Brother of his call'd Monſieur *de S. Aignan*, and ſome other Gentlemen his neighbours, who came in to his relief, they had certainly cut his throat, as alſo thoſe of *Oſtfort* would have done to the Sieurs *de Cuq*, and *de la Montjoye*, ſo that already there began to be open War againſt the Gentry. I privately got two Hangmen (which they have ſince call'd my Lacquais, becauſe they were very often at my heels) and ſent to Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, my Son in Law (who carried my Corner, and was at *Beaumont de Lomange*, where he lay in Gariſon) that he ſhould come away upon *Thurſday* in the beginning of the night, and by break of day be at the ſaid S. *Mezard*, there to ſeize of thoſe perſons whoſe names I had ſent him in writing, and whereof the principal was Nephew to the Advocate of the King and Queen of *Navarre* at *Lectoure*, call'd *Verdery*. Now the ſaid Advocate was he that fomented all the Sedition, and I had private word ſent me, that he would come that very *Thurſday* to S. *Mezard*, for he had ſome eſtate there. I was reſolv'd to begin with this fellows head, foraſmuch as having adverti'z'd the King of *Navarre* at Court, that the ſaid *Verdery*, and other of his Officers at *Lectoure*, were the principal Incendiaries of Rebellion, and having writ as much to the Queen, of the Kings Officers, ſhe had writ back that I ſhould begin with thoſe people firſt, and the King of *Navarre* had writ in his Letter, that if I hang'd the Kings Officers on the lower branches of a Tree, I ſhould hang his on the uppermoſt of all. But *Verdery* came not, which was well for him, for if he had I had branch'd him. Monſieur *de Fontenilles* perform'd a very long march, and came by break of day to S. *Mazard*, where at his firſt coming he took the Nephew of *Verdery*, and two others, and a Deacon, the reſt eſcap'd away, there being not any one who knew the Houſes, for there was not ſo much as any one man at arms, or Archer who had any knowledge of the place. A Gentleman, call'd Monſieur *de Corde*, who liv'd at the ſaid place, had ſent me word, that wherein the preſence of the Conſuls he had remonſtrated to them that they did ill, and that the King would be highly diſpleas'd with their doings, they made anſwer, *What King? We are the Kings, he that you ſpeak of is a little turdy Roylet, we'll whip his breech, and ſet him to a trade, to teach him to get his living as others do.* Neither was it only there that they talk'd at this precious rate, but it was common diſcourſe in every place. I was ready to burſt with indignation at it, and ſaw very well, that all this Language tended to what had been told me by Lieutenant *du Franc*, which in ſum, was to make another King. I had agreed with Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, that he ſhould alſo take me five or ſix of *Aſtefort*, and eſpecially one Captain *Moralet* the chief Ringleader of them all, and that if he could take him, and thoſe I nam'd to him, he ſhould with good words bring them to me to S. *Mazard*, the ſame day that I perform'd the execution, which was upon a *Friday*, which nevertheleſs that day he could not do, but he ſnap'd them the *Sunday* following, and brought them Priſoners to *Villeneufe*. So ſoon as I came to S. *Mazard*, Monſieur *de Fontenilles* preſented the three Priſoners and the Deacon, all bound, in the Church-yard, in which there was yet remaining the foot of a Croſs of ſtone they had broken, that might be about ſome two foot high. I preſently call'd Monſieur *de Corde* and the Conſuls, bidding them upon pain of death to deliver truly, what words they heard theſe fellows ſpeak againſt the King. The Conſuls were afraid, and durſt ſay nothing; whereupon I told the ſaid Sieur *de Corde*, that it belong'd to him to ſpeak firſt, and therefore bid him ſpeak; upon which he maintain'd to their faces, that they had ſpoke the forementioned words, and then the Conſuls told the truth, and juſtified the ſame the Sieur *de Corde* had done. I had my two Hangmen behind me very well equip'd with their tackle, and eſpecially with a very ſharp

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Lacquais.

Inſolence of the Hugonots.

Ax, when flying in great fury upon this *Verdere*, I took him by the collar, ſaying to him, *O thou confounded Rogue! durſt thou defile thy wicked tongue againſt the Majeſty of thy King and Soveraign?* To which he reply'd, *Ah Sir, have mercy upon a poor ſinner.* At which more enrag'd than before, I ſaid to him, *Thou ungracious Raſcal, wouldſt thou have me to have mercy upon thee, who hadſt no reverence nor reſpect for thy King*, and with that puſh'd him rudely to the ground, ſo that his neck fell exactly upon the piece of the Croſs, crying to the Hangman, *Strike Villain*, which he did, and ſo nimbly, that my word and the blow were the one as ſoon as the other, which fetch'd off his head, and moreover above another half foot of the Croſs. The other two I caus'd to be hang'd upon an Elm that was cloſe by, and being the Deacon was but eighteen years old, I would not put him to death, as alſo that he might carry the news to his Brethren; but caus'd him nevertheleſs to be ſo well whip'd by the Hangman, that, as I was told, he dyed within ten or twelve days after. This was the firſt execution I did at my coming from my own houſe without ſentence or writing; for in ſuch matters, I have heard, men muſt begin with execution, and if every one that had the charge of Provinces had done the ſame, they had put out the fire, that has ſince conſum'd all. However, this ſerv'd to ſtop the mouths of ſeveral ſeditious perſons, who durſt no more ſpeak of the King, but with reſpect, but in great privacy, and with greater circumſpection carried on their practices and deſigns.

A ſuddain execution of Monſieur *de Montluc's*.

The next day I parted from *Eſtillac*, and went to find out Monſieur *de Burie* at *Clairac*, and there we fell to debate of the place where we ſhould begin our buſineſs, whether at *Fumel*, or at *Cahors*; I found him won to go to the Commiſſioners to *Cahors*, who were come thither; and had begun to try the Catholicks, without vouchſafing to lend an ear to any thing whatever to the contrary. I then call'd for the Patent, where I ſhew'd him, that it was the Queens intention we ſhould begin at *Fumel*, which he knew not how to contradict, ſhewing him moreover, that by virtue of that Patent, we were the true Commiſſioners, and that *Gerard* and *Campain* were oblig'd to come to us, and not we to go to them; telling him, that on the other ſide, I had been advertiz'd ſince my departure from Court, that they were two of the greateſt Hugonots in all the Kingdom of *France*, and that we ought to have an eye to them, and to our own reputations, that the world might not caſt a blur upon us, declaring us Hugonors; for as for my own part, I would not be branded with that mark: And to ſpeak the truth, when I came to *Bourdeaux*, I thought I diſcover'd both by his carriage, and alſo by other advertiſements had been given me, that Monſieur *de Burie* enclin'd a little to that Religion.

Upon *Monday* we went to *Villeneufue*, where Monſieur *de Sanctorens* with his Troop of Light Horſe, and two hundred Harquebuzeers came to meet us, bringing me along with him Captain *Moralet*, and other four, with two others that ſome Gentleman had taken at S. *Liurade*, all which upon *Tueſday*, without holding them longer in ſuſpence, I caus'd to be hang'd, which ſtrook a great fear into the whole party, ſaying, *What! he puts us to death without tryal!* Now their opinion was, that in caſe they ſhould be apprehended, they muſt be proceeded againſt by witneſſes, and that then there would not be one who durſt give evidence againſt them, for fear of their throats, and alſo that there was no Judicature great nor ſmall, but would have ſome of their own Religion amongſt them, who would ſet nothing down in writing, but what ſhould be to their advantage, and in order to their juſtification. Thus was Juſtice ſlubber'd over, without any puniſhment inflicted upon them; and when they had murther'd any one, or broke Churches, theſe wicked Officers (for ſo they may juſtly be called) would immediately preſent themſelves to take cognizance of the fact, when the Informations being perfected, the Catholicks were evermore found to be the beginners of the brawl (*the beaten muſt bear the blame*) and that they themſelves had broken the Churches by night, that it might be ſaid the Hugonots had done it. I do not think it is to be found in Hiſtory, that ever ſuch Rogueries, Cheats and Machinations were invented or practiced in any Kingdom of the world; and had the Queen delay'd ſending me with this Commiſſion but three months only, all the people had been conſtrain'd to turn to this Religion, or have loſt their lives, for every one was ſo terrified with the ſeverity that by the Judges was exercis'd upon the Catholicks, that there was no other way left them, but either to abandon their habitations, to loſe their lives, or to turn to that party. The Miniſters publickly preach'd, that if they would come over to their Religion, they ſhould neither pay duty to the Gentry, nor taxes to the King, but what ſhould be appointed by them; others preach'd, that Kings could have no power, but what ſtood with the liking and conſent of the people; and others, that the Gentry were no better men than they, and in effect, when the Gentlemens Bailiffs went to demand rent of the Tenants, they made anſwer, that they muſt ſhew them in the Bible, whe-

Juſtice corrupted.

ther

ther they ought to pay or no, and that if their Predeceſſors had been Slaves and Coxcombs they would be none.

This inſolence grew ſo high, that ſome of the Gentry began ſo far to give way to its fury, as to enter into Compoſition with their Tenants, entreating them to let them live in ſafety in their houſes, and to enjoy their own Demeaſns; and as to Rents and Chiefs they would not ask them for any. No one was ſo bold as to dare to go out a hunting, for they came and kill'd their Hounds and Greyhounds in the field before their faces, and no one durſt ſay wrong they did, for fear of their lives; but if any one meddled with any of them, all their Churches were preſently made acquainted with it, and within four or five hours, you had been diſpatch'd out of the world, or enforc'd to hide your ſelf in ſome of the Confederates houſes, or in *Tholouze*, there being no ſafety in any other place; and this was the miſerable condition to which *Guienne* was reduc'd. The particularities whereof I am neceſſitated to inſiſt upon, to let you ſee, whether or no the King had not reaſon to honor me with that Glorious Title of *Conſervator of* Guienne, and whether it was not neceſſary to fall to work in good earneſt; for had I proceeded with Mildneſs and Moderation, as Monſieur *de Burie* did, we had been loſt. He promis'd them great matters, but I perform'd nothing, knowing very well, that it was only to deceive us, and by degrees to get places into their hands: To be ſhort, theſe Upſtart Chriſtians would give us the Law, and there was not a little Miniſter amongſt them, who did not Lord it as if he had been a Biſhop; and theſe were the hopeful beginnings of this fine Religion, and the manner after which ſhe inſtructed men to live.

The miſerable Eſtate of *Guienne*.

At our departure from the ſaid *Villeneufve*, we went to *Fumel*, where we found that Madam *de Fumel*, with Monſieur *de Cançon* her Brother, and ſome other Gentlemen of the Family, had put themſelves into the field, upon the news of our being come thither, and had taken five and twenty or thirty of thoſe who had maſſacred the Sieur *de Fumel*. Monſieur *de Burie* then ſent to the Commiſſioners to come, and to fall in hand with their Commiſſion, who ſent him word flatly they would not, but that we muſt come to them; and I had intelligence ſent me by a friend, that they had ſaid, that ſince I proceeded to execution without Form or Indictment, they would make bold to bring me my ſelf to my tryal, after they had done with the reſt, by which I ſaw that I was to try with them a better or a worſe; for otherwiſe we ſhould fall into the greateſt misfortune that we could poſſibly fall into, and if we did not uphold our Authority, and keep the people in aw of us, without ſuffering them to be in fear of theſe Commiſſioners, all would go on the ſide of the new Religion. Neither did I fail to repreſent this danger to Monſieur *de Burie*; but I found by his anſwers, that he was either in fear of doing amiſs or (as I ſaid before) that he a little enclin'd to that ſide; but his end has clear'd that point to us. Seeing therefore that we could not have our own Commiſſioners, we ſent for Counſellors from the Tribunal of *Agen*, who preſently fell to trying theſe people, whom they found ſo guilty, that they confeſt themſelves to have been Actors in the Maſſacre of their Lord; for they were all his own Tenants, who had begun the buſineſs, and ſent to call in their neighbouring Churches to aſſiſt them in the performance of this Religious exploit, butchering this poor Gentleman with an infinite number of wounds, and being but half dead, laid him againſt a cuſhion upon his bed, and ſhot at Buts againſt his heart, pillaging and ſacking his houſe, and all that he had; theſe good people crying out when they had done, Let the Goſpel live: For which to be ſhort, in one day, what upon Gibbet, and what upon the wheel, thirty or forty of them were ſent out of this world, I cannot tell whither.

The Aſſaſſinates of Monſieur de *Fumel* executed.

From thence we went to *Cahors*, where we found theſe venerable Lords, who had begun, and were already a good way advanc't in their proceſs againſt the Catholicks, and kept in priſon Monſieur *de Viole* Canon and Arch-deacon of *Cahors*, and Chancellor of the Univerſity, a Gentleman of a Family of ſeven or eight thouſand Livres a year belonging to Meſſieurs *de Terride*, *de Negrepelice*, and other Gentlemen of the Country. The Sieur *de Caumont des Mirandes* had married his Siſter into this Family, and was there ſoliciting for the ſaid *de Viole*, his Brother-in-law with his Children, and Nephews of the ſaid *de Viole*, and Madam *de Bagua*, Siſter to the ſaid *de Viole*. Monſieur *d'Auſſun* was come thither alſo, as being Kinſman to his Wife, and the whole City was full of Gentry to ſolicit in the behalf of the ſaid Sieur *de Viole*. Our reverend Commiſſioners had order'd their buſineſs ſo well, that they had call'd in to their aſſiſtance nine Judges, ſix whereof were Hugonots, and the other three they had ſo terrified with their power and authority, that they pretended to have it in their Commiſſion, that none of them was to dare to contradict what the others ſaid, and eſpecially Judge *Mage*, being a timerous perſon durſt not pronounce a ſyllable but what the reſt would have him ſay. They there condemn'd

Viole Canon of *Cahors* priſoner.

fourteen or fifteen men, of which not above three had any hand in the Maſſacre; but in revenge of the execution we had done at *Fumel*, they would put to death as many as they could juſtly or unjuſtly, and cauſ'd them to be executed in the Market-place of the City; at which both the Magiſtrates and the Clergy entred into ſo violent an apprehenſion, that they gave themſelves all for loſt, ſeeing them to put Monſieur *de Viole*, and ſeveral others upon their Tryal, who were none of them preſent at the Maſſacre. All the Ladies were continually following after me, ſeeing they could obtain no ſatisfactory anſwer from Monſieur *de Burie*; and Monſieur *de Caumont* that now is, came to ſpeak to Monſieur *de Burie*, I think rather to take an occaſion to quarrel me than for any thing elſe, becauſe I had ſaid that he ſuffer'd a Miniſter in the open Pulpit to ſpeak againſt the perſon of the King and his Royal authority at *Clairac*, of which he was Abbot, and he queſtion'd me about it in the open Hall before Monſieur *de Burie*; whereupon I told him, *that I had ſaid ſo, and that he ſtood ſo much obliged to the King for the benefits he had receiv'd, that he ought not to have endured it*, to which he replied, *that the ſaid Miniſter had not preach'd before him, and that although he had, it was not to me to whom he was to give an account*; at which I had thought to have flown upon him with my dagger in my hand, and he clapt hand to his ſword, when in an inſtant fifteen or twenty Gentlemen of mine leapt upon him, and there was enough to do to ſave him from being kill'd. Monſieur *de Burie* took my part in a very high manner, and rattled him to ſome purpoſe, inſomuch that ſome friends of his thruſt him out of the Hall to ſave him, for every one had his ſword drawn, and he had not a party ſufficient to make it an equal match againſt the friends I had preſent there; and this was the occaſion of the hatred they ſay he bears me, for before we were very good friends; but 'tis the leaſt of my care.

Juſtice done at *Cahors*.

A diſpute betwixt the Sieur *de Montluc* and the Sieur de *Caumont*.

But to return to our Juſtice, the Counteſs of *Arein* who was at *Aſſier*, ſent me a Letter by one of her Gentlemen call'd *la Brun*, wherein ſhe entreated me to ſee Juſtice duly perform'd; to which I writ her anſwer back, that I would by no means obſtruct it, where I ſaw there was reaſonable and juſt cauſe, and that Monſieur *de Burie*, and I were there for no other end. The next day he return'd to me again, and in private entreated me, that I would further the execution of the Commiſſioners Sentence, and that in return of ſo good an office, I ſhould not fail of Ten thouſand Francs. He made me this offer in the preſence of a Merchant that ſold piſtolets, which he himſelf choſe out for me, telling me, that he was privy to the affair, and would immediately diſburſe the ſum. I told him, *He did me a very great pleaſure, but that I would leave them in his hands, being to go to Monſieur* de Burie *to ſupper, whoſe lodging was hard by.* By the way as I went, I began to conſider with my ſelf from whence theſe Ten thouſand Francs ſhould come; but could not poſſibly imagine, though I was ſatisfied there muſt be malice and knavery in the caſe. After ſupper, when it grew late, I retir'd to my Lodging at the Archdeacon *Redouls* houſe, where by the way I met Madam *de Longua*, and Madam *de Viole* hard by the houſe, who paſſionately weeping, ſaid to me theſe words, *O Sir, Monſieur* de Viole *is going to be put to death, if you do not ſtand his friend, for ſentence is paſt upon him, and this night there is order given to ſtrangle him in priſon, and in the morning to preſent him dead upon the Scaffold.* All the forementioned Lords and Gentlemen had ſent away poſt to the King about this buſineſs, but the Meſſenger had return'd too late, if I had not been. I diſmiſt them with the beſt comfort I could, telling them that I would take care to prevent execution; to which end I appointed certain *Gens-d'armes* of my own Company to ride the Patrouille before the priſon, and before the Commiſſioners Lodgings, and never put off my cloths my ſelf of all that night. It was very late before the Archdeacon *Redoul* came home, when ſo ſoon as I heard he was come into his chamber, I ſent for him, to talk with him about the buſineſs. He had been privately enquiring after the affairs of Monſieur *de Viole*, and the other Priſoners, who were all people of good quality, and brought this account, that they were all condemn'd to dye, and that for fear of ſcandal, and that no commotion might ariſe, they were to be diſpatch'd ſecretly in priſon by torch-light, and that by their Proceſs and Judgement, they had divided the City into three diſtinct Corporations, to wit, the Church into one, the Magiſtracy into another, and the third Eſtate into the laſt; all which three diſtinct bodies, were ſentenc'd to a fine of Sixſcore thouſand Francks: whereupon it preſently came into my head, that the Ten thouſand Francs of which *la Brun* had made me a tender, was certainly to come from hence; and the ſaid Archdeacon wept, ſaying, that the City of *Cahors* was ruin'd for ever, and that though all the goods of the City moveable and immoveable ſhould be ſold, they could not make up that ſum: Whereupon I adviſed him not to afflict himſelf, but leave it to me, for that out of the love I bore to Monſieur *de Viole* and the reſt, I would keep ſo good watch, that I would trap them before

An offer made to the Sieur *de Montluc*.

Monſieur *de Viole* and others condemn'd to dye.

before they could do their execution, and as to the fines you ſpeak of, ſaid I, it is not the Kings intention that your City ſhould be deſtroy'd, for it is his, and aſſure your ſelf he will remit them. *Alas Sir*, ſaid he, *if the fines went into the Kings purſe, we ſhould have ſome hope that his Majeſty would not ſee us deſtroy'd; but he is not to have one peny of them. Why who then*, ſaid I? *'Tis the Count* Rhinegrave, ſaid he, *who lent the King Fifty thouſand Francs upon the County, and we have had a tryal with the ſaid Count about the fines of* Tholouze, *where he has caſt us, it being prov'd, that he had as good title to the fines and amerciaments, as to any other part of the Revenue, and that is the reaſon why we have no other remedy, but to abandon the City, to go live in ſome other place, and leave him all we have.* Hearing which, I was ready to run mad, to think that theſe two Rogues ſhould ruine one of the Kings Cities, for one particular man. I paſt over the whole night in great anger and impatience, and in the morning Monſieur *de Burie* ſent for me to hear the judgement of the Proceſs; but by the way, I thought to prevent them from pronouncing ſentence, which being once pronounc'd, there was no poſſible way to ſave the City, but that the Count *Rhinegrave* would have had the Fines, who though he was a ſtranger, yet he was one the King had very often occaſion to uſe. In this heat I came to Monſieur *de Burie's* chamber, where I found them all already ſet, and the bags upon the Table. They perceiv'd very well by my countenance, what I had in my ſtomach, but I ſaid nothing, but took a little ſtool, and plac'd my ſelf at the end of the Table, for they had taken up all the room round about it, and there the ſaid *Campain* in a Learned Oration, began to lay open the offence that had beeen committed in this City, enlarging himſelf upon the hainouſneſs of the Fact, and remonſtrating to us, how many women and children had loſt their husbands and their fathers in this bloody Maſſacre, and that the King and Queen had ſent us thither to do this Juſtice, which was equitable and right (his Harangue laſted for half an hour at leaſt) and that thoſe offenders they had already put to death, would ſignifie nothing, if they did not alſo execute the principal Authors of this Sedition, which would ſerve for an example to the whole Kingdom of *France*, concluding that therefore they would read the ſentence before us, to have it afterwards executed in priſon, entreating us to lend our aſſiſtance in the ſeeing it accordingly perform'd, and thereupon began to draw the Sentence out of the Bag. I look'd upon Monſieur *de Burie*, to ſee if he would ſpeak, for it was for him to ſpeak before me, but ſeeing he ſuffered him to proceed without interruption, and the other beginning to open the Sentence to read it, I ſaid to him, *Hold Monſieur* de Campain, *proceed no further, till you have firſt anſwer'd what I have to demand of you.* To which he made anſwer, *That after he had read the Sentence, he would anſwer my queſtions, but that he would firſt read that, before he did any thing elſe.* Whereupon I ſaid to Monſieur *de Bury* (rapping out a great Oath) *Sir, at the firſt word that comes out of his mouth, I will kill him, if he do not firſt ſatisfie me in ſuch things as I ſhall in your preſence demand of him.* At which Monſieur *de Burie* ſaid to him, *Monſieur* de Campain, *you muſt hear what he has to ſay to you, for perhaps he may have heard ſomething, that I know not of*, and then I perceiv'd my Gentleman to turn pale, and upon my word he had good reaſon. I then ask'd him, *Whoſe is the City of* Cahors? To which he anſwered, *It is the Kings. And whoſe is the Judicature?* ſaid I. *The Kings*, ſaid he. *And whoſe is the Church?* ſaid I. To which he made anſwer, *That he could not tell.* Whereupon I ſaid to him, *Do you deny that the Church is not the Kings as well as the reſt?* To which he made anſwer, *That he did not concern himſelf about it.* I then ſaid to him, *Have you divided the City into three Corporations, that is to ſay, the Church, the Judicature, and the City ſeparate by it ſelf, and impos'd fines ſeverally upon them all?* To which he made anſwer, *That I ſhould give ear to the Sentence, and that would inform me, whether he had or no.* Whereupon I began to thou him, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt here declare before Monſieur* de Bury *and me, what I demand of thee, or I will hang thee with my own hands, for I have hang'd twenty honeſter men than thy ſelf, or thoſe who have aſſiſted at thy Sentence*; and thereupon ſtart up from my ſtool, at which Monſieur *de Burie* ſaid, *Speak Monſieur* de Campain, *and ſay if you have done it or no. Yes Sir*, anſwered he, *I have:* Whereupon I ſaid, *O thou damned confounded Villain, Traytor to thy King, thou wilt ruine a City belonging to the King, for the profit of one particular man; were it not for the reſpect I bear to Monſieur* de Burie, *who is here the Kings Lieutenant, I would hang both thee and thy Companions at the windows of this chamber*; ſaying to Monſieur *de Burie, Sir, for Gods ſake let me kill theſe accurſed Rogues, that are Traytors to their King for anothers profit and their own*; and thereupon drew my ſword half way, and had they let me alone, I had order'd them for ever making more Sentences or Arreſts; but Monſieur *de Bury* leap'd to me, and caught hold of my arm, entreating me not to do it, whilſt in the mean time they recovered the door, and fled away in ſo great a fright, that

they

they leap'd the ſtairs, without ſtaying to count the ſteps. I would fain have followed after to have kill'd them, but Monſieur *de Burie*, and Monſieur *de Courre* his Nephew held me ſo faſt, that I could not break from them, the rage wherein I was not permitting me to be maſter of my ſelf: It ought not then to appear ſtrange, if I call them ſo often Rogues in my Relation. This being done, Monſieur *de Burie*, Monſieur *de Courre* and I went into a Garden, where the ſaid Sieur *de Bury* told me, *That beſides that I had preſerv'd this City from total ruine, I had ſav'd his honor alſo, for the King and the Queen, and all the world, would infallibly have concluded, that he had taken money, whereas he proteſted that he knew not one ſyllable of all this*, and then it was that I told him which way I came to diſcover it, and do really believe there was no intelligence on Monſieur *de Burie*'s ſide. I din'd with him, and do think he did not eat four bits, and all that day obſerv'd him to be melancholy and diſpleas'd, ſending word to all the Commiſſioners not to proceed any further in any thing whatſoever, till the King ſhould firſt be enform'd of all that had paſt. I alſo ſent to Judge *Mage* and the reſt to forbid them, that they ſhould not be aſſiſting in any thing ſhould be done by *Campain* and *Gerard* upon forfeiture of their lives. They came in the evening one after another, I mean the Judges Aſſiſtants, to excuſe themſelves to Monſieur *de Burie*, confeſſing to him, that they had not foreſeen the ruine this Sentence would have inevitably have brought upon the City, which would alſo have been the undoing both of them and their poſterity: but they durſt never ſpeak a word to me, nor ſo much as come where I was. Monſieur *de Burie* told me all, but whatſoever the matter was, not one of them durſt come in my ſight; which if they had, upon my conſcience I think I ſhould have ſtrangled one or another of them. About five or ſix days after came the Courrier that the Relations and Friends of Monſieur *de Viole* had ſent to the King, who brought an Injunction to the Commiſſioners, not to proceed any further in any manner whatſoever againſt the ſaid Sieur *de Viole*, nor concerning this Sedition, commanding them to ſet the ſaid Sieur *de Viole*, and the other Priſoners at liberty, upon Bail to appear when and ſo often as they ſhould be ſummoned ſo to do. It is not to be wondred at if the City of *Cahors* have a kindneſs for me, as indeed they have, to ſuch a degree, that by the reſpect they pay me, and the entertainments they careſs me withal, it ſeems, as if the King himſelf, or ſome of his Brothers were come into their City.

The deliverance of the Sieur *de Viole*.

This was the ſecond time that they attempted to corrupt me with money, but it ſhall never be found in Hiſtory, that I ever had a hand in any ſuch dirty practices; neither do I fear any perſon living, not only in *Guienne*, but in *Italy*, where I have had great and honorable employments, and where I might have got Two hundred thouſand Francs at leaſt, would I have done as others did, who had no fault found with them for it, and have had more thanks for their labour than I have. But I can ſay, and ſay truly, that I never return'd from any of my Employments, that I was not neceſſitated to borrow money to carry me to my own houſe, and have ever been willing to beggar my ſelf, and to ſuffer all ſorts of inconvenience, only to ſpare the Kings purſe, and not to enrich my ſelf: Neither was I alone the ſufferer, but moreover all thoſe who were under my Command; as for example, the Treaſurer *Brancher*, the Comptroller *la Molliers*, and others, who return'd as very Rogues as I. And if at any time any City has preſented me during theſe troubles, it was only to maintain the great expence I muſt of neceſſity be at to entertain the Gentlemen and people of the Countrey, and was done openly, and not in private. This was the end of the ſtrange proceedings at *Cahors*.

Now Monſieur *de Brurie* having himſelf ſeen, that theſe two brave Commiſſioners did not go franckly to work, and that their only drift was to execute Juſtice upon the Catholicks only, and not upon the Hugonots alſo, he ſent in all haſte to *Bourdeaux*, for Meſſieur *d'Aleſme* the elder, and *Ferron*, Counſellors in the Court of Parliament, and men that very well underſtood their buſineſs, that he might joyn them to theſe Commiſſioners of ours for a Counter-poiſe to ballance their wicked inclinations, and ſo we went ſtreight to *Ville-Franche de Rouergue*, when hearing by the way, that the Hugonots from all parts, drew together in great numbers. Monſieur *de Burie* ſent for the Companies of the Mareſchal *de Termes*, of Meſſieurs *de Randan*, *de la Vauguyon*, and *de Jarnac*, for before we had no more than our own two Companies; and found at *Ville-Franche*, Monſieur the the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, who ſtaid there expecting our coming, to complain of the Churches had been violated and defac'd in his Juriſdiction, and particularly at *Ville-Franche*, a member of his Biſhoprick of *Rhodes*; when ſo ſoon as he ſaw us draw near, the Conſuls ſeiz'd of four or five of the principal of the Seditious, whom we found Priſoners. The next day after our arrival came the above named Sieurs *d'Aleſme*, and *de Ferron*, of whom our Commiſſioners would by no means allow, ſaying, they had not the

Kings

Kings Patents, though in the end we over-rul'd them whether they would or no. Monſieur *de Burie* had intreated me to do them no harm at our departure from *Cahors*, for they deſir'd nothing more than to be gone; and at laſt they began to try theſe four or five that the Cardinal of *Armagnac* had cauſed to be taken: but it was impoſſible to perſwade *Campain* and *Gerard* to conſent to their execution, notwithſtanding that an infinite number of Rapines and Violations, beſides thoſe of Churches, was by the teſtimony of the moſt eminent perſons of the City, evidently prov'd againſt them. They continued eight or ten days in this diſpute, evermore concluding that they ought to be releaſt, and although Monſieur *de Ferron*'s Wife and Family were of that Religion, he nevertheleſs affirm'd with Monſieur *d' Aleſme*, that they ought to dye. The Cardinal of *Armagnac* and all the Officers were in deſpair, to ſee that Juſtice was not executed, expecting nothing but all ſorts of violence ſo ſoon as our backs ſhould be turn'd, if ſome example were not made. In the end Meſſieurs *d' Aleſme* and *de Ferron* came to my Lodging, to tell me, that it was not to be hop'd, that theſe people would ever execute Juſtice upon thoſe of their own Religion, and that therefore ſeeing no good was to be done with ſuch men, they were reſolv'd to return home. I then entreated them not to leave us; to which Monſieur *d' Aleſme* made anſwer, *Will you then do an act worthy your integrity and courage, and cauſe them to be hang'd at the windows of the Town houſe where they are Priſoners, by which means you will put the buſineſs out of diſpute, and without that there is no hope that Juſtice ſhall be done. Are you both of you of this opinion*, ſaid I. They anſwered me they were. Enough was ſaid, I call'd to me Monſieur *de Sainctorens*'s Serjeant, ſaying to him in their preſence, *Go fetch me the Goaler hither*; which he did, to whom I ſaid, *Deliver thy Priſoners to this man; and you Serjeant, take my two Hangmen, and go hang them preſently at the windows of the Town-hall.* Whereupon he immediately departed, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour, we ſaw them hang'd at the windows. The Commiſſioners were furiouſly enrag'd at this action, and endeavour'd to make Monſieur *de Burie* diſapprove of it, which the next day I reproach'd them with, telling them in the preſence of the ſaid Sieur *de Burie*, that Monſieur *de Burie* and I ſhould agree well enough, in deſpite of all their endeavours to divide us; *And I doubt not*, ſaid I, *but to make you hang your ſelves, before the game be done, and that we go out of this Commiſſion. There is a rumour that the Prince of* Conde *has taken arms and poſſeſt himſelf of the City of* Orleans, *which if it prove true, hope for no other, but that I will be as good as my word.* It was not two hours before *Rance*, the King of *Navarres* Secretary arriv'd, and brought news to Monſieur *de Burie*, that the Prince of *Conde* was in arms, and had ſeiz'd of *Orleans*, telling wonders of the prodigious Forces the ſaid Prince had with him, in compariſon of thoſe of the King, and that the King of of *Navarre*, the Conſtable, Monſieur *de Guiſe*, and the Mareſchal de S. *Andre* were together, who could not all raiſe ſo much as one man, with a thouſand other ſlim-ſlam ſtories. Whereupon the ſaid Sieur *de Burie* expreſly forbad him to ſpeak a word to any one elſe, telling him it would be as much as his life was worth, ſhould I come to hear the leaſt whiſper of it: He ſent alſo privately to the Commiſſioners to get away before the news ſhould be publiſh'd, for otherwiſe it would not be in his power to ſave them from being put to death; and he was in the right, for I would infallibly have done their buſineſs. They needed not to be bid twice, but immediately ſneak'd away in great ſecrecy, ſo that I know nothing of their departure till the next day, and ſearch'd very diligently for Monſieur *Rance*, who had he fallen into my hands, I think I ſhould have taught him to carry news.

Agen and *Montauban* revolt.

Upon this untoward news, we were of opinion to go directly to *Montauban*, and put our ſelves into the Town, before it revolted, for we underſtood that the City of *Agen* was revolted, and had ſeiz'd upon their Catholick Officers, Conſuls and Canons, and accordingly that night went to S. *Anthony*, thinking the next day to enter into *Montauban*, but before we were got half way, we heard that the Town was revolted, which made us turn directly towards *Ville Neufue d' Agenois*, and found that all was revolted. We then came to a Village call'd *Gallapian*, near unto *Port* S. *Marie*, and found that *Port* S. *Marie* was alſo revolted, for thoſe people had laid their deſign long before hand, and had carried their buſineſs very cloſe. And there we concluded, that Monſieur *de Burie* with the four Companies of *Gens d' armes*, ſhould go put himſelf into *Bourdeaux*, and that I with that of the King of *Navarre*, which was at *Condom*, that of the Mareſchal *de Termes*, and my own, ſhould paſs over the *Garonne* towards *Gaſcony*, and keep my ſelf in the open Champain towards *Tholouze* and *Beaumont de Lomange*, which being reſolv'd upon betwixt us, and we juſt ready to depart, there arriv'd Captain *St. Geme*, who brought me Letters from the King, the contents whereof were theſe.

Monſieur

Monſieur de Montluc,

The King's Letter to the Sieur *de Montluc.*

I Entreat you, if ever you deſire to do me a ſignal piece of ſervice, that immediately, and in all diligence you come away to me with the Mareſchal de Termes *his Company, and your own, and ſix Companies of Foot, for which I ſend you Commiſſions, with blanks for the Captains names, for you better know who deſerve to be preferr'd to theſe Commonds then I; therefore leaving all things, I entreat you to come away, for we muſt ſave the body of the Tree, which being preſerv'd, the branches will every day recover,* &c.

Theſe were the contents of my Letter, and that of Monſieur *de Burie*, made mention of what his Majeſty had written to me, telling him withal, that he was to take the beſt order he could in *Guienne*; for his Majeſty knew nothing as yet of its revolt. Monſieur *de Burie* then took his way directly to *Thoneins*, where he found Meſſieurs *de Caumont* and *de Duras* (which ſaid Sieur *de Caumont* had been importun'd by their Churches to be their Head, but he would never be perſwaded to it, no more would Monſieur *de Duras*, though in the end he was conſtrain'd to take it upon him, at the perſwaſion of a perſon of greater Quality than himſelf) both which Gentlemen behav'd themſelves with great civility and reſpect, and demanded nothing of him, for they ſtill try'd to win him by obligation; but he was an honeſt man. He went then ſtraight to *Bourdeaux*, and the miſchief on't was, that he ſent away all his four Companies towards *Xaintonge*, ſo that he remain'd naked, and alone in *Bourdeaux*, ſaving for five and twenty Harquebuzeers of his Guard: And the ſame day that we parted, I came to Quarter at the houſe of Monſieur *de Beaumont* near unto *Agen*, and in the neighbouring Villages, where I diſpos'd of the ſix Commiſſions the King had ſent me, namely, to Captain *Charry* two, to Captain *Bazordan* other two, one to my Nephew the Baron of *Clermont*, and the other to Captain *Arne*.

The Sieur *de Caumont* refuſes to be head of the Hugonots.

The Catholick Gentry detein the Sieur *de Montluc.*

The Sieurs *de Cancon de Montferran*, and all the Catholick Gentry of *Agenois* were come in to me, and began to murmure amongſt one another in the Hall, that if I left them, they were all loſt, and their wives, children and houſes ruin'd and deſtroy'd. For *Lectoure*, another ſtrong place, was alſo revolted, by which means the Gentry of *Gaſcony* had no place to retire unto for ſafety, but were enforc'd to fly to me; ſo that they concluded among themſelves, that in caſe I ſhould reſolve to go away to the King, as his Majeſty had commanded, and offer to leave them without a Head, that they muſt be fain to detain me in the nature of a Priſoner, and not ſuffer me to depart. In the Evening I aſſembled all theſe Gentlemen together, where I remonſtrated to them, that it would be neceſſary I ſhould ſend away in all diligence to the King, to acquaint his Majeſty with the revolt of all *Guienne*, *Tholouze*, and *Bourdeaux* excepted, which alſo if they were not ſuddenly reliev'd, would be in great danger to be loſt, as well as the reſt. Which they all approving, I immediately diſpatch'd away Captain *Coſſeil*, to give the King and Queen an account of all that had paſt; which I had no ſooner done, but that Monſieur *du Meſſes* (who dyed lately at *Limoges*, and at that time carried the Mareſcal *de Termes* his Cornet) told me before all the Company, that I had done very well to take this reſolution, for otherwiſe they had determin'd amongſt themſelves to detain me by force. In the morning we paſt the River at two or three Ferries, with danger enough, for *Leyrac* was revolted, as alſo was the whole Country of *Bazadois*, *la Reolle* excepted, and all as far as the very Gates of *Tholouze*, excepting *Caſtillar* and *Condom*, where Captain *Arne* lay with the King of *Navarres* Company, which alſo before his coming thither had twice revolted; but the Lieutenant General *du Franc*, whom I have ſpoke of before, had taken Arms to defend the Kings Authority, and got the upperhand, nevertheleſs in the end he would not have been able to have kept it, without the ſaid Company that I ſent into it. I quarter'd my own Company at *la Sauvetat de Gaure*, and Monſieur *de Terride* had his round about his houſe, in his own Territories, for *Beaumont* was alſo revolted. Monſieur *de Gondrin* and I conferr'd together at my houſe at *Sampoy en Gaure*, to which place I had aſſign'd him to come, where we concluded to reconcile all the Catholick Gentlemen, that we might be united together, and being the Seigneurs *de Fermarcon* and *de Terride*, though both of one Family, had an averſion for one another, we agreed to make them friends; to which end we aſſig'nd them to come to *Fau-*

The Union of the Catholicks.

donas, where there was a great company of Gentlemen, and where at laſt we made them perfect good friends. Captain *Charry* departed in all haſte to go put himſelf into *Puymirol*, becauſe

becauſe I had intelligence, that the Enemy had quitted it, and taken away the Artillery that was there to carry co *Agen*. The ſaid Captain *Charry* went to paſs the River at *la Magiſtere*, and by break of day was in the City, for the good people immediately open'd him the Gates, and there was but ten Souldiers in the Caſtle, who preſently yielded, and every one of the other Captains went forthwith about their buſineſs to raiſe their Companies, when ſo ſoon as we had din'd, there arriv'd a Horſeman who was come poſt from *Cahors* (having rid all night, and hir'd a freſh horſe at *la Magiſtere*, where he was told that I was at *Faudouas*) bringing me a Letter from Monſieur *de la Rocque des Ars* near unto *Cahors*, a Kinſman of mine; which Letter is to be found enroll'd in the Regiſter of the Parliament of *Tholouze*, and whereof theſe are the Contents.

SIR,

TO day about noon at this place, and by great journeys, is arriv'd a Gentleman from Court, who having enquir'd at the Inn, if there was any one that knew you, the Hoſt told him that I was in the Town, and was related to you; whereupon he ſent the ſaid Hoſt immediately for me, and ſo ſoon as I came to the houſe, he bad the Hoſt go in. I then offer'd to embrace him, but he made me a ſign not to touch him; when he and I being left alone, he told me that he was of the County of Foix, *and belonging to the King of Navarre, and that at* Orleans *a Phyſician had dyed in bed by him of the Plague, with which he was yet infected, biding me immediately go fetch pen, ink and paper; which I having accordingly done, he made me in the ſtreet to write this encloſed Letter, entreating me to ſend it poſt away to you.*

The ſaid encloſed Letter was thus,

SIR,

RE turning from Court, I paſt by Orleans, *where I left the Prince of* Conde, *who is gathering great Forces together, and has already rais'd a great number of men. There is a * Capitoul of* Tholouze, *who is coming by long journeys after me, and I think this night will paſs by this place; who has engag'd to the ſaid Prince by the eighteenth of this month* (which was *May*) *to put the City of* Tholouze *into his hands. The ſaid Capitoul diſcover'd himſelf to me, of which I thought fit to give you ſpeedy notice, that if poſſible, you may prevent his deſign. For the Reaſons that Monſieur* de la Rocque *will write you word of, I would not ſubſcribe this Letter, but have caus'd it to be ſign'd by him.*

* Capitouls of *Tholouze* are 12 principal Magiſtrates, whereof the firſt is to be a Gentleman of that Province, the reſt Lawyers, or rich Merchants.

Theſe were the contents of the two Letters, which having read, I took aſide the forementioned Gentleman, to whom having communicated the ſaid Letters, I immediately ſent them by an expreſs Meſſenger poſt to the firſt Preſident *Manſencal*, and writ upon the inſtant three diſpatches to the three Captains *Bazordan*, the Baron *de Clermont*, and *Arne*, wherein I ſent them word to labour day and night to get the foot Companies I had given them Commiſſions for to gather, and approach as near as they could to *Tholouze*, Monſieur *de Terride* return'd in all diligence to make ready his Gens d'armes, and the Sieurs *de Gondrin*, and *de Fimarcon* return'd in all haſte to gather together the Gentlemen of the Country. Now the Meſſenger could not get to *Tholouze* till it was three hours within night, ſo that the Preſident was gone to bed, by which means he could not deliver his Letters till the next morning, which was the twelfth of *May*. And there the Preſident committed an Error, foraſmuch as in the morning he aſſembled all the Chambers, and there in the preſence of them all cauſ'd the Letters to be publickly read: and I committed another, having been ſo wiſe, as not to give him caution to communicate them but to few: which was the cauſe that thoſe of their Society who were of the new Religion, and alſo of the plot, at their return from the Palace, gave notice to all the reſt of the Conſpirators, that they muſt make haſte to ſeize the Town houſe, and the Artillery, and not to deferre it till the eighteenth day of the ſaid Month: For I had alſo writ in my Letter, that I was ſending away in all diligence to Captain *Bazordan*, and the Baron *de Clermont*, that in raiſing their Companies, they ſhould approach continually nearer and nearer towards the ſaid City of *Tholouze*, which eight days before was enter'd into great ſuſpicion, thoſe of the Town ſeeing every day ſtrangers that no body knew, enter into the City; and the ſaid Letters unluckily came juſt in the nick of this jealouſie. I had (not as yet knowing any thing of all this) ſent away my own Company to *Montjoye*, near unto *la Plume*, and

The Sieur *de Montluc* receives intelligence of the Enterprize of *Tholouze*.

The error of the Preſident *Tholouze*.

the very next day, which was the eighteenth, being return'd to *Sampoy*, I receiv'd two Letters together, one from Monſieur *de Terride*, with two others of Advertiſements enclos'd, in one of which was, *Sir, Four Enſigns of foot are arriv'd at* Montauban, *who come fromwards the* Sevennes, *and entred about break of day, having march'd all night*; and in the other was, *That a black Enſign had paſt over the Bridge* de Buzat, *on the other ſide of* Tholouze, *wearing a white Scarf, and held the way towards* Montauban. Monſieur *de Terride* ſending me word, that I might take both theſe Advertiſements for certain. At the ſame inſtant I received another Letter from the Vicar of *Auch*, and the Conſuls of the ſaid City, wherein they entreated me to come in all diligence to *Auch*, or that otherwiſe they would cut one another to pieces. I writ in the open ſtreet for haſte four lines to Monſieur *de Terride*, entreating him to make his Company ready, and to get together the moſt men he poſſibly could, which having done, I mounted to horſe, having Monſieur *de Fontenilles* with me, and went in all haſte directly to *Auch*, though I was neither the Kings Lieutenant, nor had any power to command, but all I did was out of the particular affection, and good will I bore to his Majeſties ſervice, being aſſur'd that doing well, all would be well interpreted by thoſe of the Kings party, and as for the reſt I did not much care, having evermore rather have them for enemies than friends.

Tholouze ſeiz'd by the Hugonots.

Coming to *Sezan* a league from *Sampoy*, there came a man to me from *Tholouze*, ſent by Monſieur *le Preſident Manſencal* to tell me, that he had received my Letters, entreating me to come and ſuccour the ſaid City, for the *Hugonots* had poſſeſt themſelves of the Magazine, and the Artillerie that was in it. I alighted at the Towns end under an Elm, and there writ back to the Preſident, that he ſhould with all ſpeed give notice to the foremention'd Captains, that they might put themſelves into *Tholouze*, and that I would go ſend away the Mareſchal *de Termes* his Company which was at *Peſſan* near unto *Auch*, that they might be at *Tholouze* by break of day in the morning, bidding them take courage, for I would ſoon be with them, and deliver'd at the ſame time four or five Blancks to my Secretary ſign'd with my own hand, to ſend letters to Monſieur *de Gondrin*, and others to bid them march away immediately to *Tholouze*, which being done, and having ſent to my own Company to return in all diligence to *la Sauvetat*, I gallopt away full ſpeed to *Auch*, where being arriv'd faſting at one of the clock in the afternoon, I diſpatcht two Letters as I ſat at dinner, one to Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, it being no more than two leagues from thence to his houſe, and the other to Captain Maſſes, who was within half a league, ſending to Monſieur *de Bellegarde* immediately to take poſt, and go put himſelf into *Tholouze*, to command the Soldiery there, cauſing his great horſes and arms day and night to follow after. Monſieur *de Maſſes*, ſo ſoon as he had ſpoke with me immediately departed, and never ſtopt nor ſtaid till he was in *Tholouze* the next morning by break of day, and Monſieur *de Bellegarde* got thither two hours after midnight. The Baron *de Clermont* entred the ſame morning, and at the ſame inſtant that the Soldiers entred, they fell to fighting, which was from the place *St. George* even to the two Gates of the City that lookt towards *Montauban*, which two Gates were poſſeſt by the Enemy. Captain *Arne* entred about two of the clock in the afternoon, as alſo did Captain *Bazordan* at the ſame time, and ſo ſoon as I had pacified them at *Auch*, I unbethought my ſelf of the Letters Monſieur *de Terride* had ſent me, and concluded that thoſe Enſigns which were come to *Montauban*, were come thither for no other end, but only to to relieve their people who were engaged at *Tholouze*. Whereupon I immediately diſpatch't away a Soldier upon a good Horſe, commanding him to ride directly to *Landecoſte*, and that he ſhould paſs the River at *la Peyres*, by whom I writ a Letter to Captain *Charry*, that immediately upon the receipt thereof he ſhould march day and night directly to *Tholouze*, and ſhould make a halt at *Fronton*. In like manner I diſpatcht away another to Monſieur *de Terride* to paſs over his Company at *Borret*, ſending him word alſo to halt at *Fronton*, and keep continually on horſeback day and night, and whilſt he waited for Captain *Charry*, to take care that ſuch as ſhould come from *Montauban* might not recover *Tholouze*. An hour after I had made theſe two diſpatches, it came into my head, that in caſe the Soldier could not paſs the River at *la Peyre*, or that he ſhould chance to be taken, Captain *Charry* could not be advertiz'd what to do, and the City by that means might be in danger to be loſt, which made me immediately diſpatch away another, whom I order'd to go by the way of *la Magiſtere*, and it was the next day at noon before he could get to him, for the firſt had been purſu'd for above three leagues together. Captain *Charry* upon the Meſſengers arrival immediately marcht away, cauſing bread and wine to be carried along with him, as I had writ to him to do, and as he had learnt under me, that the Soldiers might not enter into any houſe by the way. He underſtood as well as any man in *France*, how ſuch diligences were to be perform'd, and two hours after midnight with two or three hundred men,

The Sieur de *Montluc's* diligence to relieve *Tholouze*.

Commendation of Captain *Charry*.

men, arriv'd at *Fronton*. where he met with Monſieur *de Terrides* Company, and ſo, that before they knew one another, they were like to have gone together by the ears. Now as Captain *Charry* was got within a league of *Fronton*, two or three Hugonot horſe belonging to the Vicount *de Bourniquel* fell accidentally and undiſcover'd amongſt them in the night, when underſtanding them to be our people, they took their way ſtraight to *Montauban*, and met the five Enſigns already advanc't the midway betwixt *Montauban* and *Fronton*, and not being able to number our men by reaſon of the obſcurity of the night, told them, that ours were three times as many as they were, and that it was Captain *Charry* who commanded them; which was the reaſon that they return'd back again to *Montauban*; and I marcht away with my Company. Monſieur *de Gondrin* came to me to *Faudouas*, and the next morning we advanc'd within two leagues of *Tholouze*, to a village called *Daux*, where we ſtayd for the Gentlemen who were coming poſt after us, and where the Sieur *de Terride* came not up to us till night, by reaſon hē could no ſooner get to us with his Company. I ſent word to the firſt Preſident and Monſieur *de Bellegarde* of our arrival, and that in the morning by Sun-riſe we would be with them, but that in the mean time they ſhould be ſure to keep the Gate *St. Subran* free, and let them take care for nothing elſe, but only that I might get in. The haſte wherein I was, made me forget to write them word, that I had ſent to *Fronton* upon the road from *Montauban* to fight any relief that might come from that ſide; and they having heard as well as we of the arrival of the five Enſigns that were at *Montauban*, fearing they would that night enter by the two Gates the Enemy were poſſeſſed of, were once in mind to enter into compoſition, and were advanced ſo far towards it, that in order thereunto *Rapin* was deputed for the Enemy, and Monſieur *de Maſſes* for the City; during the Treaty the skirmiſhes ceaſed for three or four hours, and in the interim of theſe tranſactions came the Letters that I had ſent to the Preſident, and Monſieur *de Bellegarde* from *Auch*. But by fortune the Preſident ſent his Letter to Monſieur *du Maſſes*, to the end that he might ſhew it them, to encline them the more to an accommodation, ſo that unknown to Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, the ſaid Sieur *de Maſſes*, who was already parted from *Rapin*, having ſeen my letter, turn'd back to him to ſhew him what I had writ, who upon the reading of it grew ſodainly very melancholy, ſaying to Captain *Maſſes* that they gave themſelves for loſt ſeeing I was ſo near (for they had heard that their ſuccours were return'd back to *Montauban*, though our people knew nothing of it.) In the end they concluded to talk further of it the next morning, but he never intended it, for at the ſame inſtant he went to prepare his party, without giving any notice to thoſe of the Town, in all haſte to be gone, ſo that in the cloſe of the Evening they began to quit the *Barricadoes* they had made at the corners of the ſtreets, and to ſteal away, which our Captains perceiving began to charge them from ſtreet to ſtreet, but they were hindred by the night from ſeeing their iſſue out of the Gates, ſo that in rout and confuſion they recover'd the Vines, and got away; but loſt five of their Enſigns. Now we had concluded to fight after this manner, to wit, that Meſſieurs *de Terride*, and *de Gondrin* ſhould march on without ſtaying in the Town, taking my Company and the Gentlemen Volunteers along with them, and plant themſelves before the Gates the Enemy were poſſeſſed of without the City, and that I ſhould alight, and with Monſieur *de Termes* his Company, whom I would alſo cauſe to alight, our own foot and thoſe of the Town to fight on foot, reſolving to enter and fight by day. In the morning as we began to march an hour before day, there came to us a Capitoul of *Tholouſe*, called Maiſtre *Dourdes*, who brought me a letter from the Preſident, and Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, wherein they ſent me word of the departure and flight of the Enemy; for which I was very ſorry, for had they ſtaid my coming, not a Raſcal of them all ſhould have eſcapt; and God knows whether I had not a mind to have made clean work, and if I would have ſpared ever a mothers ſon. Thoſe who were come from *Foix* return'd towards their ſaid Country of *Foix* in route and diſorder, for the very Peaſants kill'd a great many of them, and the reſt fled every one to the place from whence they came. Thus was the City reliev'd, where the fight continued for three days and three nights together, during which above fifty houſes were burnt one after another, and many people on both ſides ſlain: and amongſt others two Brothers of Monſieur *de Sañignac de Comenge*. At our arrival we went and alighted before the Palace all arm'd as we were, my Enſign and Guidon diſplayd, and indeed for a hundred and fifty or two hundred Gentlemen there might be of us together with my Company, it was a handſome appearance, and a very fine ſight. We found all the Court aſſembled, and any one may judge, whether or no we were welcome. I there in a ſhort ſpeech told them, "That although I was not the Kings Lieutenant, nevertheleſs "the ſervice I had of old devoted to their City, and particularly to that honourable Aſſem- "bly, was the cauſe that after the advertiſements I had received of the danger they were "in,

Rout of the Hugonots.

The order deſign'd for the fight.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s ſpeech to the Parliament of *Tholouze*.

"in, I had gathered together all the friends I could for the conſervation of their City, "the ſecond of *France*, and had my ſelf immediately come away in perſon to their reſcue; "but Gentlemen, ſaid I, in the long time that I have born arms, I have learnt that in "affairs of this nature, 'tis better to keep without, and ſend in continual ſuccours, know- "ing that ſuch a rabble were not likely ſo ſoon to force your City, who had they ſtaid my "coming, ſhould have been as well handled, as ever raſcals were. It now remains, that "ſince God has been pleaſed to deliver you, you do your parts, and make your Cantons "ſtink with the Carcaſſes of theſe accurſed Traytors to God, their King, and their Coun- try. So ſoon as I had done ſpeaking, the Preſident *Manſencal* made me a very honora- ble Remonſtrance, concluding with great thanks both to me, and to all the Gentlemen. The Capitouls then accommodated us with very handſome Lodgings, and at the very ſame inſtant began to fall in hand with thoſe of the Mutineers who remain'd in the Town, and who had been taken at their going out, and the next day proceeded to execution, where I ſaw more heads fly than ever in one day before. I in the mean time was elſewhere ſuffi- ciently employd, for it fail'd but little, that the City was not ſackt by our own people, for aſmuch as ſo ſoon as ever the neighbouring Inhabitants heard that the City was reliev'd, they all came running both Peaſants and others to the ſpoil; neither would they be ſatis- fied with plundering the houſes of the Hugonots only, but began to fall on upon thoſe of the Catholicks alſo, inſomuch that the very houſe of Preſident *Paulo* himſelf had like to have been ſackt, through a rumour that within it there was a Student a Kinſman of his who was a Hugonot, though nevertheleſs there was no ſuch perſon found; ſo that I was forc't to run thither, and to remedy the diſorder to cauſe Monſieur *de Termes* his Company, and my own to mount to horſe, the half of which continually from ſix hours to ſix hours marcht arm'd, and mounted by ſix and ſix together up and down the ſtreets of the City.

The execution at *Tholouze*.

The third day I had word brought me, that Monſieur *de St. Paul* of the County of *Foix* was upon arrival, being come from the ſaid *Foix* with three or four thouſand men, and Monſieur *de Lamezan* of *Comenge* with ſeven or eight hundred more, who had they entred, it had been impoſſible both for me and all the reſt of us who were within to have ſaved the City from being ſackt; to prevent which I ſent in all haſte to the Capitouls to ſhut their Gates, and all night long we kept continually on horſe-back in the ſtreets, and had the foot Companies upon Guard at the Gates, together with the whole City in arms, after the ſame manner as before, when they had been in continual fight. All this while Captain *Charry* and Monſieur *de Terrides* Company never ſtirred from the two Villages betwixt *Fronton* and *Tholouze*. Monſieur *de St. Paul* quarter'd himſelf and his people in the Suburbs, and Monſieur *de Lamezan* alſo, very much diſpleaſed that they might not be permitted to enter the City, threatning that another time they would not come to relieve them, though their relief now did more harm then good, conſidering that they came not when they ought to have come. The next day I ſent out Monſieur *de Bellegarde* to tell them, that they did but loſe time in ſtaying there, for they ſhould not enter, whereupon Monſieur *de St. Paul* return'd with his people, and Monſieur *de Lamezan* ſent away his, entring himſelf and his ſervants only. After this the Capitouls and I concluded together to drive out all thoſe who were come in from the neighbouring places, and accordingly with the Trumpets of the City, and our Drums, Proclamation was made for all ſtrangers to depart, ſo that in the end we were abſolute Maſters of the City. Nevertheleſs it was not poſſible ſo to govern our own people, but that there was ſtill ſome diſorder, which made me ſend all the horſe and foot out of the City, ſurren- dring the whole power into the hands of the Magiſtrates. I gave a Company to Captain *Maſſes* the younger to remain in the Town, and to Monſieur *de Grepiat* Son to Preſi- dent *Manſencal* another, who already had it almoſt full, and ſo I cleans'd the City, lea- ving no body in it but the Inhabitants, and two Companies of foot.

Captains my Companions, conſider I beſeech you how narrowly this great and opulent City, the ſecond in *France*, eſcap'd being ruin'd and deſtroy'd for ever. There lives a Gentleman at the Gates of *Montauban*, called Monſieur *de la Serre*, whoſe houſe was burnt by the Hugonots, who told me that he had been preſent at a Synod, where it was determin'd, that could they bring about their Enterprize upon *Tholouze*, they would to- tally raze it to the ground, and take ſuch of the ruins as were of any uſe to *Montauban* to enlarge their own City greater than it was, intending to comprehend their Suburbs within the Walls, and to draw a River thorough it that turn'd a Mill belonging to the ſaid Sieur *de la Serre*, that there might be no more memory of *Tholouze* for ever. Beſides the teſtimony of this Gentleman, a hundred others have confirm'd the ſame, which muſt be the diſcourſe of their little Miniſters only, for the great ones who had the Government of affairs, would have been better adviſ'd than to have deſtroyed ſuch a City, which

The deſign of the Hugonots concerning *Tholouze*.

would

would have been ſo great a loſs both to the King and the whole Kingdom. You may then take notice of the great and extraordinary diligence I uſed, beginning from the advertiſement I had of the Capitouls promiſe to the Prince of *Conde* to put the City into his hands, and next the haſte I made the Captains to make in compleating their Companies, which were not half full, to put themſelves into the City: then the diligence of Monſieur *de Belligarde*, and Captain *Maſſes* with his Company: and on the other ſide the diligence wherewith I caus'd notice to be given to Captain *Charry*, and my foreſight in ſending another Meſſenger after the former, to bid Monſieur *de Terrides* Company croſs the River at *Borret*, beſides my diligence wherewith I advertiz'd Monſieur *de Gondrin* and others, all which was done in three dayes and three nights. Wherefore if you will take notice of this exemple, and retein it, it will ſerve you to ſo good uſe, that you will never loſe an hours time; and although I have writ in the beginning of my Book (and as ſome may think with vanity enough) that my diligences and ready foreſights have procur'd me the reputation God has given me in point of a Soldier, as great as other men; yet it is evidently true in this as well as upon other occaſions: for had I fail'd but a minute the City had been abſolutely loſt. You ought not then diſdain to learn of me, who am at this day the oldeſt Captain in *France*, and whom God has bleſt with as many ſucceſſes as any man whatever of my time: but you ought to avoid learning of thoſe who have been continually beaten, and have eternally run away where ever they have been engag'd; for if you go to ſchool to ſuch Maſters you will hardly ever come to be any great Doctors in Arms. If I had ſtood long conſidering, and conſum'd the time in conſultations, to be ſatisfied whether before I intermeddled with theſe affairs, I ſhould not firſt ſend to Monſieur *de Burie*, who was the Kings Lieutenant, I leave you to judge whether or no the Hugonots had not had ſufficient leiſure wherein to do their work. But whenever they heard of me, they preſently fancied the Hangman at their Breech; as alſo they ordinarily call'd me the Tyrant. When ever you ſhall be in place to do a notable piece of ſervice, never ſtay for a command if the occaſion be preſſing; for in the mean time you loſe your opportunity, therefore fall back fall edge try your fortune, it will afterwards be well interpreted. I know there are ſome who think it ſtrange that the City of *Tholouze* had ſo great a reſpect and kindneſs for me; but ſhould they have other, they would degenerate from all good nature; for they will confeſs that I ſav'd the City together with their lives and eſtates, and the honor of their wives, which without my reſolute and ſpeedy ſuccour had all been loſt. Upon which account I hope they will never be ungrateful to me, for the good office I did them upon this occaſion: and if any one will ſay, that what I did was all for the ſervice of the King, I ſhall anſwer to that, that at that time I had no Employment from his Majeſty, excepting the command of my own Company of *Gens d'armes*; for Monſieur *de Burie* was the Kings Lieutenant in *Guienne*, and the Conſtable in *Languedoc*. Yet ſhall I not deny, but that I was prompted to it out of an honeſt deſire I have ever had to do my King ſervice, and that not only out of reſpect to the obligation I have to my Countreys preſervation, but alſo out of a natural affection I have ever had for his Majeſties ſervice; and moreover, out of the love and friendſhip I have ever born, and do ſtill bear to this famous City. For the diſpair I was in to ſee it in danger to be ruin'd, made me take the pains I did: It is not then to be wondred at, if this City have an animoſity againſt thoſe of this new Religion, for there is not a City in *France*, who has run ſo great a hazard as this City has done, nor that has ever manifeſted it ſelf more affectionate to the King and his ſervice, or ſtood ſharper brunts to maintain themſelves in his Majeſties obedience. *Rouen* ſuffer'd it ſelf to be taken without ſtriking a blow, *Lyons*, *Bourges* and *Poictiers* did the ſame. *Paris* was never reduc'd to that extremity, being alſo another kind of thing than the reſt. *Bourdeaux* made no defence at all, that being no other than a ſurprize they would make upon *Chaſteau Trompette*, which they alſo made themſelves ſure of, foraſmuch as Monſieur *de Duras* was at the ſame time at the Gates of *Bourdeaux*. We may all therefore confeſs with truth, that no City whatever has fought ſo well, and run ſo great a hazard as this, having bravely repuls'd the Hugonots after they had ſeiz'd of the Magazine, and were poſſeſt of the gates, by which they might introduce ſuccours from *Montauban*.

Tholouze no friend to the Hugonots.

I was then adviſ'd to go before *Montauban*, but it was more to draw the Souldiers from about *Tholouze*, and out of the City, and to live upon the Enemies Country, than out of any hope I had to take it; for I knew very well there were a great many men within it, that were there aſſembled for the enterprize of *Tholouze*. I then march'd thither, having no more than ſix Enſigns of Foot, which were thoſe of Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, *de Bazordan*, the Baron of *Clermont*, *Arne* and *Charry*; to which thoſe of *Tholouze* gave me two pieces of Canon, and one Culverine, beſtowing moreover a civility upon the Souldiers, they

Enterprize of *Montauban*.

they gave them one pay. So ſoon as I was come before *Montauban*, I found that there was in the Town two and twenty hundred Souldiers ſtrangers, and a thouſand or twelve hundred Townſmen, all very well arm'd. I might have about eight or nine hundred in all, the moſt of which had never been in arms before; for all the good old Souldiers were gone over to the Hugonots, after the unfortunate peace, and that upon meer neceſſity, for they had no Trades, the Wars having continued long, and they having been all that while employ'd in *Italy*, and other of the Kings conqueſts. The godly Miniſters promis'd them not only riches, but as I have been told, even Paradice it ſelf, as if they had kept the Keys; and another inconvenience this peace brought after it was, that we had lain long idle, without having any employment wherein to make good Souldiers. So that when I came before *Montauban*, I was conſtrain'd to quarter all my Foot together in the Bourg *de l' Eveſche*, for to have ſeparated them had been madneſs, the Enemy making ſo great ſallies upon me, that they continually beat up my Foot to my body of *Gens d' armes*, without which they had been ſtronger than I, and would have cut me to pieces: for for one that I had they came out ten, ſo that the ſecond day I was conſtrained to leave the *Eveſche*, to go relieve Monſieur *de Terride*, whom I had left in the Suburbs on that ſide the Town towards *Moiſſac*, to whom I had given Monſieur *de Bazordans* Company, where I found that the Enemy had beaten him out of the Bourg to a Brick-kill hard by, which made me ſpeak to the Souldiers to run full drive to recover the Bourg, and to charge them bravely, ſo that being come running in ſo great haſte, and going on immediately to the charge, I had no body with me but Captain *Cabarret*, who is yet living, Monſieur *de Clermont*, who is of the Houſe of *Faudouas*, Monſieur *de Beaucaire*, who is ſince dead, and three or four of Monſieur *de Terrides* men only, with which we gave them ſo briſk a charge, that we beat them back, laying on in their rear, to the very wicket of the Gate of the City, moſt of them not being able to get in, but were forc'd to take on the left hand directly to the Bridge, and the others on the right, ſo that had the great Gate been open, we might have enter'd the Town; for Monſieur *de Beaucaire*'s Horſe was kill'd before the Gate, hard by the wicket, and mine was ſhot cloſe by him, and ſo we retir'd, for all the wall was ſet thick with Harquebuzeers, and two horſes were ſhot in our coming off, of thoſe of Monſieur *de Terride*'s Company, who had follow'd after us. The third day I took a reſolution to retire, for the *Gens d' arms* were no longer able to guard the Foot; and on the other ſide, though I had made a Battery, I had not dar'd to give the aſſault to ſo many as they were within, with ſo few as I had without. Wherefore I ſent back the Artillery to *Tholouze*, and the Captains to the places to which they deſir'd to go to make an end of filling up their Companies compleat. Monſieur *de Terride* went to *Beaumont de Lomaigne*, and the places adjacent to his houſe, for the Enemy had quitted *Beaumont* ſo ſoon as they perceiv'd us to approach. I repaſt the River at *Moiſſac* with the Mareſchal *de Termes* his Company, my own and that of Monſieur *de Sainctorens* of Harquebuzeers both on horſeback, and on Foot, which I always kept about me for my Guard. I ſent Captain *Charry* to *Puymirol*, to compleat his two Companies, and to make War upon thoſe who kept *Agen*; and ſo ſoon as I had paſt the River on the ſide of *Gaſcony*, I ſent back the Mareſchal *de Termes* his Company towards *Auch*, to keep that Quarter in aw, and Monſieur *de Gondrin* into *Armagnac*, with the Gentry he had brought along with him, to ſee that nothing revolted there.

Now I had left Captain *Arne* at *Condom*, to hold that Countrey in ſubjection, who might have about fourſcore Launces in his Company, and I had intelligence that Meſſieurs *de Duras* and *de Caumont* held a conſultation at *Agen*, and that Monſieur *de Caumont* would come at night to lie at *la Paſſage*: Which having heard, I ſent a man to Captain *Arne* that he ſhould not fail two hours after midnight to be at *Aſtfort*, and that he ſhould not enter the Town, but ſtay for me in Battalia till I came, which he accordingly did. And as I was going away in the evening, Monſieur *de S. Paul*, to whoſe houſe I was retir'd near unto *Donac*, asking me whether I was going, I told him in his ear, that I was going to carry a clean ſhirt to Monſieur *de Caumont* at *la Paſſage*; whereupon he told and aſſur'd me, that he was gone the day before, after they had concluded of their affairs, and given Commiſſions to Captains to raiſe more men; which was the reaſon that I ſtaid to give our horſes, and Monſieur *de Sainctorens* his Company a little repoſe. But as this enterprize fail'd, another preſented it ſelf; for the ſame morning that I would have given a Camiſado to Monſieur *de Caumont*, Six hundred men were come out of *Nerac*, to go give another Camiſado to Captain *Molia*, who had put himſelf into *Franciſcas* with threeſcore or fourſcore men, and the people of the Town, and thoſe of *Nerac*, had taken four hundred Corſlets out of the King of *Navarres* Magazine, and at break of day gave three aſſaults, one immediately after another, but were always repulſt. By misfortune I ſtaid there till night, for had I gone away in the evening, as I had done but for what Monſieur *de*

S. *Paul*

S. Paul told me concerning Monſieur *de Caumont*, I had come time enough to have fought the ſix hundred men of *Nerac*. And there my diligence once fail'd me.

By break of day Captain *Arne* and I met, and march'd together ſtreight to *Moyracs*, becauſe he told me he had intelligence that this very morning thoſe of *Nerac* would come out, and had taken all the arms in the Caſtle, but he knew not whither they were to go; ſo that yet we had met them, had it not been that Monſieur *de Sainctorens* would needs ſtay to skirmiſh thoſe of *Layrac*, who were come out a great way towards the Vines, ſo that it coſt me an hours time before I could get him away, becauſe he had a mind to have charg'd them up to the very gates of the City, could he have tempted them out of the Vines; and when we came to *Moiracs*, we heard that the enemy was before *Franciſcas*, which made us put on to a good round trot, to haſten thither, ſending ſix light horſe before to diſcover where they were, who ſent me word that above an hour before, they were retreated to *Nerac*, by reaſon they had had notice of Captain *Arnes* departure by night from *Condom*; for they had heard nothing of me. I ſent to the *Avant*-Coureurs ſtill to go on, and that I would follow after; which they did, and at laſt diſcover'd them half a quarter of a League from *Nerac*, we ſtill at a long trot following after, but in vain, for they got ſafe into the Town. I had a great mind to have been fingering thoſe arms, to arm our new rais'd and naked men.

This was the naughty beginning of our War in *Guienne*, wherein the Hugonots took us at unawares, and unprovided; ſo that it is a miraculous thing how this Country could ſave it ſelf, conſidering the ſecret intelligences the Rebels had in all the Cities of the Province: but they ſhew'd themſelves Novices, and indeed they were guided by their Miniſters only: if before they had made ſo many Surprizes, they had attempted *Bourdeaux* and *Tholouze*, they had not fail'd of carrying the one or the other, and poſſibly both; but we were already upon our Guards, and God preſerv'd thoſe two Forts, the Bulwarks of *Guienne*, to ſave all the reſt. I very much broke their deſigns, by ſending people every where, and never reſting long in a place, for by ſo doing, a Kings Lieutenant ſhall hold all the world in ſuſpence, becauſe they cannot gueſs at his deſign, every one imagining that he is coming upon him; whereas ſhould he always lie ſtill in one Quarter, he cannot provide againſt all accidents, nor come in time, where there is immediate and preſſing need; and alſo your being ſettled in one place, gives a great advantage to your Enemy, who by that means has his arms at liberty to do what he will; but I was not only my ſelf in continual motion, but alſo with Letters and Meſſages was perpetually ſoliciting and employing all the Friends we had. Believe me, you who have the honor to be Governors of Provinces, it is a very good thing, and of great utility to your Prince, to keep a correſpondence by Letters with thoſe you know have never ſo little intereſt in the Country, and I am certain, that had I not done ſo, the greateſt part would have ſided with theſe new people, who have made all this fine work in the Kingdom.

Soon after Captain *Coſſeil* return'd with Letters from the King and Queen, wherein they commanded me to ſtay in *Guienne*, there to do them the beſt ſervice I could, for the conſervation of the Country, recommending to me the care of their affairs, in more honorable expreſſions than I could any way deſerve: By which I diſcern'd their Majeſties were in great anxiety, eſpecially the Queen, who writ me a very pitiful Letter. The great ones ſometimes, when it pleaſes God, have need of the ſmall, they muſt now and then be put in mind, that they are men and women as the reſt of the world are; for if all ſhould go as they would have it, they would not ſo much regard thoſe that do them ſervice, as when they ſee themſelves diſtreſt, but conſume the time in Plays, Maſquerades and Triumphs, which are the cauſe of their ruine: as it hapned to my good Maſter, who running at Tilt for his pleaſure, was unfortunately ſlain; which he could not have been in war, he would have been too well guarded for that. 'Tis an old ſaying, *that men ſcratch always where they itch*, and I alſo am ſenſeable when I rub upon the old ſore, which is the loſs of my good King, whom I lament, and ſhall do the longeſt day I have to live.

The Sieur *de Duras* for the Hugonots.

Not long after Monſieur *de Duras* took his way all along by the River *Garonne*, and rendezvouz'd his Army at *Clairac*, *Toneins* and *Marmanda*, which conſiſted of thirteen Enſigns of Foot, and ſeven Cornets of Horſe, and ſo ſoon as the *Pardaillans*, *Savignac* (Captain of the Guard to Monſieur *de Burie*) *Salignac* and other Chiefs, were ready to execute their Enterprize upon *Chaſteau Trompette*; Monſieur *de Duras* march'd towards *Monteſgar*, and the places adjacent to *Cadillac*, with a great number of Boats, wherein he had ſhip'd the beſt of his Souldiers, to preſent themſelves in the beginning of the night before *Chaſteau Trompette*, where the forenam'd Captains had thought to have been got in, and by it to have given them entrance into the City. But their enterprize ſucceeded ill; for Monſieur *de Vaillac* the Father was circumſpect, and would not let *le Puch de Pardaillan* his

The Enterprize upon *Chaſteau-Trompette* fails.

his Brother in Law re-enter, who pretended to be in great fear, ſaying that thoſe of the City had a deſign to take him: and Captain *de la Salle* who belong'd to Monſieur *de Vaillac* did alſo very good ſervice upon that occaſion. Now this hapned at one of the clock in the night, and all the City was in an alarm. Monſieur *de Burie* was at the Maierie, the Inhabitants betook themſelves to arms, and fell upon the Hugonots (but the ſaid Sieur kept himſelf in the Maierie with ſome Gentlemen of his Guard, and thoſe but very few, for moſt of them were of the Conſpiracy) whereof ſome eſcap'd over the walls, and under a Palliſado that goes down towards the River. They were above two or three hundred Conſpirators, ſome of which were taken, and as Monſieur *de Duras* his people, who were in the Boats, were under *Cadillac*, they met with the Count *de Candalle*, Son to Monſieur *de Candalle*, as he was coming from *Bourdeaux* to the ſaid *Cadillac*, whom they took Priſoner, and ſent him to the Queen of *Navarre*, who was at *Duras*, but newly come from Court: and who made him promiſe her to take arms for their Religion, upon which promiſe ſhe let him go to his own houſe, where he ſtaid for a few dayes making ſhew as if he meant to go joyn with Monſieur *de Duras*; but it was only to expect when I ſhould draw near, that he might come in to me, as he did; ſaying, *it was a promiſe extorted from him by force which he was no wayes obliged to keep, being no priſoner of Warre.* Ever ſince which time this Count has been a mortal Enemy to the Houſe of *Duras*.

At this time Monſieur *de Burie* diſpatch'd away to me *Raze* his Secretary, poſt, entreating me to come to his relief, or that otherwiſe the City would be loſt, for he had no Forces with him; and beſides there was not one grain of corn in the City, inſomuch that he was reduc'd in a manner to Famine, by reaſon that the Enemy were poſſeſt of all the River of *Garonne*, and that of *Dordogne*, which are the two Teats that nouriſh the City of *Bourdeaux*. I immediately ſent back the ſaid *Raze* to aſſure Monſieur *de Burie*, that I would ſoon be with him, and in order thereunto preſently diſpatch'd away to Captain *Maſſes* to come to me with the Mareſchal *de Termes* his Company, and to Captain *Arne*, to ſend me forty Launces of the Company belonging to the King of *Navarre*, commanding him withal not to ſtir from *Condom*, but ſtay to keep the Country in awe, and to take care the Town did not revolt. I ſent likewiſe to Captain *Bazordan*, that he ſhould not ſtir with his two Companies from *Beaumont de Lomaigne*, and the places adjacent to Monſieur *de Terride*, to whom I writ alſo to put himſelf into *Grenade* with his Company, and that I had left Captain *Bazordan* to be near him. I ſent in like manner to Monſieur *de Gondrin*, that he ſhould gather to him his Relations and Neighbours, and ſome Souldiers, to put himſelf into *Euſe*, and that I was going to relieve Monſieur *de Burie* at *Bourdeaux*. I was not the Kings Lieutenant, and yet every one obey'd me as chearfully as they could have done any man in the world; by which you may ſee what it is for a man to get the love of the Gentry as I did, and who does not ſo, ſhall never perform any thing worth ſpeaking of; for upon them, almoſt all things depend, eſpecially conſidering how *Gaſcony* and *Armaignac* abound in Gentry.

All things depend upon the Gentry.

The fifth day after *Raze*'s departure, there came to me Monſieur *de Courre*, Nephew to Monſieur *de Burie*, and Lieutenant of his Company, who came again to ſolicite my haſte, by whom the ſaid Sieur *de Burie* ſent me word, that if in ſix days he was not reliev'd, the City would be loſt. The Sieur *de Courre* told me alſo, that although he had only travell'd by night, he had nevertheleſs met with the Enemy almoſt at every ſtep, and that all the Country was up in arms againſt us, either voluntarily or by force. I ſent back the ſaid Sieur *de Courre* by *les Landes*, he having with him five and twenty Launces compleatly arm'd, recommending him to houſes of Gentlemen of my relations, and the next day aſſembling all my men both Horſe and Foot, I began to ſet forwards directly to *Bourdeaux*. The firſt days march was to *Bruch*, which belongs to Monſieur *de Gondrin*, and another Village a quarter of a League from thence, call'd *Fougarolles* appertaining to the Queen of *Navarre*, where I lodg'd the Companies of Monſieur *de Termes*, and that of Monſieur *de Saint Salvy*, Brother to Monſieur *de Terride*, which was newly rais'd, and ſo ſoon as ever their Quarters were made, there came three Enſigns of *Nerac*, led by one Captain *Douazan*, which might be in all betwixt five and ſix hundred men. I had not eaten ſix bits, when they came to tell me, that at a Caſtle hard by, call'd *Caſtel-Vieille* there were ſome people who defended the place; whereupon I preſently went thither, commanding Captain *Bardachin*, that with a hundred of his Musketeers, he ſhould go and ſet fire to the gates, and give an aſſault, which he did, and we carried the place, when as we were entring, there came an Alarm from *Fougarolles*, that the Enemy were fighting with the Companies of Meſſieurs *de Termes*, and *de Saint Salvy*; whereupon I left the Caſtle, and ran to *Fougarolles*, ſending to Captain *Charry*, who was quarter'd with his men cloſe by me, (I never ſuffer'd him to be very far off, for if it came to ſtriking, he would always

give

give the firſt blow) that he ſhould advance with his men to come to the fight. I had ſome Gentlemen with me, and but a few, forasmuch as they durſt not as yet declare, ſeeing the Enemy to have the upper hand, and amongſt others the Governor *de la Mothe-Rouge* Captain *Poy*, and fifteen or twenty others. I gave Captain *Bardachin* order to make the Soldiers give over the ſack, and follow after me as faſt as he could, but he left the charge thereof to his Lieutenant, and went along with me, with five or ſix horſe more of his.

Now from *Caſtel Vieille* to *Fongarolles* it is no more than a quarter of a League, when ſo ſoon as I came thither, I found Monſieur *de Termes* his Company in Battalia by the Bourg, and that of Monſieur *de Saint Salvy* alſo cloſe by one another. The Enemy were at the other end of the Bourg, who ſaw us coming, and began to face about and retire. Whereupon I bid Captain *Maſſes* take ten of his Launces, and that the reſt ſhould quarter themſelves with the Company of Monſieur *de Saint Salvy*, for we had made a long march on't, and would be going an hour before day, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat. Captain *Charry* alſo came up to me with five or ſix horſe, and the reſt were coming after as faſt as they could, for I put my ſelf in the Rear of the Enemy.

Cloſe by the Village on that ſide towards *Nerac* there is an aſcent, and when we were at the foot of the Hill, they were in the middle, and upon the top, and there they fac'd about: I had no great mind to fight, becauſe my deſign was to relieve *Bourdeaux*, and therefore was unwilling to engage, fearing ſome diſaſter might happen, and that then I could not relieve the City. Nevertheleſs ſeeing them upon the top of the Hill I followed after, and when I came to the top, ſaw them in the great High-way betwixt two Copſes marching ſoftly on, and in very good order, this Captain *Douazan*, with four or five horſe, and ten or twelve Harquebuzeers, bringing up the Rear. We might be in all with the ten Launces ſome five and fifty horſe good and bad: I made the Harquebuzeers alight, and to put themſelves in their Rear, whereupon I perceiv'd them to make a little more haſte than before, which made me cry to the Governor *la Mothe Rouge*, Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, Captain *Charry*, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, *follow them cloſe, for upon my life theſe people are afraid, I ſee it by their march, they have a long retreat to make, and I will ſecond you with Captain* Maſſes. Captain *Bardachin* then ſent to his Muſqueteers, that they ſhould run as faſt as ever they could, and we had not march'd after this manner above two hundred paces, but that I ſaw our Avant-Coureurs were fallen in pell-mell amongſt them, and our Harquebuzeers began to make a little more haſte; when ſeeing their horſe paſs thorough the files of the foot, to recover the Van (which was becauſe *Douazans* horſe was ſhot) I rid up to the head of our men, and ſhew'd them that the Enemies horſe gain'd the Front of their own people, either with intention to make them face about and fight, or elſe they ran away for fear: *But I rather think*, ſaid I, *it is for fear, for their foot alſo begin to mend their pace, let us charge them, but firſt let Captain* Maſſes *come up to us*, who might be about ſome two hundred paces behind, to whom I ſent that he ſhould gallop away: but as ſoon as ever they ſaw our people coming upon the gallop, they began to ply their march, and gave over ſhooting, and then I cried, *let us fall on, let us fall on, for they are afraid*, which we did, and without reſiſtance charg'd them through and through over the very bellies of them. Their horſe fled full ſpeed towards *Nerac*, and the foot like cowardly raſcals crept into the Copſes, and ſquat in the ditches, where our Musketeers ſought them in the Woods, and ſhot at them as they ſhoot at Birds. Part of thoſe who eſcap'd threw themſelves into the River *Baiſe* where ſome were drown'd, the reſt paſt through the Woods, and recover'd the Vines. We were ſo few that we were not enow to kill them all: for in thoſe times there was no talk of Priſoners, and had the King paid his Companies, I ſhould not have ſuffered Ranſoms to have been in uſe in this quarrel, which have only ſerv'd to maintain the War. But neither Gens-d'arms nor Soldier were paid, and therefore it could not poſſibly be avoided, though indeed there were not many. It is not in this caſe as in a forreign War, where men fight for love and honor; but in a Civil War, we muſt either be maſter or man, being we live as it were all under a roof; and that's the reaſon why we muſt proceed with rigour and cruelty, otherwiſe the temptation of gain is ſuch, that men would rather deſire the continuation, than the end of a War. But to return to our Runaways, the Alarm ran quite thorough our Camp, ſo that all of them came powdring in both Horſe and Foot, but at their arrival found that all was done; ſo that would we have purſued the Victory as far as *Nerac*, they had all run away, and we might with great eaſe have taken the Town: but my deſign was only to relieve *Bourdeaux*. In this Engagement there died of the Enemy above three hundred men, whom the Judge of *Viane* cauſed to be interred, as I have ſince been told, without compriſing thoſe that were ſlain in the Vines,

The Hugonots defeated.

The Ranſoms of Priſoners maintain the Warre.

and thoſe who were drown'd, who might in all amount to betwixt four and five hundred men; and it was fought upon a Friday. This Victory very much dejected the Brethren, and encouraged the Catholicks, for if you once begin to drub your Enemy, you may certainly conclude that you have the better of the Game, for they will ever after be ſo afraid, that they will never dare to ſtand before you.

The next morning an hour before day I began to march, and thought to have entred into *le Mas d'Agenois*, but I found that there was there three Enſigns of the Enemy who had taken poſſeſſion before me, and was thereupon conſtrain'd to quarter at *Gruere* and *Calonges*, cloſe by the aforeſaid *le Mas*, both by reaſon of the long march I had made the day before; and alſo becauſe the Secretary of the Queen of *Navarre* call'd *Barbant*, brought me letters from the ſaid Queen from *Duras*, wherein ſhe writ me word, *that I did not need to proceed any further, for that Monſieur* de Burie *and ſhe had compos'd all things, and that ſhe was come out of* France *purpoſely to appeaſe theſe Commotions, and to make thoſe of the Religion to lay down their Arms.* In anſwer to this Letter I told *Barbant, that I would not return back unleſs I was firſt commanded by Monſieur* de Burie *ſo to do; for that if the City ſhould chance to be loſt, the whole blame of the miſcarriage would be laid at my door.* We there diſputed it above two long hours in the field, he ſtill expoſtulating with me, *whether I thought the Queen of* Navarre *was againſt the King, and if I thought ſhe had a mind to make his Majeſty loſe the City of* Bourdeaux; to which I anſwered with all moderation and reſpect, for that was the way I was to proceed in this affair; but all he could get of me was, *that I would ſend two Gentlemen along with him to the Queen of* Navarre, *to ſee in what poſture affairs were betwixt her and Monſieur* de Burie, *and that in the mean time I would make four dayes march, of what I had deſign'd only for two, to give the ſaid Lady time to make an end of the Treaty ſhe had begun with Monſieur* de Burie: and accordingly deliver'd him to the two Captains *Peug* and *Sendat*, who were in danger to have been kill'd more than twice by the way; for in all the Corners and Villages the Hugonots had planted Courts of Guards to hold every one in ſuſpence, and to fright people into their Party. In the Evening I call'd a Council of all the Captains, where they were all of opinion, "that I ſhould lend no ear either to the Letters or Meſſages of the Queen of *Navarre*, who ſhould ſhe falſifie her word, the loſs of the City of "*Bourdeaux* was of ſo great importance, that what excuſes ſoever I might make, they "would not be ſufficient to juſtifie me from the blame that all the world would juſtly lay "to my charge: and on the other ſide ſhould I be put to vindicate my reputation with "my ſword, I could not fight with the Queen of *Navarre*, inſomuch that all the world "would laugh me to ſcorn, and ſhe her ſelf the firſt of all, ſo that the fault would ſtill "lie where it did; and I ſhould have no poſſible means to clear my own honor. I was very glad to hear them all of this opinion, becauſe ſhould my actions be diſapproved, I had to ſay in my excuſe, that all the Captains had advis'd me to it; for if a man commit an error, it is at leaſt more excuſable if it be done upon deliberation and advice, than upon the meer account of his own humour and fancy; for alwaies to truſt to a mans own headpiece is not ſo well.

The Queen of *Navarre*'s Letter to the Sieur de *Montluc*.

Conſultation upon the Queen of *Navarre*'s Letter.

In the morning two hours before day I departed from my Quarters, and paſt over above the Vines, leaving *le Mas* on the right hand, and came but by break of day onely near unto *Caumont*, by reaſon that the Paſſes were very ſtreight, and I would not leave the Baggage behind me, for a great many people entred all night long into *le Mas*; who came from that ſide towards the River. Thoſe of the Caſtle of *Caumont* ſallyed out, and came thorough the Vines, where we could not charge them by reaſon of the ditches, ſo that we continued on our march, till we came near unto *Reolle*, and there I found Monſieur *de Courré*, who at his return to *Bourdeaux* had taken the reſt of Monſieur *de Burie*'s Company, and was come out to meet me. A little before I had ſent to Monſieur *Deymet* my Couſin-German, who was raiſing two Companies, to go and put himſelf into *Reolle*, which he had done; but the Hugonots had beſieg'd it before my coming, and batter'd it with ſome field-pieces; but they could do no good, and raiſed the Siege. By which it is to be concluded, that they were Maſters of the field, ſince they durſt adventure to march with Canon, and had not God inſpir'd me to oppoſe them, and to hang up thoſe that fell into my hands; I do believe the whole Country had been loſt; for Monſieur *de Burie*'s moderation was by no means ſeaſonable in ſuch a time as this. I quarter'd my ſelf in ſome houſes overagainſt *Reolle*, thoſe of the Town bringing us in proviſions, and at midnight without ſound of Trumpet or beat of Drum (by reason of a certain jealouſie Monſieur *de Courré* had poſſeſt me withal) we began to march, and never ſtaid till we came within two or three leagues of *Bourdeaux*, where quarter'd my men in certain Villages, and my ſelf went ſtraight to the City, where I found Meſſieurs *de*

La Reolle beſieg'd by the Hugonots.

Cançon,

Cançon, and *Montferran*, the Vicount *d'Uza*, *Ciurac*, and others, who were there expecting my coming, and where by reaſon of the great ſcarcity of all things in the City, I could ſtay but three dayes only; in which time it was concluded betwixt Monſieur *de Burie* and me, that the fourth day we ſhould paſs over the River, and go fight Monſieur *de Duras*, who was in the Territories of Monſieur *de Candalle* in the County of *Benauges*. Accordingly I began to paſs the River, and by noon had got over all the Foot, and in a few hours after my own Company, and the forty Launces belonging to the King of *Navarre*: when, ſeeing it began to grow late, I was of opinion that Captain *Maſſes* ſhould return to his Quarter with the Company belonging to the Mareſchal *de Termes*, and ſhould paſs them over at midnight; which order being given I return'd into the City again to conclude with Monſieur *de Burie*, that at midnight he ſhould begin to paſs over the reſt of the men. He had cauſed four field-pieces to be made ready, which already were upon the ſhore, and the Company of Monſieur *de Randan* commanded by Monſieur *d'Argence* was arriv'd, as alſo that of Monſieur *de Vauguion* commanded by Monſieur *Carlus*. So ſoon as it was night Monſieur *de Burie* cauſed all the Boats to be brought up under *Chaſteau Trompette*, expreſly forbidding that any one ſhould paſs the River without leave, ſo that in the night when Captain *Maſſes* came to the water ſide, it was not poſſible for him to get Boats to carry him over. I ſhall not here declare what every one ſaid upon this occaſion, and what they reported was the cauſe why the River was not paſſed at the time appointed; for it ſignifies nothing, but Monſieur *de Maſſes* in excuſing himſelf ſpoke very plain, and without caring who heard him. I was quarter'd not above half a league from *Bourdeaux*, and above an hour before day mounted to horſe, and (ſending word to Captain *Charry*, who was Camp-maſter, that he ſhould ſtay for Monſieur *de Burie* with all the foot Companies, excepting thoſe of the Baron *de Clermont*, and Monſieur *de Sainctorens*) march'd on till I came to *la Seuve*, ſending word to Monſieur *de Burie*, that I had left him the Foot to accompany the Artillery. The Meſſenger paſſ'd the River, and found him in his Chamber not yet quite dreſt, though it was then paſt ſix a clock in the morning, by which time I made account he was come over; and ſo ſoon as I was come to *Seuve*, Monſieur *de la Seuve*, Uncle to Monſieur *d'Andaux*, told me that the Enemy was at *Targon*, and had no intelligence of our paſſing the River, and lent me one of his Servants to go carry the news to Monſieur *de Burie*, whom in my Letter I entreated to advance, for that the Enemy was in a very convenient place to be fought withall. Now from *la Seuve* to *Bourdeaux* it was about three leagues, and as Monſieur *de la Seuve*'s Servant came to the water ſide, he ſaw Monſieur *de Termes* his Company going aboard: I alſo by the ſame Meſſenger ſent to Captain *Charry* to ſolicite Monſieur *de Burie* to advance, who ſeeing them make ſo little haſt, and knowing that I was gone to attaque the Enemy (as I had ſent him word) he took threeſcore light horſe that he had of his own, and leaving the other Captains to wait upon Monſieur *de Burie*, and to guard the Artillery, came away after me.

So ſoon as I came within ſight of *Targon*, which is a Village (as I think belonging to Monſieur *de Candalle*) Meſſieurs *de Sainctorens* and *de Fontenilles* went on before, where at ſome ſcatter'd houſes, they fell upon the Enemies Quarters, and kill'd fourteen or fifteen men, by reaſon whereof the Alarm in their Camp was ſo great, as made them draw all their Foot into Battalia in a great field, and their Cavalry all along by a little River there is in that place, whom I could not diſcover by reaſon of a Wood betwixt them and me, and they were alſo in a Valley. The field where their Foot was drawn up, was a little more advanc'd than the River, and when Monſieur *de Sainctorens* fell into their Quarters, it might be about ſeven of the clock in the morning, after which they never ſtir'd from this field where they were firſt drawn up. I was upon a little Eminence at three or four houſes that were there, from whence I diſpatcht away another Meſſenger to Monſieur *de Burie* to entreat him to make haſte, for that I was at the head of the Enemy, thinking that he was near at hand. The Count *de Candalle* who was then very young, and full of ſpirit, came to me to this place, with ten or twelve Gentlemen in company with him, and amongſt others the Sieur *de Seignan*, who had been a Captain of Foot with me in the Kingdom of *Naples*, at which time we call'd him Captain *Montlaur*, who alſo brought two of his Sons along with him, all three very brave Gentlemen. There the Count told me of the promiſe the Queen of *Navarre* had compell'd him to make, without which he could not have eſcap'd out of her hands; in anſwer to which I merrily told him, *that I would cauſe the Biſhop of Bourdeaux to abſolve him from that Engagement, neither could that promiſe any way bind him, foraſmuch as he was not a priſoner of Warre, and beſides, it was made to the Queen of* Navarre, *who profeſt her ſelf to be a moſt humble ſervant of the Kings, and very paſſionate for his Majeſties ſervice.*

About twelve of the clock the two Meſſengers I had ſent to Monſieur *de Burie* return'd, and brought me word, that they could not be paſt over the River till after noon, and that the Company of Monſieur *de Termes* only was already landed on this ſide. I had ſent back all our Horſe to *la Seuve* to bait, having kept with me only twenty, or five and twenty Horſe, and there I ſtood Centinel, letting our horſes eat the while under a Hedge, with the bridles in our hands. The Enemy ſaw me, and I ſaw them, and our men having got ſome victuals came back to me, juſt as the Enemy began to remove and to take the way directly towards me. We obſerv'd that they march'd off by Companies, by which we very well underſtood, that they meant to take ſome other way than to come to us, and thereupon fell to conſult whether we ſhould fight them, or no. In which Conſultation the greateſt part of the Company ſaid, "That in caſe we ſhould fight them, "we ſhould put all *Guienne* in danger, they being twenty for one, and that therefore it "was better to ſtay for Monſieur *de Burie*, than commit ſuch an error, which would "neither be approved of by the King, nor by any other perſon whatever. Whereupon "I granted them that what they ſaid was very true: but that nevertheleſs we ſaw all the "Gentry in *Guienne* in fear, and though it be true, ſaid I, that you are not here above "thirty Gentlmen, yet the whole Country is poſſeſt with ſo great a terror, that they dare "not riſe againſt them to aſſiſt us, which when they ſhall hear, that we came to face them "without daring to fight, will be ſo augmented, that in eight dayes time we ſhall have "all the whole Country againſt us; therefore fall back, fall edge, it is my opinion, that "we ought rather to hazard the loſing our ſelves by fighting, than by avoiding the Com-"bat, which is equally pernicious, eſpecially conſidering that all things are in the hands "of God. I have already taſted theſe people, where I have had the fortune to meet them, "and have found them men of very little reſolution; believe me they will never ſtand "us, and we ſhall certainly rout them; neither ought we to have come ſo near if we had "not intended to fight; and moreover you ſee that they are about to ſteal off, and to "eſcape away. As to what concerns our overthrow, ſhould it ſo fall out, *Bourdeaux* "will notwithſtanding be in no more danger to be loſt for that, Monſieur *de Burie* being "there, and a Court of Parliament to defend it. Monſieur *de Seignan* then being the oldeſt in the Company anſwered, and ſaid, *that it was very true, we ſhould have all the Country infallibly upon us, and therefore ſeeing we were reduc't to this neceſſity, and that there was no hope of Monſieur* de Burie's *coming up to us, we ought to fight*, whereupon they all in general began to cry, *let us fight, let us fight*; when as we were mounting to horſe, the Mareſchal *de Termes* his Quarter-maſter, called *Moncorneil*, came up to us, and told me, that their Company having been on horſeback from the beginning of the night, they had been neceſſitated to ſtay, and bait at *Seuve*, at which news I was almoſt fit to deſpair. The two foot Companies were marching as faſt as they could; but it was ſo exceſſively hot that we ſcorcht as we ſtood, however *Moncorneil* ſeeing us going to fight, gallop't away to *la Seuve* to make Captain *Maſſes* mount to horſe.

Diſpute about the fight.

The fight reſolv'd upon.

We then marcht on the left hand of the Enemy, when being come within two Harquebuze ſhot of them, I divided my horſe into two Troops: we might in all be betwixt a hundred and ſixſcore Light-horſe; for I had not above thirty Launces in my Company, it having been that of Monſieur *de la Guiche*, and the Soldiers being almoſt all gone home to their own houſes, excepting a very few, and I could not ſupply their places with others. The Enemy ſtill by little and little mounted this Hill, ſending moſt of their Harquebuzeers down into the Copſe below, which was there very thick, and to come to them we were to march thorough a great high-way enclos'd on both ſides with Vines. I made Captain *Charry* follow in their Rear, and gave one of my Troops to my Son Captain *Montluc* and *Fontenilles* with the Cornet of Guidons, and kept to my ſelf the other Cornet of Gens-d'armes, which was carried by Monſieur *de Bertuſan* the Seneſchal of *Bazadois*. When we came to the Vines I ſaw we could not paſs them to come to fight, and therefore took on the left hand under the Vineyards. Captain *Montluc* was about two hundred paces before me, who ſeeing us take on the left hand, they marcht on by the higher way before us, and when we were got clear of the Vines, and ſome ditches that were there, we ſaw Captain *Montluc* ſtill making on to gain the top of the Hill, to whom I then joyn'd Monſieur *de Sainctorens* with his Harquebuzeers on horſeback, and kept with me the Baron of *Clermont*, who alſo had ſome few.

The order of the Fight.

The Fight.

Now, ſo ſoon as we came within betwixt twenty and thirty paces of them, they began to fire, and not before, whereupon the Harquebuzeers of Monſieur *de Sainctorens* fir'd alſo, whilſt in the mean time Captain *Montluc* charg'd full drive into the middle of all their Horſe: I had an eye to him, and at the ſame inſtant a little on the left hand charg'd quite thorough their Foot, where we routed and put them to flight, but not without ha-

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ving firſt ſtood our ſhock, and maintain'd their ground. Their Horſe ſeeing their Foot defeated, fled down the Hill all along by the Wood, and the Foot I encloſed in the Copſe. Though being we had no Foot to do execution (for every one knows, that Horſe do not ſtay to kill, but purſue the victory) there was not many men ſlain, yet though their loſs was not very great, the reputation of the Victory was of as great advantage to us, as the ſhame of the defeat was prejudicial to them, and every one on our ſide began to take heart, as they, and thoſe of their Religion began to loſe it; both Gentry and Common people now taking arms, and declaring for us. My Son had two horſes kill'd under him, and was himſelf wounded in two places: both the horſes were mine, and one of them was my gray Turk, which next to my children I lov'd above all things in the world, for he had three times ſav'd my life, or at leaſt my liberty. The Duke *de Paliano* had given him me at *Rome*, I never had, nor ever hope again to have ſo good a Horſe as that was. The Prince of *Conde* would fain have had him of me, but I put him off as well as I could, for I ſaw that ſuch a Treaſure was not every where to be found. Monſieur *de Seignan* loſt his, the Vicount *d'Uza*, and the Count *de Candalle* their's alſo; to be ſhort, after the charge we rallyed upon the very place where we had fought, and found that in ſo great a neceſſity we could not make twenty horſe to fight had the Enemy rallied upon us, almoſt all the horſes being either kill'd or ſhot, and above the third part of our men: but they had not the judgment to examine their own condition, nor ours neither; and I muſt needs ſay, it was one of the rudeſt and moſt furious charges, without a Battail, that ever I was in in my whole life; neither can it be ſaid, that they ran away for fear without being fought, for they fac'd about upon us, either to give or to receive the charge, and in plain truth I did not expect to have found them ſo brave. We loſt upon the place but one Gentleman call'd Monſieur *de Vigneaux* only; but two or three that were wounded died after of their wounds. From the top of this Hill we diſcover'd the Enemy marching off as faſt as they could, and ſaw that they rallied ſtill as they went, ſtill getting further off from us; and then we began to retire, ſome on horſe-back, and ſome on foot, for moſt of the horſes were kill'd, and thoſe that were not, were almoſt all fain to be led off, for they were wounded. I was in ſuch a condition, that there was not a horſe of mine to be found to remount me; ſo that had an hundred horſe only return'd upon us, I had been a loſt man, and the reſt that were with me; for as for my part it was not to be hoped that all the world could have ſav'd my life, theſe new Saints had ſuch a malice to me above all others.

The Hugonots defeated.

The Enemy retires.

This was the Engagement of *Targon*, which was very ſhameful for the Hugonots, conſidering that they ſuffered themſelves to be beaten by a handful of men; and as we were returning back, the two Foot Companies arriv'd, who all day had run as faſt as they could, and were ready to faint with exceſſive heat. Monſieur *de Termes* his Company, though they came at a good round trot, yet could they not poſſibly come up in time, for before *Moncorneil* could get to *Seuve*, which was a long league from the place where he left us, and they mount to horſe and march another league and a half, which they muſt do to the place where we were, we had done our buſineſs, at which they were all very much concern'd, eſpecially Captain *Maſſes*: I never ſaw man in ſo furious a paſſion, ſo that I was fain to entreat him to be quiet, and to hold his tongue, for he had a great mind to ſay more than I had a mind he ſhould. And ſo we return'd back to *Seuve*, where we found Monſieur *de Burie*, who was but juſt come, and yet it was betwixt four and five a clock in the afternoon. He was glad to hear of our Victory, and I believe had made all the haſte he could; but he was old, and old men cannot be ſo diligent as young. We cannot have it twice, I know it by my ſelf.

We here concluded that Monſieur *de Burie* ſhould return to *Bourdeaux* to bring from thence three pieces of Canon with which to go and batter *Montſegur*, and the other places the Enemy held upon the River of *Garonne*, to clear the River, that proviſions might come into *Bourdeaux*, for they were in a manner reduc'd to famine, and carry back with him the four Field-pieces, knowing very well that we ſhould be no more in probability of a Battail, by reaſon of the Bruſh the Enemy had lately receiv'd; and that in the mean time I ſhould march with the Army up the River towards *Montſegur* and *Reolle*, there to ſtay till the ſaid Sieur *de Burie* ſhould come with the Canon. But before we ſeparated our ſelves, it was neceſſary to turn towards *Bourg*, being that one of the Sons of *Montandre* had poſſeſt himſelf of it, whoſe buſineſs it was to hinder all ſorts of proviſions from going down the *Dordogne* to *Bourdeaux*, which we did, and when we came to the River near unto *Cuſac* we caus'd our Cavalry and Monſieur *de Sanctorehs* to advance before towards the Town, who coming before it, the ſaid *Montandre* quitted the place, into which we put ſome few men, that we ſent for from *Bourdeaux*. I then remonſtra-

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ted to Monſieur *de Burie*, that we were to run a dangerous fortune, and that therefore it would be convenient for him to take the Caſtle of *Blanquefort*, which belonged to Monſieur *de Duras*, and was his habitation, and retreat, and that in the mean time I would go ſeize upon the Caſtle of *Caumont*, which we did, and I garriſon'd *Caumont* by the way. A thing that Monſieur *de Caumont* was by no means pleaſed withal, being afraid that I would make prize of all I found within it: but I was very far from any ſuch intention, as I made it evidently appear; for though there were in it goods to the value of above an hundred thouſand Francs, yet did he not loſe the worth of one ſingle penny, ſaving that the Count *de Candalle*, and Captain *Montluc* took ſome Chaplets of Corel from the Warden of the Caſtle, and thoſe with a receipt and an obligation to make them good. And yet if I would I might have taken all the goods in the houſe, and it had been lawfull prize, forasmuch as within it there had been a party of Hugonots, which had made a Sally upon our people coming from *Bourdeaux*, where Captain *Sendat* had his horſe kill'd betwixt his leggs, which was a ſufficient reaſon; for that was to declare himſelf an Enemy.

At the ſame time we had intelligence brought us that the Enemy had abandoned *Bazas*, out of apprehenſion that we would paſs the River, becauſe they heard that Monſieur *de Burie* was return'd to *Bourdeaux*, and that I went up to *la Reolle*: and ſo they began to carry in ſome little Corn to *Bourdeaux*. I had notice that at *Gironde* there was three or fourſcore Hugonots, that were retir'd thither upon the rout of Monſieur *de Duras*, whom I trapt, and without more ceremony hang'd threeſcore and ten at the pillars of the Town-Hall, which ſtrook ſo great a terror into the whole Country, that in every place they quitted the Banks of the River, and fled towards *Marmanda*, and *Thoneins*; to which place Monſieur *de Duras* was retreated to rally his ſcatter'd people, and recruit his Troops, and was forc'd to remove from thence, and to retire to *Dordogne*. One might ſee all thereabouts which way I had gone, the Trees upon the High-ways wearing my Livery. One man hang'd, terrified more than an hundred that were kill'd. The Queen of *Navarre* who was at *Duras*, after having heard of the defeat of Monſieur *de Duras*, departed from the Caſtle of *Caumont* (which was before I ſeiz'd upon it) where ſhe had been, but made no ſtay, and retir'd into *Bearn*, and we came after to the ſaid Caſtle of *Caumont*. God knows how dearly ſhe lov'd me, and how ſhe baptiz'd me, calling me the Tyrant, and all the ill names ſhe could invent; but ſhe was a Princeſs, and moreover a Woman, and conſequently not to be queſtion'd. Being a Servant to the King, and a Catholick, I did my duty, and had every body elſe done ſo, we had never ſeen ſuch doings as have been practiſed ſince. Both I and mine have ever been moſt faithful ſervants to her and her Family, but it was then when the Kings intereſt was not in queſtion.

Juſtice executed by the Sieur *de Montluc*.

The Queen of *Navarre* a mortal enemy to the Sieur *Montluc*.

Monſieur *de Burie* being come to *Reolle* with the Canon, we went to beſiege *Montſegur*, and lay one night at *Sauveterre*, where I took fifteen or ſixteen whom I hang'd every Mothers Son, without the expence of paper or ink, or without vouchſafing to hear them ſpeak; for theſe people would promiſe mighty matters, which they never intended to perform. Now in *Monſegur* there was betwixt ſeven and eight hundred men. The Town is little, but fortified with walls as good as good can be, and of a very advantageous ſituation. We beſieg'd it on that ſide by the Tannery, where they dreſt their Leather. Monſieur *de Burie* quarter'd himſelf in the Houſes before the Gate which looks towards *la Sauvetat*, where there are great Towers, and I hard by him. Monſieur *d'Ortobie* and *Fredeville*, Commiſſaries of the Artillery would needs go view the Town in open day, where we wanted for no Harquebuz ſhot, and after the diſcovery had been made, we concluded to attaque it by the ſaid Tannery. There was on that ſide a Gate of the Town, which they had lately covered with a Wall, and had let down the Portcullice, which the Wall cover'd, and within had caſt up a Rampire of earth and rabbiſh. I made the approches by night, and lodg'd *Bardachins* Company in the Tannery. We let Monſieur *de Burie* take his reſt, and preſently after midnight our Artillery was planted upon a little Emminence overagainſt, and within a hundred and fifty paces of the ſaid Gate. Againſt the opinion of the ſaid Commiſſaries I would try to ſee what was behind this Wall that cover'd the Gate, and to that end cauſed ſome Fagots to be ſet on fire hard by the Gate; by the light whereof I cauſed five or ſix Canon ſhot to be made at the ſaid Gate, which beat down all this new Wall; whereupon I ſent Captain *Bardachins* Enſign all alone to diſcover the place.

The Tannery was betwixt the Artillery and the Gate, and betwixt the Gate and the ſaid Tannery there was a great Walnut Tree, behind which Captain *Bardachin* and I planted our ſelves, it being no more than five or ſix paces from the Gate, where the Enſign came and brought us word that the thing we ſaw that looke white was the Portcullice.

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We thereupon made him to return back again, and to climb up the Portcullice; which he did, and at his return told us, that over the top of the Portcullice he had perceiv'd a Terraſs within, but that it was but low, and a man might paſs betwixt the Arch of the Gate and the Portcullice, creeping upon his belly. The Enemy could not ſee him, by reaſon of the fire, but we could who ſtood behind the Tree, and yet they made above twenty Harquebuz ſhot. I then ſent in all haſte to Captain *Charry*, to bring all the Companies without beat of drum, or making any noiſe, whom ſo ſoon as they came I made to ſquat cloſe upon their bellies behind the Artillerie, bidding Monſieur *d'Ortobie* begin to ſhoot, though it was not yet day, and try to make a Battery hard by the Gate; when ſo ſoon as he had made two volleys, I ſent away the ſaid *Bardachins* Enſigne called Captain *Vines*, who had a Target upon his arm, a Morion upon his head, and a Coat of Mail with ſleeves of the ſame; and after him two Harquebuzeers without Morions, who all went creeping with their bellies almoſt to the ground. Captain *Vines* began to mount the Portcullice, and *Bardachin* and I were again advanc't behind the Tree. The dawning of the day began to appear, and Monſieur *d'Ortobie* ſtill continued firing at the Wall, and the Enemy advanced to entrench behind the Battery, which was on one ſide of the Gate, taking no heed at all to the Gate it ſelf, as not ſuſpecting the Wall which cover'd it was beaten down. So ſoon as Captain *Vines* was got to the top of the Portcullice he gave his Target to one of the Harquebuzeers, and mounted upon the Rampire, after which taking his Target again, he drew in firſt one of the Harquebuzeers, and then the other, when ſeeing three to be got in, taking the advantage of the Thunder of the Canon, I ran to the Tannery, making *Bardachins* Harquebuzeers one after another to march ſtraight up to the Walnut Tree, and again my ſelf return'd immediately behind it. At the next Volley I made *Bardachin* approach the Portcullice, having a Target and a Morion, and the Harquebuzeers one after another concealing their matches, when ſo ſoon as *Bardachin* had got five or ſix men about him he mounted the Portcullice where at the top his Enſign drew him in, and the Harquebuzeers one after another as they came; and ſtill as the Harquebuzeers came behind the Tree I made them ſlip in, when ſeeing there was already twenty got into the Town, I my ſelf drew up to the Portcullice. They within entred into a little Chamber of the Tower, to which there was two little doors, which open'd upon two pair of ſtone ſtairs on the right hand, and on the left, by which they went up and down on the inſide of the Town to the ſaid Tower. In the mean time I ſtill put in more men, one after another, till *Bardachin* ſent me word, that he began to be ſtrong enough to be Maſter of the Tower, and that he was not as yet diſcover'd. Whereupon I ſent to Captain *Charry* and the Baron of *Clermont*, that they ſhould riſe and come running all along a high-way there was that came directly up to the Gate; which they did, but before they could come up *Bardachin* was diſcover'd, where they began to fight, and to defend the ſtairs. Immediately upon which came the Enſigns of Captain *Charry* and *Clermont*, and mounted with all their men after them. The Enemy made good thoſe ſtairs, but our people gain'd the top of the Tower, by the help of a little hand ladder they met withal, and were Maſters of the inſide of the Gate, when the Captains on the right and left ran deſperately down the ſtairs, and came to diſpute it hand to hand in the Streets. The Enemy once repulſ'd our men, but in the end being overpower'd by numbers they retir'd, the Aſſailants falling in pell mell amongſt them, till they came to the Market-place, where they found three hundred men in Battalia, who made head and diſputed it for a time, but in the end were put to rout, and fled every man to ſhift for himſelf. I ſent an account of all to Monſieur *de Burie*, but he had heard of it before, and he muſt needs know alſo by the Harquebuz ſhot that they were fighting; whereupon he ſent ſome Gens-d'armes about the Town; but they could do nothing there. I took fourſcore or a hundred Soldiers, and with them marcht round the Walls, ſo that as many as leapt over were diſpatcht. The ſlaughter continued till ten of the clock, or after, becauſe they were fain to ferret them out of the houſes, and there was not above fifteen or twenty taken priſoners, whom we preſently hang'd up, and amongſt the reſt all the Kings Officers, and the Conſuls with their hoods about their necks. There was no talking of Ranſoms unleſs for the Hangmen. The Captain who commanded there, was called Captain *Heraud*, who had formerly been of my Company at *Montcallier*, as brave a Soldier as any was in *Guienne*, and was taken alive. There were many who would fain have ſav'd him for his valour, but I ſaid, that if he ſhould eſcape here he would make head againſt us at every Village, for I very well knew his courage, which made me hang him. Nevertheleſs he ſtill thought I would ſave him, becauſe I knew him to be valiant: but that made me the rather put him to death; for I was very well aſſur'd that he would never return to our ſide, as knowing him to be a ſtubborn obſtinate fellow, and moreover

Captain *Vines* enters the firſt in *Montſegur*.

Montſegur carried by aſſault.

beſotted

The number of the dead.

beſotted with this new Religion, otherwiſe I would have ſav'd him. We numbred the dead, and found them to be above ſeven hundred, all the Streets and the Walls were cover'd over with dead bodies, and yet I am ſure a great many died without, of thoſe who leapt over the Walls, whom I cauſed to be ſlain.

Thus was *Montſegur* taken; but I believe it would have been a hard diſpute, had we been put to have entred by the breach we were about to make, and yet it would have coſt us above five hundred Canon ſhot before we could have made a Gap wide enough for two men to enter a breaſt only: for the Walls were built of admirable good ſtone, and exceeding thick, as ſtrong as any whatever in the whole Province; and withal it had been a matter of great difficulty to enter, though the breach had been never ſo ſufficient, they having means to entrench themſelves within, and I do believe they would have found us work, and it would have been a Mart of honor both for them and us; but it was better as it was.

Two dayes after, we went to beſiege the Town and Caſtle of *Duras*, in which there was a hundred and fifty men. All night long I never reſted to lodge the Artillery to batter the Town; for to batter the Caſtle was a thing of extraordinary difficulty, unleſs on that ſide of the Garden behind it, and there alſo it was very hard to bring up the Artillery: which made us conclude, that it was better to attraque the Town, and afterwards from within to batter the Gate of the Caſtle; when ſo ſoon as I had made all things ready, they call'd to us to know if Monſieur *de Burie* was there, to which they were anſwered, that he was quarter'd at the Farms two or three Harquebuz ſhot diſtant from the Town: but that I was at the Artillery; whereupon they deſir'd to know if I would give them leave to come out in ſafety, which I promiſed they ſhould, and ſo they came to ſpeak with me; but

Duras ſurrendred.

I referr'd them to Monſieur *de Burie*. The day began to break when they return'd, and they told me they had capitulated. Monſieur *de Burie* with ſome few with him preſently entred into the place, but I entred not till eight of the clock in the morning, but laid me down to ſleep after the Capitulation; for I wak'd when others took their reſt. Monſieur *de Burie* told me that there was nothing in the place, but a hundred and fifty Corſlets that belong'd to the King of *Navarre*, which the Warden of *Thoneins* a Hugonot had left there, intending to have carried them to their Camp, but that he was afraid of being ſnapt by the way. We cauſed them to be divided amongſt the Captains to arm the Soldiers; and from thence Monſieur *de Burie* went to *Bourdeaux*, and I with the Army marched down towards *Marmanda* and *Thoneins*. Every one quitted the places they held for fear, ſo that I met with none but ſome few Catholicks; and from thence marcht directly to *Clairac* and *Aguillon* where I paſſed the River. And as I was paſſing it I halted before the ſaid Town, becauſe there were three or four thouſand men in *Agen*, and I would go to environ them to trap them within it. Having then reimbarkt the three Canon at *la Reolle*, which I made to mount up the River, it was night before I had paſſed over all the men, and as I was marching in the night I had news brought me from *Agen*, that in the begining of the night they had abandoned the City, and were gone away towards *Montauban*. I wondred that theſe people ſhould be ſo damnably timerous, and that they did no better defend their Religion, they having not ſo much leiſure as to take

Agen abandoned by the Hugonots.

their priſoners along with them; a ſudden terror having ſurprized them, when they heard that I was at hand; for they no ſooner heard my name, but they fancied the rope already about their necks. Thoſe whom they had clapt up in priſon were Meſſieurs *de la Lande*, *de Nort*, all the Officers of the King, and the Conſuls, excepting the Preſident of *Agen*, againſt whom they had no prejudice. Theſe poor Officers, very honeſt men, had been two or three months detein'd in priſon, in which ſpace above a hundred times the ropes were preſented before them to hang them up, ſo that I wonder they did not die for fear.

Monſieur *de Burie* being arrived at Port *St. Marie*, we there and in the adjacent Villages quarter'd the Army, and from thence went with a few men only to *Agen*, where we found the City ruin'd; for theſe people where ever they came left ſad marks behind them, and there we ſtaid three or four dayes. Monſieur *de Burie* ſent to *Ville-Neufve*, and to *Montflanquin* three Companies of *Gens-d'armes*, namely his own, that of Monſieur *d'Argence*, and that of Monſieur *de Carlus*, Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Vauguion*. They ſent to Monſieur *de Burie* to ſend them four or five hundred Foot, and that they would go and fight Captain *Bordet*, who was coming from *Xaintonge* with three hundred Horſe, of which ſixſcore were Cuiraſſeers, and Lances all, the reſt Piſtoleers, and Harquebuzeers on horſe-back, together with three Enſigns of Foot. I offer'd my ſelf to Monſieur *de Burie* for this ſervice, who told me that he would go himſelf, and be engag'd in this action, and that he would go away at midnight. I would not contradict him leſt he ſhould think

think that I had a mind to do all my ſelf, and get an advantage over him, and therefore retir'd my ſelf to *Eſtillac* to take ſome order in the affairs of my Family, hearing that my Wife was lately dead. The next day Monſieur *de Burie* was yet at *Agen*, and the next day after that, and in the mean time *Bordet* paſſed by, and marcht to get to *Montauban*, where Monſieur *de Duras* ſtaid to expect him. I know very well that Monſieur *d'Argence* and his Companions advertized Monſieur *de Burie* in all haſte to ſend them the Foot they deſir'd, that they might fight, and am very confident the fault was not in them: but Monſieur *d'Argence* is yet living, who is able to give an account where the fault lay, I have nothing to do to meddle, or make in the buſineſs.

At my return back to *Agen* we concluded to go and aſſault the Caſtle of *Pene*; for during the time that our Company lay about *Agen*, there came to us three Spaniſh Companies commanded by Don *Lewis de Carbajac*, in the abſence of his Uncle Don *John de Carbajac*, who afterwards came and brought the other ten Enſigns. We attaqu'd the Caſtle in the Front of it, for we could batter it in no other place, it being very ſtrong both in ſtructure and ſituation; and there we made above three hundred Canon ſhot. They had here a great Terraſs caſt up within, and in the Terraſs had made a Trench where the Soldiers lay to defend the Breach, which alſo was of very difficult acceſs, becauſe we were to mount by ladders from the Breach up to the Terraſs. Novv vve had the firſt night taken the Town, for Captain *Charry* and his Companions had ſet fire to the Gates, which the beſieged having long and bravely defended in vain, they all retir'd into the Caſtle. They might be within it about three hundred men; and I went to diſcover the Breach by the Houſes on the right hand, which I cauſed to be pierc'd thorough, paſſing from one to another till I came to the laſt, which was ſo near to the Caſtle, that there was no more than the way betwixt them; from whence I perceived an out-jut of ſtone at the flanck on the right hand in the Wall, and ſent a Soldier creeping on all four to diſcover this place. He went up the half-way, and found that it was made, as if they had purpoſely left ſteps to go up by in that place; which having done, he came back to me, and upon his report I went immediately to Monſieur *d'Ortobie*, where we drew a piece of Canon a little on the right hand this place. We had enough to do to lodg it there, by reaſon that it was a very great Precipice that went down to the River; and from thence we ſhot ſide-wayes at this Wall, which being not very ſtrong, was in four ſhots pierc'd quite thorough, ſo that one might ſee thorough the hole into their Trenches; whereupon I immediately went down, and made the ſame Soldier climb up by thoſe ſteps ſo far as to diſcover if the hole was over againſt the Trench, bidding him in no wiſe to diſcover himſelf; which he accordingly did, and brought me word, that they ſtood all in Battalia in the Trench, and that there was a great number of Corſlets, as it was true. I then cauſed the Ladders to be brought, which I had made to be ſought for in every place, and which might be ſome twelve or fifteen in all. Monſieur *de Burie* was with the Artillery, whither I went to conclude the Aſſault before him, entreating him that the *Gaſcons* might go on firſt, and the *Spaniards* after: but Don *Lewis* deſir'd they might fall on together, which was alſo granted. In the mean time I made choice of four Harquebuzeers to mount theſe ſteps, for more could not ſtand upon the top to ſhoot thorough the hole into the Trench, when ours ſhould give the aſſault to the Front of the Caſtle, and ſo I committed to them the aſſault. The Soldiers themſelves took the Ladders, and I went to the forementioned ſteps with my four Harquebuzeers, when as the one were rearing their Ladders, the four went up by the ſteps, and at the ſame inſtant that the *Spaniſh* and *Gaſcon* Foot mounted the Ladder, the four Harquebuzeers fir'd into the Trench. They kill'd one of them, who tumbled down dead at my feet, and I ſent up another in his room: but when the Enemy ſaw themſelves kill'd thorough this hole, they retir'd into another Fortreſs, where they defended themſelves above three long hours, and twice repuls'd our people to the very Breach. Where I perceiv'd two things, though I had very well obſerv'd them before, the one that the *Spaniards* are not more valiant than the *Gaſcons*; and the other, that the brisk diſputes are alwayes made by the Gentlemen, for above five hundred *Spaniards* and *Gaſcons* were overturn'd either upon the Ladders, or down to the ground, yet muſt we not deprive thoſe of their due honor, who worthily archieved it; for though the *Gaſcon* Captains, and the Gentlemen of their Companies, all day bore the brunt of the fight, I will not ſay but that the *Spaniſh* Captains very bravely behav'd themſelves, but in truth their Soldiers did very little. In the end I encourag'd our people, making them again to mount the Ladders, encouraging ſome, and threatning others, for I had my ſword drawn in my hand, ready to have given them a caſt of my Office, had I perceived any Poltrons. But they all now began to do better both *Spaniards* and *Gaſcons*, inſomuch that they gain'd the ſecond Fort. The Enemy then divided themſelves into two other Forts, namely the

Spaniſh Companies.

The Siege of the Caſtle of Pene.

The Breach diſcover'd.

The Aſſailants repulſed.

great Tower, and another quarter of the houſe on the left hand. Now we were to go up a pair of ſtone ſteps into a baſe Court, betwixt the ſaid Tower and the other Fort, ſo that our people were conſtrain'd to ſet fire to the Gate of the ſaid Baſe-Court. On the top of theſe ſteps, and cloſe by the Gate there was a corner on the left hand, where fifteen or ſixteen men had room to ſtand. Captain *Charry* and the Baron *de Clermont* were in this place encouraging the men to ſhoot thorough the Gate into the Baſe-Court, and ſo ſoon as the Gate was burnt it fell down juſt in the Paſſage. I was upon the middle of the ſteps, when ſeeing the Gate fall'n down, I call'd to Captain *Charry*, that they ſhould leap in thorough the fire, which they did without diſputing the buſineſs, a man needed not to bid him twice, he fear'd not death. I puſht forwards thoſe who were upon the ſteps before me, whether they would or no, and ſo we all entred in fury, but found no body in the Baſe-Court ſave Women and Maids, of which it was all full, even to the very Stables. Thoſe of the Tower of the other Fort on the left hand ſhot at us in the Court, and kill'd five or ſix Soldiers. Captain *Charry* was there a little hurt, and the Sieur *de Bardachin* alſo. We made the Women go down by thoſe ſtone ſteps, where the *Spaniards* who were at the foot of the ſtairs in the great Baſe-Court below, kill'd them ſaying they were Lutherans diſguis'd. We redoubled the aſſault upon this Fort on the left hand both by a door, and by two windows that went into it, which we carried, putting all we found within it to the Sword. Now we were afterwards to aſſault the great Tower, and the Gate that was between. I there left the Captains who were not hurt in this Fort on the left hand, and in the Stables to keep them penn'd in, and as fortune would have it, they had all their proviſions in this Fort on the left hand, and none at all in the great Tower; and that was the reaſon that in the cloſe of the Evening they ſurrendred themſelves to the Captains upon Quarter for life. The *Spaniards* were lodg'd in the Town, who knew they were ſurrendred, and that in the morning our Captains were to bring them to Monſieur *de Burie* and me, who were quarter'd in the Houſe of Monſieur *de Cathus* a Harquebuz ſhot from the Caſtle. Monſieur *de Pons* lay there alſo, being come with Monſieur *de Burie*, and ſo ſoon as the Priſoners came, who might be forty or fifty in number, we deliver'd them to fifteen or twenty Soldiers in guard; but the *Spaniards* came and took them from thoſe fifteen or twenty Soldiers, and kill'd them all excepting two ſervants of Madam *la Mareſchalle de St. Andre*, that I had kept at my lodging; ſo that of all theſe three hundred men there was not a man eſcaped, ſaving theſe two that I ſav'd, and another that went dowe the Wall of the Caſtle by a Rope, and ſwam the River, who had alſo a great many Soldiers at his heels plying him all the way with their Harquebuz ſhot, but he miraculouſly eſcap't in deſpight of them all. His hour was not come, for he had an infinite number of ſhots made at him, but none of them had the fortune to hit. I here perceiv'd that Don *Lewis* his men were for the moſt part raw raſcals; for old Soldiers do not uſe to kill Women, and theſe kill'd above fourty, at which I was furiouſly angry. Their Captains were ſorry for and aſham'd of the action, but they could not help it, for they ſaid they were Lutherans in diſguiſe, becauſe having been fumbling with one of them to lye with her, they had found that it was a beardleſs Deacon, who had diſguis'd himſelf in womans clothes. This was the taking of *Pene*, which was of no little importance, as being an extraordinary ſtrong place, and in a good Country upon the River, where a great many Rogues were diſpatcht out of the way, whoſe bodies ſerv'd to fill up a very deep Well that was in the Caſtle. It may truly be ſaid, that every one here play'd his part, as alſo did Monſieur *de Burie*, who never ſtirr'd from the Canon, but took as much pains as any man of his age could poſſibly do,

Captain *Charry* leaps thorough the fire.

Pene taken by aſſault.

Now ſo ſoon as Captain *Bordet* was joyn'd with Monſieur *de Duras*, their Army began very much to encreaſe, foraſmuch as thoſe who before had forborn to declare themſelves in expectation of the ſaid *Bordets* coming, now that they ſaw he was come, conceiving a better opinion of their affairs, they repair'd boldly to the Army. The Enemy then being in this condition, we were one night afraid that they would take from us *Moiſſac*, or elſe *Cahors*, by reaſon that the Rivers were ſo low, that they were almoſt every where to be foarded, which made me tell Monſieur *de Burie* that it was neceſſary we ſhould ſpeedily ſend away ſome men to *Cahors*; for the water being every where to be foarded over, they would at the very firſt carry the Town, there being no body there but the Inhabitants only to defend it; whereupon he preſently made choice of Monſieur *de Sainctorens* with fourſcore or a hundred Light-horſe he had beſides his Foot Company, whom I entreated to make all the haſte he poſſibly could, and never to reſt day nor night, till he had put himſelf into the place. I made account that from the place where the Enemy lay he would go in eight hours to *Cahors*, and (as God when he pleaſes will prevent the evil from coming to paſs) we had news brought, and did believe it, that the Enemy was

The Sieur *de Sainctorens* ſent to relieve *Cahors*.

deſign'd

deſign'd for *Moiſſac*, and had no thought of *Cahors* at all. Monſieur *de Sainctorens* made very great haſte without either ſtop or ſtay, unleſs to eat a little bread, and drink a little wine, he had caus'd to be carried along with him for the Soldiers by the way; and alſo it ſtood him upon to loſe no time. He was to go very near to their Camp, and as he marcht by night, the Enemy at the ſame time did the ſame, ſo that in the morning by ſun-riſe, juſt as he was got over the River, the Enemy came to the water ſide, ſo little had he the ſtart of them, and ſo narrowly they miſt of him. At his coming to the Town he found all the people in ſo great a terror and confuſion, that they were forſaking the Town to fly to the mountains for ſafety; but at his coming they took courage; and immediately without entring into any houſe, Monſieur *de Sainctorens* went out to skirmiſh, and put himſelf upon the paſſage of the River to defend it; for he had very good men, and it was alſo the firſt Company that had been rais'd. All day the Enemy was hovering about the River, making a ſhew as if they intended to paſs it, and I believe ſtaid for the reſt of the Army, who were marching after them; but made no attempt to paſs. At laſt the night drawing on, Monſieur *de Sainctorens* fortified himſelf with Barrels, logs, and ſtones, and ſuch materials as he could find; wherein the whole City were employed at work, and plied it ſo well, that in the morning the Enemy ſaw there would be no good to be done; ſo that the remainder of their Army coming up to them, they all quarter'd themſelves in the Villages neareſt to the River, and there ſome dayes remain'd without making any further attempt. In the mean time we went to *Moiſſac*, to which place Monſieur *de Burie* had cauſed two great Culverins, and two Field-pieces to be brought from *Bourdeaux*, and where we left the three pieces of Canon, and marcht toward *Cauſſade*, *Mirabel*, and *Realville*; to which places their Camp was retir'd. A little before this the King had ſent to Monſieur *de Malicorne*, to give us an account how affairs ſtood in *France*, and alſo to bring him word in what poſture they were with us. In two or three dayes we came to *Mirabel*, during which I could not make it ſink into Monſieur *de Buries* head, that we were to make haſte to ſnap the Enemy, there being ſome who continually laid difficulty upon difficulty before him.

The Sieur *de Malicorne* ſent by the King.

All of us who were there, and who are yet living, muſt needs confeſs that we were all troubled at him, and at this cold proceeding of his, becauſe he had ever had the reputation of a fighting man, and was reputed a great Captain, of which he had alſo upon ſeveral occaſions given ſufficient proof: where as we found him ſo heavy, and ſo ſlow, that it appeared to every one as if he avoided fighting only to give the Enemy opportunity to eſcape out of our hands, inſomuch that he ſtood highly ſuſpected to many, both by reaſon of this ſupineneſs and remiſs way of proceeding, and alſo for that almoſt all his Servants, eſpecially a Secretary of his, whom he extremely lov'd, were Hugonots. A Servant of his a Baſque, whoſe name was *Hactſé*, told us, that would Monſieur *de Burie* have given ear to him he ſhould have chang'd his Servants, knowing very well that they rendred him ſuſpected, eſpecially to the *Spaniards*; and in truth it was intollerable, by reaſon of the jealouſie we all had, that the Enemy had perpetual intelligence of our deſigns; for I never knew any of that party, how moderate ſoever they might ſeem to be, that did not heartily deſire the King's ruine. As for my own part I do really believe that never any ill entred into his heart, and that which made him deferre things ſo, was only the continual buzzing him in the ear, that I would make him loſe himſelf.

So ſoon as we came to *Pecornet*, which belongs to Monſieur *de Thoneins*, Monſieur *de Burie* would take up his Quarters there, and I with my own Company, and a good Troop of Gentlemen marcht on ſtraight to *Mirabel*, ſending my Son upon the Forlorn Hope before; who coming to *Mirabel*, found the Enemy newly riſen from their Quarters, and marching away towards *Cauſſade*, where he fell upon the Rear, and defeated a Troop, the reſt putting themſelves into two or three houſes, which being near unto *Cauſſade*, where their whole Army was, and he having no Foot with him, he was conſtrain'd to let them alone, and to retire to *Mirabel*, where I ſtaid to expect him. Now I had ſent to Monſieur *de Burie* to entreat him to come and quarter at *Mirabel*, it being no more than a league only from *Pecornet*; to which he ſent me anſwer back, that the greateſt part of the Army was already ſettled in their Quarters; whereupon I went my ſelf in all haſte, where at my coming I found that he had already taken up his lodging in a Grange belonging to Monſieur *de Thoneins*: but with the help of Meſſieurs *de Malicorne*, *d'Argence*, and other Captains of Gens d'arms, I prevailed ſo far upon him, that we perſwaded him to march. I never (as I have already ſaid) what reports ſoever were made of him, ſuſpected him in the leaſt, but ever attributed his ſlow and wary proceeding only to his fear of miſadventure, being unwilling to hazard any thing, as knowing very well, that ſhould he loſe a Battail, the Country would be totally loſt, and on the other

ſide, he ſaw alſo that the Enemy was going into *France* : but I alwaies ſaid it would be a good ſervice to the King to defeat them before they ſhould joyn with their Confederates there, and that a hundred Rebels and Traitors would never dare to ſtand ten honeſt men. He would often complain of me to Monſieur *de Courré* his Nephew, ſaying that one time or another I would make him to loſe all, and conſequently the Province of *Guienne* would be loſt to the King; ſo that as to my own particular I durſt anſwer for him, that it was this apprehenſion only that reſtrain'd him; for he was neither corrupted nor diſloyal to his Maſter, and neither wanted courage, nor conduct; but he would hazard nothing, which was a great fault in him.

Twice that night we ſent out Parties to diſcover the Enemy at *Cauſſade*, which was no more than half a league diſtant from us, and the ſecond time it was by Monſieur *de Verduſan* my Enſign, who fell upon one of their Courts of Guard. Now I would fain have beat up their Quarters in the night : for all their Army lay without the Town, and far enough from one another : but it was impoſſible ever to perſwade Monſieur *de Burie* to it. The next morning I went with the King of *Navarrs* Company, that of Monſieur *de Termes*, and my own, to diſcover, taking Monſieur *de Malicorne* along with me, and found that there was ſome Harquebuzeers in the Town, who ſhot at us. Now Monſieur *de Duras* and Captain *Bordet* were gone to *Montauban*, it being but two Leagues thither, and had left there all the good Horſe, that Captain *Bordet* had brought, behind them; Monſieur *de Duras* and he having taken only ten or twelve along with them, and had lain all night at *Montauban*; by reaſon of whoſe abſence they never offer'd to appear, and were in very great fear, leſt all our Army ſhould come down, it being from *Mirabel* to *Realville*, no more than a quarter of a league. We dallied there above two hours before the Town, not knowing that theſe people were within it : 'tis true the Country people told us, that Monſieur *de Duras* was gone the day before to *Montauban*, but they did not know whether or no he might not be return'd. At night we return'd to Monſieur *de Burie*, and entred into Councel, to which were called all the Captains of *Gens d'arms*, and Don *Lewis de Carbajac* alſo, where we fell to debate, whether the Walls being of no ſtrength, we ſhould not go with the two great Culverins, and aſſault them in *Cauſſade*. To which propoſition ſome ſaid I, and others no; but in the end the Negative voices carried it, which ſo ſoon as I perceiv'd, I made a motion, that after dinner we ſhould deſcend into the Plain, and there draw up in Battalia, by which I ſaid we ſhould produce two effects; the firſt, that we ſhould by that means diſcover the ſtrength of the Enemy, and diſcern by their countenance whether they were in fear, or no; and ſecondly we ſhould order our men as if they were to fight, and ſeparate our Harquebuzeers from the Gens d'arms, ſo that every one might know his own place when we came to fight, which we could not do where we were quartered; by reaſon that there was no even ground. This in the end was concluded of, and agreed, that ſo ſoon as we had eaten a little we ſhould mount to horſe. All the Gentry, which was a ſprightly and brave Troop, retir'd with me, and we ſoon diſpatcht our dinner; after which I ſent away a Gentleman to Monſieur *de Burie* to give him notice that I began to march to take my place in the field; when preſently there came Monſieur *de Malicorne*, who had been preſent at the firſt deliberation to tell me, that Monſieur *de Burie* was reſolved not to come down into the Plain, nor to ſuffer the Army to do it, and told me moreover, that thoſe whom I thought to have been the moſt forward to have ſtood to the former reſolution, were the firſt who retreated, and were now of a quite contrary opinion; which is an abominable thing, that men ſhould out of reſpect to authority go contrary to their own ſenſe. I entreated him that he would go back again, and remonſtrate to Monſieur *de Burie* the great error he committed in not ordering our men as they ought to fight, and that I would engage my honor to him we would not fight, but only obſerve the countenance of the Enemy, and play upon him with our Artillerie in caſe they ſhould preſent themſelves on the other ſide of the River : but I had ſomething elſe in my thoughts, and had I ſeen a fit opportunity, would have come ſo near that it ſhould not have been poſſible to have retir'd without fighting. However the ſaid Sieur *de Malicorne* abſolutely refuſed to go, ſaying that he had already ſaid all he could to perſwade him, and would meddle nor make no more in the buſineſs, and I perceiv'd was very angry, though he forbore to ſay all that he thought. I therefore ſent Monſieur *de Madaillan*, but Monſieur *de Malicorne* ſtaid with me, and would no more return. We then march'd and paſs'd before his Lodging, all of us hoping that when he ſaw us upon our march, his humour would come about, and that he would come, and ſo ſoon as we were come into the bottom were aware of the Companies of the King of *Navarre*, and the Mareſchal *de Termes*, commanded by Captain *Arne*, and Captain *Maſſes*, who told me that Monſieur *de Burie* had ſent to proteſt againſt them

Conſultation about the Battail.

them if they came dovvn to me, but they had return'd him anſvver that before dinner they had concluded to deſcend into the Plain, and that for their parts they vvould ſtand to the firſt reſolution, that I vvas there already, and that ſhould the Enemy come out to fight me, they vvould ſhare in the ſport. He proteſted alſo againſt the other Captains (I have heard ſince, that Don *Lewis* vvas one of thoſe vvho alter'd his opinion) and particularly againſt Captain *Charry* the Camp-maſter, vvho thereupon left him the Companies, and came himſelf alone to find me out, and to run the ſame fortune vvith me. In ſhort vve vvere all in diviſion, vvhich is an unruly Beaſt vvhen it once gets into an Army; and therefore you, vvho have the command of Armies as much as you can oppoſe its entrance, for if it once get a foot within the door, it is very hard to thruſt him out again.

The Enemy departed from *Cauſſade*, taking their way directly to *Realville*, to eſcape tovvards *Montauban*, vvhen ſo ſoon as they came into their ſide of the Plain, they vvere aware of me, and made a halt: after which they began to put themſelves into Battalia, and were above a long hour in doing it, by which I very vvell perceiv'd they were but raw Soldiers, and that their orders were either not well given, or not well obeyed. They durſt not venture a ſtep further upon their march, fearing leſt I ſhould charge them in the Rear, and ſo we ſtood facing one another above four long hours with a little River betwixt us. I would not ſuffer ſome Harquebuzeers on horſeback that I had to make any attaque upon them, to the end that Monſieur *de Burie* might ſee that I had no mind to fight unleſs he himſelf was there, hoping that his knowing us to be ſo near would bring him out into the field, but all ſignified nothing, and ſo we were conſtrain'd to retire from thence. As we were retreating towards *Mirabel* ſome of their Cavalrly that was in *Realville*, and that before had not dar'd to ſhew their heads paſs'd the River (which were Captain *Bordets* men) they had all white Caſſocks, which were the firſt that I had ever ſeen, but ſo ſoon as they ſaw us face about upon them, they turn'd back again to repaſs the River, and in our ſight croſt the water above *Realville*, taking the way to *Montauban*. I then retir'd to my Quarters as angry as ever I was in all my life, that we had loſt ſo fair an opportunity of fighting the Enemy, and what promiſe ſoever I had made to the contrary, had the groſs of our Army come down to us, we would have had a bruſh with them, and I would (as I have already ſaid) have approacht them ſo near, that it ſhould not have been poſſible for either ſide to have retir'd without fighting.

In the Evening Monſieur *de Burie* ſent to me to know if I would come to the Council, which after many entreaties, with much ado I did, but they had much ado to perſwade me to it. Where being come, I remonſtrated to him what a piece of cowardize we had committed, who thereupon told me, that it had not ſtuck at him, we had not fought; but he did not go without an anſwer. Meſſieurs *de Malicorne* and *d'Argence* are both of them yet living, who I believe can better remember what I ſaid than I; for I was ſcarcely my ſelf, I was ſo tranſported with paſſion. To be ſhort, in this huffe I left him and his Council, upon which occaſion he ſhewed himſelf to be wiſer than I, and more patient to bear with my imperfections, and I do believe in his conſcience knew himſelf to be in fault. At night Captain *Maſſes*, *Arne*, and I, with my Company, and the Gentlemen went out thinking to find the Enemy on this ſide the River *Labeyron*; not imagining the paſſage being very dangerous and bad, that they would offer to venture over in the night; but ſo ſoon as ever they came to the water ſide they hurried over in great diſorder, and went to gain a Wood near unto *Montauban* call'd *le Ramier*. Captain *Maſſes* and Captain *Arne* met with ſome who ſtaid behind in the Farms on this ſide the River, as being afraid to venture over, having ſeen ſome of their men drown'd in the paſſage, and thoſe they took an order withall for drowning, and ſo we return'd back without being able to do any thing more; having reſolv'd to have fought could we have met with them, though it had coſt us all our lives, and I do believe that the rage wherein we were, would have redoubled our Forces to have fought them to ſome purpoſe; if but in ſpite to have left the ſhame and reproach at their doors, whoſe gums were ſo tender they would not bite. The Farmers aſſur'd us that they would neither ſtop nor ſtay till they came to *Montauban*, which was the reaſon we did not paſs the River, and they moreover affirm'd, that had a hundred horſe only come in, when they began to foard the River, they had defeated them all, or they would have drown'd themſelves, they were in ſo great a fright, and that a great many of them were drown'd upon a falſe alarme, Horſe and Foot throwing themſelves deſperately into the River to eſcape away. And this was the fine piece of cowardize we committed, which never went off my heart till after the Battail of *Ver*, that we fought a little while after. Me thought the very ſtones lookt upon us, and that the Peaſants pointed at us; for we had here a much better opportunity to have done their buſineſs, than we had afterwards at *Ver*.

The ſtrange fear the Hugonots were in.

I was in ſo great a rage, that I was very near going away from Monſieur *de Burie* in the morning, and had it not been for the Captains and Gentlemen, who were with us, and diſſwaded me from that reſolution, I had done it, being very ſure that the greateſt part of the Army would have gone along with me: but he that of all others moſt prevail'd upon me to ſtay was Monſieur *de Malicorne*, who remonſtrated to me, that the King would take it highly ill at my hands, that all things would go amiſs, and that afterwards all the blame would be laid upon me, which would be ſufficient to pull down upon me the Queens hatred and indignation, and ruine me for ever. As for my own part I had a minde to have purſued the Warre after my own way, wherein I fancied at leaſt I ſhould ſucceed much better, the buſineſs of *Targon* evermore running in my mind, where I had defeated them with ſo few men; and I had alſo an opinion that the Sieurs *d'Argence* and *de Carlus* would go along with me, although they came with him. Nevertheleſs I ſuffer'd my ſelf to be govern'd by the ſaid Sieur *de Malicorne*, and the reſt who reconcil'd me to him; for my anger though it be ſuddain and violent, is none of the worſt ſort, and beſides he was the Kings Lieutenant. He was pleaſed upon our reconciliation to aſſure me, that upon the firſt occaſion that ſhould preſent it ſelf he would lay aſide all fear of loſing the Province, and reſolutely fight them; and that which made him bear with my rough humour was, that he knew all my heat proceeded from the zeal I had to his Majeſties ſervice, which made me talk after that diſreſpective manner, neither had any thing elſe reſtrain'd him but only the fear of diſaſter, being certain that the King would lay all the fault to him with whom he had entruſted the Government and care of the Province.

A fault in a Lieutenant of a Province.

Oh 'tis an ill thing when a Lieutenant of a Province is alwayes in fear of loſing; in the name of God be as cautious as you will when you are to keep a place, raiſe fortifications as high as Heaven if you can, watch, ward, and ſtill be jealous of ſurprizes: but to have ſufficient Forces, and evermore to be in fear of loſing, this favours of I know not what, and believe me (Lord Lieutenants) 'tis an ill Omen. For my part I was of a quite contrary humour; for I evermore ſaw that if the affairs of *Guienne* went well, thoſe of *France* would ſucceed the better, and if we defeated the Forces on this ſide, we might afterwards go over into *Languedoc*, and by that means fruſtrate the Prince of *Condé* from having either men or money out of thoſe two Provinces.

A few dayes after Monſieur *de Malicorne* return'd back to Court, and I believe acquainted the King with what he had ſeen, which I preſume was the reaſon of his Majeſties ſending Monſieur *de Monpenſier* into theſe parts, having heard that there was no very good intelligence betwixt Monſieur *de Burie* and me. A thing very prejudicial to the ſervice of thoſe we ſerve, and I ſhould never adviſe that the ſupreme power be divided betwixt two, for an indifferent Captain will do better alone, than two good ones in joint Commiſſion. It is true that I took more authority upon me than the King inveſted me withall; and perhaps it was neceſſary ſo to do; there are enow that can witneſs it. Would to God the King had taken the ſame courſe in this laſt War, he did here in ſending Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, which if he had, there would perhaps have been a better account given of his ſervice in this Country; neither was I ſingle in this opinion, for I was very well accompanied, and with men of the beſt underſtandings. And I would alwaies adviſe his Majeſtie, that when ever he ſhall hear of any diviſion in an Army, evermore to ſend away a Prince of the blood to command in chief, and the ſooner the better, before the diviſion have got any great footing to endanger his affairs: for after it is once eſtabliſht, and that the diſorder is once hapned, it is never to be remedied but with great difficulty and dammage; or by ſeparating thoſe who diſagree, which alſo is not to be done without great inconvenience, conſidering that both the one and the other muſt needs have many friends and ſervants depending upon them.

The Siege of *Montauban*.

A little while after Monſieur *de Burie* propos'd an Enterprize, which was to goe and lay Siege to *Montauban* on that ſide towards *Tholouze*, and that in order thereunto we ſhould return back to *Moiſſac*, and there paſs over the River; and to this end he cauſed another Canon and another Culverin to be brought from *Bourdeaux*, and took the way directly to *Moiſſac*. I was reſolv'd to let him alone without contradicting him in the leaſt (having made a vow not to ſpeak a word) to ſee what he would do, though I was certain beforehand that his Enterprize would vaniſh in ſmoke and come to nothing: for ſeeing we had not dar'd to fight them in the field, what hopes could we have of doing any good upon them in a Town, and ſuch a one as that was? Nevertheleſs I followed as others did, and we came to the Bourg, where we ſtaid ſeven or eight daies, having ſpent ſome Canon ſhot againſt the Tower of the Bridge where there was a Church the Enemy had fortified. In ſhort I know not at which end to begin to give a Narration of this brave Enterprize,

prize, neither can I make of it either good Pottage, or good Broth, and therefore I conceive it better without ſaying any more to let it alone, and only to tell you, that after theſe ſeven or eight days, it was reſolved that we ſhould retire to *Montech*.

At our coming to *Moiſſac*, I had there intelligence, that thoſe of *Lectoure* had taken the Field, making prodigious havock, and committing infinite inſolences upon the Gentlemen and their Eſtates, in all places where they could get in, and that they expected Forces out of *Bearne*, that Captain *Meſmes* was bringing into them, being five hundred men. Their deſign was to make a flying Army, which was the reaſon that I ſent back Captain *Montluc* with part of my Company; upon which occaſion the Count *de Candalle*, the Sieurs *de Canſon*, *de Montferran*, *Guitinieres*, and ſome other Gentlemen would needs bear him company; Captain *Parron* alſo went along, taking with him the Company of the Baron *de Pourdeac* commanded by Captain *la Rocque d'Orman*, for the Baron himſelf had ſome dayes before this been wounded in a skirmiſh Captain *Montluc* had made before *Lectoure*. So ſoon as they came to *Florence* they underſtood that the *Begolles*, Nephews to Monſieur *d'Auſſun*, were the Heads of thoſe who were gone out of *Lectoure*, and that they had taken their way directly to *Sampoy* to go meet the ſaid *de Meſmes*, who was to be that morning at *Aiguetint*. Monſieur *de Baretnau*, who was raiſing a Foot Company hapning to be there, went to put himſelf betwixt *Terraube* and *Lectoure*, becauſe they there intended to fight them: but the Enemy having intelligence of his departure from *Florence*, thought to return back to *Lectoure*, and alſo becauſe they had notice that Captain *Meſmes* could not that day come to *Aiguetint*, when having paſſed *Terraube* to return to *Lectoure*; they ſaw they muſt of neceſſity fight Captain *Montluc* by the way, who had intercepted their retreat, which rather than do they would return to *Terraube*; though they could not do that neither, but ſo as there was ſome skirmiſhing at the entring into the Town, and had they had but five hundred paces further to go, Captain *Montluc* had defeated them before they could have got in. He then diſpatcht away to *Auch*, *Florence*, *la Sauvetat*, *la Sampoy*, and as far as *Condom* for ſuccours to come in to beſiege them, which every one did, ſo that there came in to him above two thouſand men. He diſpatcht away a Courier to me alſo in all haſte, giving me to underſtand, that if I would come thither with the Artillery, we might take *Lectoure*, for that all the good men that belong'd to it he kept ſhut up in *Terraube* to the number of four hundred men, together with the two *Begolles*, Nephews to Monſieur *d'Auſſun*, who were alſo coop't up with the reſt. I ſhewed the Letter to Monſieur *de Burie*, and we had ſome diſpute upon it, he being unwilling to ſuffer me to take any of the Foot Companies, but in the end he granted me the Baron of *Clermont* my Nephew, to whom I had given a Company of recruit, and Monſieur *d'Ortobie*, and *de Fredeville* immediately yoked three pieces of Canon, and went before to *Moiſſac* to prepare the Boats, ſo that when the Canon came they found the Boats all ready, and all night long we did nothing but paſs the River. I then ſent a Quarter-Maſter from Village to Village to get Oxen ready to relieve the others, which having done, I gallop'd away before, and found that Captain *Montluc* had beſieg'd the Town, and that the four hundred men which were in *Terraube* had ſurrendred to him upon Quarter for life.

Captain *Meſmes* advanc't as far as the River *Baiſe* within a *League* of the ſaid *Terraube*, when hearing the others were beſieg'd, he went back the ſame way he came, and retir'd himſelf into a little Village called *Roquibrune* near unto *Vlefezenſac*. My Nephew Monſieur *de Gohas*, who had been Lieutenant to Monſieur *de la Moth-Gondrin* in *Piedmont*, and had married his Daughter, hearing of his motion, had taken the Field with ſome Gentlemen his Neighbours, and ſome Country-fellows, whom he had call'd together by the ringing of a Bell, and putting himſelf in his Rear had conſtrain'd him to take into *Roquebrune* for his ſafety: where the Peaſants impatient of lying all night to beſiege him, almoſt all of them ſtole away, ſo that Captain *Meſmes* went away in the morning towards *Bearn*, from whence he was come, to tell his friends there the news of the fine frights he had been in.

Now Monſieur *d'Ortobie* made ſo good haſte, that the next morning two hours before day he was got over the River, and come before *Lectoure*. At break of day, he, Monſieur *de Fredeville*, Monſieur *de la Mothe-Rouge*, and I went to view where we ſhould plant the Artillery, and concluded to plant it on a little Hill on that ſide by the River, where there was a Windmill, to batter the Town on that ſide by the Fountain. And here we battered it all day long, and to ſo good effect, that a Breach was made betwixt ſeven and eight paces wide. They had entrencht themſelves within, and had Baſtion'd the ends of the Streets with the way that went all along by the Wall, and pierced two or three houſes that lookt into the Breach. In the interim that the Canon was batter ng I was buſie

Lectoure beſieged.

cauſing

cauſing Ladders to be made wherewith to aſſault the Bulwark that flanckt the Breach, to hinder thoſe that mann'd that Bulwark from ſhooting into the Breach : but being they had environ'd the Bulwark with Pipes and Gabions fill'd with earth, and that alſo the Breach was not yet reaſonable, I would not this night do that which I did the night after.

The next morning I cauſed the Artillery to play upon theſe Pipes and Gabions, and to widen the Breach, and lay it lower, and the night following we put our ſelves into *Camiſado*, where I ordered that Captain *Montluc* ſhould aſſault the Breach with the two Companies of the Baron *de Clermont*, that of the Baron *de Pourdeac*, and ſuch Gentlemen as would go along with him, of which the Count *de Candalle* was one, a young Lord full of noble courage, who alſo has ſince loſt his life in a Breach in *Languedoc*, as I have been told; and as for me I was by the Ladders to ſtorm the Bulwark, with the Sieur *de Batternau*'s Company, and another with my own Company of Gens d'arms, whom I had diſmounted for that purpoſe. This order being concluded I cauſed them to take up the Ladders, putting Captain *Montluc* and his men before, and marching my ſelf in their Rear, to ſee what would be the iſſue of their aſſault, and after me came the Ladders, and my fellows. They carried the Breach with very great boldneſs and bravery, entred thorough it, and began to diſpute the Rampires they had caſt up in the ſtreets, and were already almoſt Maſters of one.

Now the Enemy the night before had made a Ditch betwixt the Breach and the Rampires, and had put a very great train of powder into it, to which they were to give fire from within a Houſe in the Town. We ſet up our Ladders, and two Enſigns mounted up to the very top of the Baſtion : I was making the Soldiers ſtill to mount, and to rear the reſt of the Ladders, when juſt as our people of the Breach were as good as Maſters of the Rampires, ſome of thoſe who came after, clapping a foot into the ditch of the Train, which was cover'd over with Bavins, began to cry out *we are in the Train*, and took ſuch a fright, that they overturn'd one another upon the Breach. Upon this accident, the formoſt who were diſputing the Rampires, had no other remedy but to retire, and there Captain *la Rocque* was hurt, Lieutenant and Kinſman to the Baron *de Pourdeac*, who died the next day, one of the braveſt Gentlemen that theſe fifty years has come out of *Gaſcony*. Others alſo were ſlain there, and ſome of thoſe were hurt who ſtorm'd by the Ladders; when ſeeing thoſe of the Breach retir'd, I alſo drew off mine, very glad to have eſcap'd ſo good cheap; for had they ſprung the Mine in time, they had made a terrible Fricaſſée.

A mine ſprung at *Leſtoure*.

The next day Monſieur *d'Ortobie*, the Governor of *la Mothe-Rouge*, and I went to view the other ſide of the Town towards the little Bulwark; but could find no place where we could conveniently plant any more than two pieces of Canon, for this Town (for a Town of War is one of the beſt ſituated in all *Guienne*, and very ſtrong) and there alſo was the little Bulwark that flanckt the place where we had a mind to batter, which put us to ſuch a ſtand, that we could not reſolve what to do; ſo that about noon Monſieur *d'Ortobie* return'd to batter again by the Breach at ſome Flankers there were there, becauſe the next morning I was reſolv'd to give an aſſault in open day, where as he himſelf was levelling a piece of Canon, he was wounded in the thigh by a Faulconet ſhot from the great Bulwark; which went very near to my heart, for he was a valiant Captain and an admirable Engineer. He died two dayes after. 'Tis of all others of our Trade a Command of the moſt danger; nevertheleſs in all Sieges where I have been, I was ever by the Canon, and fancied that all things did not go right, if I was not there. This Gentleman very well underſtood his buſineſs, which is very rare, and (as I have ſaid) exceeding dangerous, and few eſcape of thoſe who expoſe themſelves too much. In the mean time the Enemy parlied, where it was agreed, that they ſhould give me three of thoſe within in Hoſtage, and that I ſhould ſend them in other three, which they deſir'd might be Meſſieurs *de Berduzan*, *de la Chappelle*, and another, who being accordingly advanc't near to the Gate, and that we expected the others ſhould come out, thirty or fourty Harquebuz ſhot was fir'd upon them all at a clap, by which they narrowly eſcap't being ſlain, and one of my Trumpets was wounded; whereupon I caus'd them to call out to *Brimond, that this was not the faith of a man of honor, but of a Raſcal*; he excus'd himſelf, ſaying it was a Rogue who had begun it, and that I ſhould ſoon ſee him made an example.

The Sieur *d'Ortobie* mortally wounded.

Treachery of the beſieged.

But the treacherous Rogues inſtead of executing juſtice upon the offenders, hang'd a poor Catholick at the Battlements, who could be in no fault at all. Now they were evermore asking to ſee me, ſaying they could not believe I was there, whereupon I was adviſ'd by ſome to ſhew my ſelf; but they could never perſwade me to it, and it was well

for

for me. *Old Birds are not caught with Chaff* : ſuſpect every thing from an Enemy, without diſcovering nevertheleſs openly your miſtruſt. After the hang'd man was dead, they cut the rope, and let the body tumble into the Graff; after which it was again concluded, that the ſame Deputies ſhould go in, and their Hoſtages come out, for we believ'd, that he who had been hang'd was the man that had committed the treachery, and now every body went confidently into the ſtreet near unto St. *Claire*, and in a Crowd to ſee what the Deputies did, and when the others would come out. The Enemy had levell'd and prim'd three or four pieces of Ordinance they had, and ſome Muskets exactly upon the Company, thinking that I was there; ſo that when our Deputies were again advanc't almoſt to the Wall, they began to fire their pieces directly at the Crowd, and there kill'd a Gentleman who liv'd hard by *Agen* call'd Monſieur *de Caſtels*, and hurt three or four others.

I ſaw all this from behind a little Wall, and wondred that our Deputies were not kill'd, for they fired at them above threeſcore Harquebuz ſhot, but they got off, running as faſt as they could drive; when ſeeing this treachery the ſecond time practiſed upon us, I ſent to tell them from behind the Wall, *that ſince they had made ſo little account of their faith, and promiſes, I would make as little of mine*, and accordingly ſent Monſieur *de Berduzan* my Enſign, who was one of the Deputies, with my own Company of Gens-d'armes, and another of Foot to *Terraube*, to kill and diſpatch all thoſe that were there, giving him with him the Hangman to truſs up the Chief, which he perform'd with a very good will (as he had reaſon, conſidering the foul play thoſe of *Lectoure* had twice practiſed upon him) and after they were dead threw all the bodies into a Well of the Town, which was very deep, and yet ſo well fill'd, that a man might reach the bodies from the top with his hand, which was a very good riddance of a pack of very great Rogues. They brought me the two *Begolles*, and two others of good Families of *Lectoure*, whom I cauſed to be hang'd upon a Walnut-tree by the Town in the ſight of the Enemy, and had it not been for the honor I bore to the Memory of Monſieur *d'Auſſun*, the *Begolles* his Nephews had fared no better than the reſt : they were within two fingers breadth of it, for I had once given the word to diſpatch them; but afterwards, I know not how, alter'd my reſolution. Their hour it ſeems was not come, and as for the other two, had it not been to give thoſe of *Lectoure* the pleaſure of the ſpectacle, they had not been put to the pains of coming ſo far for their hanging, but had been lodg'd in the Well with the reſt. Their treachery requited.

The night following I began to remove my Artillery to the other ſide, where Monſieur *d'Ortobie*, the Governor of *la Mothe-Rouge* and I had diſcover'd, by which removal, which the Enemy was preſently aware of, they perceived where I intended to begin a new Battery, and thereupon began to doubt they had not men enow to withſtand an aſſault at two Breaches at once; which made them deſire to ſpeak with Captain *Montluc*, who accordingly had ſome conference with *Brimond*, who told him, that he would capitulate, provided he would beforehand give him his faith to let them march out with their Arms, and quarter for life. In the mean time the day appear'd, when at the importunity of the Captains I granted their conditions, for I ſaw very well I was not yet at the end of my task. The beſieg'd parly, and Surrender.

When I parted from Monſieur *de Burie* I carried Monſieur *de Sainctorens* along with me, and Captain *Gimond*; but when I came to *Moiſſac*, I was there advertiſed by Monſieur *de Burie*, that the Enemies Camp was upon their March from *Montauban*, and taking the way towards *Cahors*, which made me ſend back Monſieur *de Sainctorens* and Captain *Gimond*, to put themſelves into *Cahors*, where if Monſieur *de Sainctorens* had with great difficulty entred before, he found it much harder to do it now, which was the ſecond time, that by great and extream diligence he ſaved the Town. The ſaid Sieur *de Burie* ſent me word alſo, that in caſe I ſaw I could not carry *Lectoure* in two days time, I ſhould let it alone, and come joyn with him, for that without me he was the weaker party, having ſince I parted from him left four hundred *Spaniards* of the three *Spaniſh* Companies, who had mutinied, and were departed towards their own Country. The *Spaniards* mutiny.

I therefore ſent a Gentleman after theſe *Spaniards*, who being able to prevail nothing upon them, I was fain to ſend again Monſieur *de Durfort de Bajaumond* with letters and entreaties to reduce them to reaſon, which letters ſo ſtagger'd them in their ill taken reſolution, that they call'd a Council to deliberate what they were beſt to do. In my letters I told them, that I would not give the aſſault unleſs they were there, which ſo tickled their vain humour, and was taken ſo kindly by them, that they all reſolved to turn back to me; ſo that juſt as I had ſign'd the Capitulation, they arriv'd at *Florence* a league from *Lectoure*, which was upon a Friday. Into *Lectoure* I put the Baron *de Pourdeac* with his Company, for he was now come up to us with his foot bound up; and upon Saturday

morning I made all the Hugonots march out of Town, that every one might go whither he pleaſed; ſome whereof liſted themſelves into our Companies. They had never heard any thing of the death of their fellows at *Terraube*, till I had taken poſſeſſion of the Town, and then expected to ſcape no better than the reſt: but I kept my word with them. I then immediately ſent away the Baron of *Clermont* with the five Enſigns I had, bidding him go and paſs the River *Garonne* at *Leyrac*, and went my ſelf to talk with the *Spaniards* in a great Meadow, where I promiſed to reconcile them to their Captains, remonſtrating to them ſo many things, that in the end they reſolved to follow me; whom I left under the command of Monſieur *de Durfort*, and they marcht away with the five Companies to paſs the River at *Leyrac*. The remainder of the day I ſpent in reſettling the Clergy in the Biſhoprick, and the Monaſteries, and thoſe of the Long-Robe in their Courts and Tribunals, leaving with the Baron *de Pourdeac* ſuch orders as he vvas to obſerve for the Government of the Town. Which being done, on Sunday morning I went to dine at *Stillac* a houſe of mine own, and to lie at *Agen*, vvhere I vvas told that Monſieur *de Duras* had taken the Caſtle of *Marques* belonging to the Biſhop of *Cahors*, and the Biſhop himſelf in it, vvhom he had carried away priſoner; vvhen having heard that Monſieur *de Sainctorens* had put himſelf into *Cahors*, they marcht avvay directly to *Sarlac*. I vvas told alſo that Monſieur *de Burie* followed after them, and moreover heard news of Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, vvho vvas come to *Bergerac*, having vvith him the Seigneurs *de Candalle*, *de la Vauguyon*, *d'Eſtiſſac*, *de Lauzun*, and *de Chavigny*.

They are appeas'd.

All Sunday and Sunday night our people were continually ferrying over at *Leyrac*, for there was but two Boats, ſo that they could not get over till near ten of the clock on Monday morning, by which means I could that night march no further than *Villeneufve*; and there the Count *de Candalle* fell ſick upon our hands, ſo that we were conſtrain'd to ſend him home to his own Houſe, and Captain *Montluc* alſo, who had already had two fits of an Ague. Upon Tueſday the Baron of *Clermont* ſent me word, that upon Monday he could march no more but two leagues, being hindred by the paſſage of the River, and that he was making all the haſte he poſſibly could to *Belvé*, to which place I had appointed him to come: wherefore to give him ſome advantage, I marcht but three leagues on Tueſday morning, which was to *Montaignac*, near unto *Monflanquin*. Upon Wedneſday two hours before day I was on horſeback, and went to bait at *Belvé*, where the foot Companies began to arrive, and where I made them ſtay two hours, whilſt I went before to *Ciurac* upon the *Dordogne*. There I was adverti'd that Monſieur *de Burie* was at the *Mirandes* (which belongs to Monſieur *de Caumont*) with the Army, and that Monſieur *de Montpenſier* was at *Bergerac*. Immediately upon my Quarters being made, a Gentleman of *Ciurac* of the new Religion lent me two of his Servants, one to ſend to *Bergerac* to Monſieur *de Montpenſier* to give him notice of my arrival, and of the taking of *Lectoure*; of which till then he had heard nothing, and withall to tell him, that if he pleaſed to advance a little towards us, we might find means the next day to joyn, and to fight with Monſieur *de Duras*, who was encamped upon a little River called *la Vezere*, near unto *Fages*. I writ to Monſieur *de Burie* to the ſame effect, that he might by break of day paſs the *Dordogne*, as I had already done: at which Monſieur *de Burie* was ſtrangely aſtoniſht that I could be ſo ſoon there, conſidering that but two days before he had receiv'd intelligence from *Agenois*, that I was yet before *Lectoure*, and in danger not to carry the place.

I had ſcarce made an end of my diſpatches, when the Baron *de Clermont* arrived with the five Enſigns, and the *Spaniſh* Foot, whom I made to paſs the River in two great Boats, and go to lye at Saint *Subran* near unto *Fages*, to which place they came not till two hours within night, and there found already quarter'd the Companies of Meſſieurs *de Burie*, *de Randan*, and *de la Vauguyon*; ſo that had it not been for Madamoiſelle *de Fages*, Mother to Madam *de Lioux* my Siſter-in-law, they had not that night got one bit of any thing to eat; but ſhe ſhewed her ſelf to be the Wife of a brave Captain, which was the late Monſieur *de Fages*; for ſhe not only gave them all the bread ſhe had in the houſe, and ſeven or eight puncions of wine, but moreover did nothing elſe but make her people bake bread all night long, giving them all her Bacon, and other Proviſions, without ſleeping a wink of all night, and was never at reſt till they had all eaten enough.

In the Morning, which was Thurſday, I foarded the River *Dordogne* (for the River was foardable here, and there in ſome certain places my Guides led me to) having with me in all not above fourty or fifty Light-horſe, and upon my departure from *Ciurac* I receiv'd an anſwer from Monſieur *de Burie*, who ſent me word that he was exceeding glad of my coming, and that I had taken *Lectoure*: but that nevertheleſs he was not of opinion to paſs the River *Dordogne* by reaſon the Enemy was ſtronger than we, and that

therefore

therefore it was our beſt way to try to joyn with Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, after which the ſaid Sieur would himſelf determine whether we ſhould fight or no. This anſwer put me into a ſuddain fury, fearing we ſhould do here as we had done before at *Mirabel*, and was adviſed by the Gentlemen who were with me to ſend to proteſt againſt him if he did not paſs the River, and that I was my ſelf gone with a reſolution to fight: which notwithſtanding I did not think fit to do: but by *Seignan* one of my men at Arms, ſent however to proteſt againſt Meſſieurs *d'Arne*, *du Maſſes*, and *de Charry* our Camp-maſter, who thereupon immediately went to Monſieur *de Burie*, and plainly told him, that as for their parts they were reſolved to paſs the River, and that they would not have it laid in their diſh before Monſieur *de Monpenſier*, whom we already lookt upon as our General, and immediately cauſed their Trumpets to ſound to horſe, whilſt Captain *Charry* drew out his Enſigns of Foot into the field. And then it was, that ſeeing no other remedy, he prepar'd himſelf to go. Captain *Charry* according to his cuſtom put himſelf before with his Foot, and coming to the water ſide, ſuddenly made a Bridge of Carts, and paſſed over in all haſte.

Diſpute betwixt Meſſieurs *de Burie* and *de Montluc*.

I ſtaid not at *St. Subran* under *Fages*, but only ſpoke with Meſſieurs *d'Argence*, and *du Courre*, entreating them to mount to horſe, and telling them that I had writ to Monſieur *de Burie* to come, and that at noon we were to fight. They promiſed me they would mount to horſe, but that withal they muſt of neceſſity ſend away a Meſſenger poſt to Monſieur *de Burie* to acquaint him with it. I then ſpoke to the Baron *de Clermont* immediately to make his Soldiers eat ſomething, and Monſieur *de Durfort* to do the ſame by the *Spaniards*, and preſently to come away after me to the Ferry of *Vezere*, when as I was talking with them, came *Seignan* (for he had gone away at midnight to go ſpeak to Monſieur *de Burie*) who brought me word that he had left Monſieur *d'Arne*, and Captain *Maſſes* ready to ſet out, and that Captain *Charry* was already paſſing the River. I then went before. Now from *Fages* to the Ferry at *Vezere*, it is no more than a good league, ſo that I was preſently there, where I met with ſeveral Country people coming back from the Enemies Camp, who had been to look after ſome Aſſes they had taken from them, who told me, that the Enemy were diſlodging from two or three Villages where they had lain that night, and that we were not above a league from thence. I paſſed the River, and at night ſent out Monſieur *de Fontenilles* with two or three horſe to ſcout. Meſſieurs *d'Argence* and *de Courre* had alſo ſent out the Quartermaſter of Monſieur *de Randan*, ſo that Monſieur *de Fontenilles* and he hapned to meet, where the Quartermaſter aſſur'd him that he had ſeen the Camp diſlodg, and upon their march, and (as God when it pleaſes him will ſometimes aſſiſt ſome, and puniſh others) it was from the Quarters they roſe from, but two little leagues only to *Ver*, and from *Ver* but two little leagues more to the paſſage of the River *de l'Iſle*, where they had made account to paſs over that day. But being they ſaw Monſieur *de Monpenſier* was at *Bergerac* with very ſmall Forces, and Monſieur *de Burie* at the *Mirandes*, they would make no great haſte, foraſmuch as they had two good Quarters between: *Ver* for the Foot and the Artillery, and *St. Andras* and two or three other little Villages for the Horſe; for they knew nothing of me: but it had been better for them to have conſulted their eaſe leſs, and their ſafety more.

Monſieur *de Burie* came having only two or three horſe with him, and found me talking with the Quartermaſter, who was telling me that the Enemy was going to paſs the River *de l'Iſle*, as he had been told by a priſoner he had taken, and ſome Peaſants that came from their Camp; and that from thence they were going into *France* to joyn with the Prince of *Condé*. I then told Monſieur *de Burie*, *that it was neceſſary he ſhould make haſte and fight them that day*: to which he made anſwer, "that Monſieur *de Montpenſier* would "take it ill if we did not ſtay for him: but I replied again, that he was ſo far off, "it would hardly be poſſible for us to joyn that day, and that therefore we were not to "forbear to fight out of that conſideration; for ſhould we ſuffer them to paſs the River, "and joyn with Monſieur *de la Rochefaucaut*, who waited with his Forces in expectation "of them about *St. Jean d'Angely*, the King and Queen would never more look upon us as men of honor. *I warrant you*, ſaid I, *they are our own, my good genius tells me ſo.* As we were in this diſpute came Captain *Charry*, and I began to diſcover his men coming down a little Hill that ſhoots down on the other ſide towards *la Vizere*. I alſo ſaw the Corners of the King of *Navarre* and Monſieur *de Termes*, and at the ſame time the three Cornets of Monſieur *de Burie*, *de Randan*, and *de la Vaugujon*, at which I very much rejoyced, telling Monſieur *de Burie* that we muſt inſtantly march, and fall into their Rear, and that at the paſſage of the River we would fight them. To which he made anſwer, *that it ſhould not ſtick at him; but that if Monſieur* de Montpenſier *ſhould be diſpleaſed, or that matters did not ſucceed well, he would lay the blame upon me.* To which I replied in the preſence

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s reaſons why they ought to fight.

of a great many, *Sir, Sir, let every one charge the fault upon me, and ſpare not, I will bear the blame of all, my ſhoulders are broad enough, but I do aſſure you I will be loaden with honor, and not with ſhame, or be left with my belly toaſting againſt the Sun.* Whereupon Monſieur *de Burie* making a ſign with his hand, ſaid, *let us go then in the name of God.* In the mean time the Baron *de Clermont* and the *Spaniards* were paſſing the *Vezere*, where the water was deep to the middle of the thigh only, and Captain *Charry* return'd to paſs over his; when ſtill as the Foot got over they drew up in Battailia in a Plain there was in that place. The Captains *Arne* and *Maſſes* then came to me full gallop to embrace me, and all the Gens d'arms after them; Meſſieurs *d'Argence* and *du Courre*, and *de Carlus* did the ſame, having already underſtood by the Quartermaſter, that the Enemy was not far from us, and we all hoped, that within three or four hours we ſhould fight. I have been in ſeven or eight Battails beſides this, but never ſaw the Captains and Soldiers both Horſe and Foot ſo chearful as at this time, which I lookt upon as a very good Omen. Now that I might ſtay to give all the Army time to paſs over, and be drawn up in order to fight, I drew all my Horſe along by the ſide of a Hedge, ſending to a Farm hard by for a little hay wherewith to bait them, for every one had brought a few Oats along with him, and to ſay the truth, I never in my life ſaw Monſieur *de Burie* ſo pleaſant as that day, which gave me ſufficiently to underſtand, that all his delays had proceeded more from his apprehenſion of loſing the Province, than from any defect in himſelf; and I dare anſwer for him, that neither treachery nor cowardize ever entred into his heart; for he was an old and a valiant Cavalier, and one that had ever given very brave teſtimonies of his worth and valour; but he was afraid of failing. I ſent Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, and the foremention'd Quartermaſter with thirty Horſe to follow in the Rear of the Enemy: and my ſelf, who might have ſome fifteen Curaſſeers of my own Company, and about thirty Gentlemen (betwixt forty and fifty Horſe in all) marcht in the Rear of them, intreating Monſieur *de Burie* to follow after; and ſo we ſet forwards.

Good omen for the Battel.

Commendation of Monſieur *de Burie*.

Monſieur *de Fontenilles* had not gone above half a league, before in ſome certain Farms upon the way he met with ſome ſtraglers of the Enemies Camp whom he cut to pieces. They had three Corners of Horſe in the Rear of their Army, who ſome of them ſometimes fac'd about upon Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, and now and then the whole Body made a halt. I ſtill follow'd after him, ſending Monſieur *de Burie* continual notice of all that paſt, and ſolliciting him withal to march as faſt as he could, for that I was within ſight of their Army; and ſo I marcht continually in the Enemies Rear, till about two of the clock in the afternoon, about which time there came to me Monſieur *de St. Genies*, the Father of Monſieur *d'Audax*, whom Monſieur *de Burie* had ſent to me to enquire of my news, and to bring me an account of him; by which I found that he was ſtill in the Plain of *Vezere*, where I had left the Army in Battalia, and he told me ſo many ſtories, that my joy was ſoon turn'd into vexation. I entreated the ſaid Sieur *de St. Genies*, that he would return back to him, and entreat him to come away, which he refuſed to do, being reſolved not to leave me; ſeeing which I took him aſide, where we concluded together to ſpeak to the Captains of Horſe, and tell them plainly what we thought, which perhaps might encline them to come away, and then he return'd, and found them yet in the ſame place, but after he had ſpoken to the Captains, and as a ſecret told Monſieur *de Burie* what had been concluded betwixt him and me, he was then reſolv'd to ſet forwards. And I muſt needs give Monſieur *de St. Genies* this due commendation, that he was the cauſe the Battel was fought.

The Sieur *de St. Genies* cauſe of the Battel.

Thus then Monſieur *de Burie* marcht after me, with an intention to quarter all his Army at *St. Alvare*. About half a quarter of a league above the ſaid *St. Alvare*, there were ten or twelve Houſes that kept entertainment for paſſengers, and chiefly for the trading Merchants, it being a great Road from *Perigueux* to *Bergerac*. So ſoon as I came to theſe houſes, I joyn'd my ſelf with Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, who ſhewed me that the Enemies Camp was taking up their Quarters on the further ſide of a little River in certain little Villages that lay before us; wherefore we were of opinion to bait our horſes, for we found there Hay and Oats, but no people, ſaving ſome fevv poor vvomen, the Peaſants being all fled avvay upon the report of the Enemies approach; and ſo ſoon as our horſes had baited (vvhich they did vvith every man his bridle on his arm) there came a ſervant of Monſieur *d'Alvare*, vvho had been to vvait upon tvvo Nephevvs of the ſaid Sieur, and the younger *Bordet* to their Camp, and told us that the Artillery and the Foot vvere quarter'd at *Ver*, vvhich is a great Bourg, and Monſieur *de Duras* vvith the Cavalry at *St. Andras* vvithin half a league of the place vve vvere, ſhevving us the Villages. We ſavv that there vvere three Corners of Horſe of them, and he told us that on this ſide, cloſe by the River vvere quarter'd the Captains *Salignac*, *Monteaut*, and another vvhoſe name I have forgot, vvho

might

might have with them twenty or five and twenty horſe only; but that the Village where the three Cornets lay was within leſs than two Harquebuz ſhot of the ſaid houſe, and that he had left the ſaid *Salignac* preparing a Supper for young *Monferran*, ſince called *Langoirau*, *Lepuch de Pardaillan*, and five or ſix others, whom he had left hawking in a field hard by, having brought their Hawks along with them. You may judge whether this was a time to hawk in, or no, and whether this was to march like Soldiers, when they had an Enemy ſo near. I then askt the fellow if he would guide me thither, to which having made anſwer that he would, we immediately mounted to horſe. I gave half the Troop to Monſieur *de Montferran* to fall upon the Houſe, and with the reſt went to put my ſelf betwixt the Houſe and the Village where the three Cornets lay: but I would not give Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, who was quarter'd at an odd Houſe at the end of the Village, notice of my deſign, becauſe I intended that the Company ſhould remain all night on horſeback, and ſo we went, and came up to the Houſe ſo little expected, that they never dreamt of an Enemy within two leagues of them. Monſieur *de Montferran* flew ſuddenly into the Court of the Houſe, and at his firſt coming took *Salignac* and *Moncaut*, and forcing a lower room into which ſome of them had retir'd themſelves, kill'd all they found within it. Monſieur *de Cançon* was with me, and Monſieur *de St. Alvare*'s Servant adviſed me to retire, telling me that the three Cornets in the Village were the beſt horſe in the whole Army, it being Monſieur *de Tors* his Troop, who was come with Captain *Bordet*. I took his advice, and we retreated to the place from whence we came, where at my coming I found that Monſieur *de Burie* was paſſed by, and was gone to quarter at *St. Alvare*, the Army going after in file. I ſtaid the five Enſigns that had been with me at *Lectoure*, and the mutinous *Spaniards*, whom I quarter'd promiſcuouſly among our Horſe. Fleſh, Wine, and Cheſnuts we found ſtore, and I got ſome great loaves of courſe brown bread they make in that Country, which I gave to the *Spaniards*; which being done without alighting, I went to wait upon Monſieur *de Burie*, taking Monſieur *de Monferran* only in my Company, who alſo carried Captain *Salignac* his Priſoner along with him. I found him lodg'd in Monſieur *d'Alvare*'s Caſtle, where at my coming into the room I ſaid to him, *Look you Sir, I have taken one who was once in times paſt a great favourite of yours, Captain Salignac.* He then demanded of me where I had taken him; I made anſwer in the Enemies Camp. He thought their Camp had been three leagues off towards the paſſage of the River *de l'Iſle*, and askt me where their Camp was, whereupon I told him it was cloſe by, and that we were quarter'd promiſcuouſly amongſt one another. At which news he ſeem'd to be ſomething amaz'd, when I took occaſion to ſay theſe words to him, *Sir you muſt now juſtifie the old Proverb to be true, That a good horſe will never tire. In like manner you muſt reſolve to fight to morrow morning, and ſend order to all the Gens-d'armes who are not yet alighted, that they muſt bait their horſes with their bridles in their hands, and not a man of them to unarm; for we are come ſo near, that it is not poſſible to avoid fighting:* In ſaying of which I was aware of Monſieur *de St. Alvare*, whom I ſaluted, deſiring him to call in his Servant, whom he had ſent along with his Nephews to conduct them to the Enemies Camp, who ſtood without, which he did, and being come in I entreated him to tell Monſieur *de Burie* where the Enemies Camp lay, which he accordingly did, place by place, and ſo exactly, that their own Quartermaſters could not have given a more perfect account. Whereupon Monſieur *d'Alvare* ſaid, *you are quarter'd within four Harquebuz ſhot of one another, excepting the Infantry which lies at* Ver, *from whence 'tis a league and a half to* St. Andras, *where Monſieur* de Duras *is quarter'd, and whoſe Quarters take up all the ſpace betwixt* St. Andras *and this place. Well*, ſaid Monſieur *de Burie, I ſee we are engag'd to a Battel, and ſeeing it is ſo, we muſt fight it as well as we can.* Whereupon I ſaw joy ſparkle in his eyes, which I was exceeding glad of, and taking him in my arms, ſaid to him theſe words; *Sir, if we muſt die, we cannot honor our deaths more, than by dying in a Battel for the ſervice of our Prince*, to which he made anſwer, and ſaid, *that is the leaſt of my concern, 'tis no matter what becomes of me, but I fear to looſe the Country.* I then entreated him that by break of day, every one might be on horſeback, and that we muſt ſay with the Italian, *Qui aſſalta vince*, and thereupon bad him good night, and retir'd to my own Quarters, leaving him very well reſolv'd to fight.

The Enemy have ill intelligence.

The Battel reſolv'd upon.

All night we remain'd in arms, and our horſes ſadled, their Centinels and ours being ſo near, that they could hear one another talk, and by-break of day we were on horſeback, when I ſent to ſee if Monſieur *de Burie* was ready, and to tell him, that it was his way to paſs by my Quarters. He ſent me word, that as ſoon as ever the Army could be got ready to march, he would immediately come away, and in the mean time I marcht directly to *St. Andras*, where I found that Monſieur *de Duras* was already diſlodg'd, and

gone

gone to *Ver*. I then ſent Monſieur *de Fontenilles* with five and twenty horſe upon the Forlorn, giving him order to halt at the entrance into a little Wood there is under *Ver*, and telling him that I would halt at a little Village four or five Harquebuz ſhots on this ſide, till Monſieur *de Burie* ſhould come up to me. Monſieur *de Duras* this while made no haſte at all, believing that our Camp was yet upon the *Vezere*, and that thoſe who overnight had taken *Salignac* were only ſome Avant-Coureurs of the Army. Monſieur *de Fontenilles* ſent me word, that he had ſent out two Light-horſe to diſcover the Enemy, who had brought word back, that their Camp was drawn up in Battalia in the Meadow of *Ver*. Whereupon I ſent to Monſieur *de Burie* to make haſte, and to haſten away four Field-pieces he brought along with him, which he did, when ſo ſoon as I was advertiſed that he was within half a mile of me, I marcht up to Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, and the three Companies of Gens d'arms, namely that of Monſieur *de Burie*, and thoſe of Meſſieurs *de Randan*, and *de la Vauguyon*, advanced to come up, and joyn with me. But they miſt their way, and went by the Cheſnut Trees directly into the view of *Ver*, thinking that I was already at *Ver*, and never perceiv'd their error, till they were juſt upon the Enemy, having with them alſo a Company of Light-horſe which Captain *Pechié* of *Perigort* commanded. So ſoon as I came to the Wood I commanded Monſieur *de Fontenilles* to advance, which he did, and it was well for us he did ſo, for he came juſt in the nick of a charge that Captain *Bordet* made upon the Companies with a hundred or ſixſcore Horſe, Launceers all; which ſo ſoon as Captain *Pechie*'s Light-horſe ſaw coming upon them, they fac'd about, and fled almoſt into the three Companies. The Charge was ſo rude, that all our three Companies were once diſorder'd, and there Monſieur *d'Argence* bravely ſignaliz'd himſelf, but for whom, as I was told, they had all run away. Monſieur *de Fontenilles* then with only five and twenty Launces that he had with him, charg'd deſperately in amongſt the Enemy, and ſo fortunately, that he made them retire three hundred paces, where they made a halt as ours did alſo. Upon this I came in, ſeeing which the Enemy clos'd up with the other Troops of horſe. There were above twenty Launces broken in this charge, and all the Enemies Camp made a halt. I then took Monſieur *de Montferran* only, and went to diſcover the Enemy at my eaſe, where I ſaw that they began to march with Drums beating, that they had left in a corner of the field on the left hand Harquebuzeers both on foot and on horſeback, and in a little Wood on the right hand Harquebuzeers on foot.

Commendation of Monſieur *d'Argence.*

In the mean time Monſieur *de Burie* arriv'd, where I acquainted him with all I had ſeen, entreating him to cauſe his Field-pieces to advance to the brink of a Ditch, and to ſhoot at thoſe people in the Corner, which approving of my advice, he did; I then ſpoke to Monſieur *du Maſſes* to place himſelf on the right hand by the ſide of a little hill there was there, and placed the King of *Navarre*'s Company, and my own on the left hand towards that Corner, as I alſo did the three Companies of Meſſieurs *de Burie*, *de Randan*, and *de Vauguyon* in the Meadow betwixt them. Monſieur *de Burie* then began to make his Artillery play, and ſo ſoon as we had put our ſelves into this poſture, all our foot came up together, the *Gaſcons* before, and the *Spaniards* after within fourſcore or a hundred paces of one another. I then rid up to the *Spaniards*, where addreſſing my ſelf to *Don Lewis de Carbajac*, and the reſt, I ſpoke to them in *Spaniſh* after the beſt manner I could; for during the time of the War I had learn'd ſomething of their language; and you Gentlemen who have Eſtates to allow your Children a liberal education, take it from me, that it is a very good thing to make them, if poſſible, acquainted with forreign Languages, which will be of great uſe to them, both upon the account of Travel, Eſcapes, and Negotiations, and alſo to gain the hearts of Strangers. I ſpoke to them then after this manner, which I had been hammering in my head the night before, and God has given me a gift, though I am no great Clerk, that I can expreſs my ſelf well enough upon occaſion.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s Speech to the *Spaniards.*

" Remember, Fellows in arms (for ſo I may now call you, ſince we fight together under " the ſame Enſigns) remember the great and noble reputation wherewith your Nation have " at all times ſignaliz'd themſelves throughout the whole world, where they have obtein'd " ſo many famous Victories, as well over the Turks, Moors, and Barbarians, as againſt " thoſe of our own Faith. You have often made us feel the valour of the *Spaniſh* In- " fantry, which throughout the Univerſe are allow'd to have the precedence of all others, " and ſince it has pleaſed God that we, who not above three dayes ago were Enemies, are " now aſſembled to fight under one and the ſame Standard, make it appear, that the opi- " nion we have ever had of your worth and valour is juſtly grounded. Our *French* Foot " will have an eye to your behaviour, they are emulous of your reputation, and have an " ambition to excell you, therefore maintain your antient renown, or you diſhonor the

" *Spaniſh*

" *Spaniſh* Nation for ever. The King your Maſter hearing how bravely you have behav'd " your ſelves, will take it better at your hands, than if you had fought in his own parti- " cular concern, for this is Gods quarrel againſt the Lutherans, who will cut you into a " thouſand pieces if you fall into their hands; a conſideration, that if it have not alone the " power to encourage you to go bravely and cheerfully to the fight, it is not to be expected " that any thing in the world can excite your courages, or enflame your hearts. I fancy " that were I fighting in *Spain*, my arm would be as ſtrong again, and you are (fellow " Soldiers) in *France*, that rejoices at your coming, expects great advantages by your " aſſiſtance, and our being thus far reconciled, begets in us a hope, that theſe two great " Kingdoms will one day be united to juſtle the great Turk out of his Dominions. Go to " then (fellow Soldiers) betake your ſelves to your arms, and were it not that I will not " deprive *Don Lewis* of his due honor, I would put my ſelf in the head of your Battalion, " with a Pike in my hand, to ſee how you will lay about you, but I ſhall not be very " far off, that I may ſee how well you can imitate the actions of your fathers, of which " I my ſelf have been an eye witneſs both in *Italy* and in *Piedmont*, at *Rouſſillion*, and " *Fontarabie*. Methinks I long for to Morrows light, that we may ſend an account to " both our Kings of the brave ſervice you have perform'd againſt an Enemy a hundred " times worſe than the Moors of *Barbary*, having broken down the Croſſes and Altars, " and polluted the Churches of God, built by our pious Anceſtors, Sacriledges, of which " I aſſure my ſelf you will take an honourable and ſevere revenge. *No quieren voueſtras Mercedes nos otros que ſeemos Hermanos, y Compagneros por todas las fouereas noueſtras per hoara de Dios y Protection del Rey Chriſtianiſſimo Hermano de l' Rey Catholico*, which when I had ſaid, Don *Lewis* making anſwer for them all, ſaid to me theſe words. *Crea voueſtra merced que nos avemos bien apelear del primero aſta el poſtero, y quanto averemo una gotta di Sangre nellos cuerpos. Nos tarda il Tiempo que non veniamos a las manos contra los Hereges.*

As Don *Lewis* had made an end of ſpeaking, I deſired them all as a token of their chearfulneſs to hold up their hands, which they did, after they had firſt kiſs'd the ground: after which I return'd to the *Gaſcons*, bidding Captain *Charry* remount to horſe, and go bring all the Harquebuzeers on horſeback on my left hand, that they might be ready to alight when I ſhould command them, which he accordingly did. I then made a ſpeech to the *Gaſcons*, wherein I told them, " that there had been a long diſpute betwixt the *Spani-* " *ards* and the *Gaſcons*, and that they were now to end the Controverſie, that above fifty " years agoe had been begun; which was, that the *Spaniards* pretended to be ſtouter " than the *Gaſcons*, and the *Gaſcons* on the contrary to be braver than they; and that ſince " God had done us the grace to bring us upon this occaſion to fight a Battel under the " ſame Standard, the difference was to be determinately decided, and the honor made " clearly our own. I am a *Gaſcon*, ſaid I, but I will henceforth renounce my Country, " and never own my ſelf to be a *Gaſcon* more, if this day you do not by bravely fighting " win the Prize, and gain the proceſs of your adverſaries, and you ſhall ſee I will be a " good Advocate in this cauſe. They are Swaſh-bucklers, and think no people under " the Sun ſo brave as they; therefore (fellow Soldiers) let them ſee what you can do, " where they give one blow, give you four. You have more reaſon to fight than they; " for you fight for your Prince, for your Altars, your Fires, your Wives and Children; " and if you be overcome, beſides the ſhame that attends your defeat, your Country is " loſt for ever, and which is worſe your Religion. I aſſure my ſelf I ſhall not be put to " the trouble of thruſting my Sword into the reins of ſuch as ſhall ſhew their backs to the " Enemy, and that you will every one do your devoir. Theſe people are no other than " a Crew of baffel'd Raſcals, gather'd ſeditiouſly together, people inur'd to be beaten, " and that already fancie the Hangman at their heels, ſo highly do their own conſciences " accuſe them. It is not ſo with you, who fight for the honor of God, the ſervice of your " Prince, and the conſervation of your Country; therefore fight like men, and hold up " your hands in token of your chearfulneſs, and conſent; which they all did, and began to cry with one voice, *Let us go, and we will never ſtop till we come to grapple with them with the Sword*, and thereupon kiſs'd the earth. The *Spaniards* then drew up to our men, and I commanded both the one and the other to move but a foot pace only, that they might not put themſelves out of breath; which order being given, I gallopt up to the Gens-d'arms, entreating them to move gently forward, and ſaying to them, *It is not to you (Gentlemen) that fine ſpeeches are neceſſary to enflame your breaſts, I know you ſtand in no need of ſuch encouragements; there is not a Gentry in* France *equal to ours in* Gaſcony, *to ums then Gentlemen, to ums, and you ſhall ſee how I will ſecond you.*

The Sieur de Montluc's Speech to the Gaſcons.

Monſieur

The Order of the Battel.

Monſieur *de Burie* then mounted upon a great horſe, having put on his arms behind the Artillery; where I told him, that if he would pleaſe to march at the head of the Foot with the Artillery, the three Companies of Gens-d'armes ſhould flank him, and he ſhould make the main Battail, which he inſtantly conſented to, and in truth I never ſaw him ſo brisk, nor more full of noble reſolution to fight than at that time. Neither did he contradict me in any thing whatever, as if I had been in his place, and I was told that he ſhould ſay, *this man is fortunate, let him do what he will.* So ſoon as the whole Army began to move in this order, I gallopt away, Monſieur *de Monferran*, and the Sieur *de Cajelles* (who is of the Family of *Mongairel*, and now Knight of the Order) along with me, and ſtaid not till I came within thirty or fourty paces of five or ſix horſe who were under a Tree. The Sieur *de Puch de Pordaillan* has ſince told me, that theſe were Monſieur *de Duras*, *de Bordet*, and himſelf, Captain *Peyralongue* and another, whoſe name I do not remember. The ſaid Captain *Peyralongue* was their Camp-maſter of Foot, and in the Charge that Captain *Bordet* had made, they had taken an Archer of Monſieur *de Randan's* Company, whom they led priſoner near unto this Tree, and there gave him two Piſtol ſhot in cold blood, and being not yet dead, demanded of him, who was in our Camp, and who commanded in chief. To which he he return'd them anſwer, *that I was come to the Army, and that I commanded*, Monſieur de Burie *having referr'd all things to my conduct*, which he ſaid, as knowing very well that news would ſtartle them. Captain *Peyralongue* then went to Monſieur *de Duras*, who was under the forementioned Tree, about ſome ten paces from the Archer, who himſelf came to him, and again demanded of him if I was in the Camp, to which he anſwered, *that I was, and was come thither the night before, having taken Lectoure*, at which they were baſely down in the mouth. They thereupon return'd roundly to their men, who were marching a foot pace only, and were not yet got clear of the Meadow, where I perceived that upon their coming the Foot began to double their pace, and ſaid to Monſieur *de Monferran, do you ſee theſe five horſe that were under the Tree, they are run to make their people mend their pace, do you not ſee what long ſtrides they take?* which having ſaid, I turn'd upon the ſpur to the Troop where Monſieur *d'Argence* was, and ſaid to him theſe words: *O Monſieur* d'Argence *(my Camrade) ſee, ſee the Enemy are in fear, upon my life the day's our own*, and cried out aloud, *O Gentlemen, let us think of nothing but killing, for the Enemy is afraid, and will never this day make head againſt us. Let us only go boldly to the fight, they are our own. I have a hundred times had experience of the ſame, they are only endeavouring to ſteal off the Field.* I then embraced the Captains, and return'd to Captain *Maſſes*, and ſaid as much to him, after which I return'd to Captain *Arne*, and the Gentlemen who rid under my own Corner, being come along with my Company, and we began to march at a falſe trot. I then galloped towards the Enemy, being my ſelf very hot, and my horſe all of a foam, having only Monſieur *de Monferran* with me: when being come very near them, I obſerv'd their countenance, and ſaw their deſign was to make all the haſte they could to recover a little hill that was hard by; and on the other ſide our own men coming on in great fury: I obſerv'd alſo their Cornets of horſe, and ſaw one marching, and another facing about. I took notice likewiſe of three or four Horſe amongſt the Foot, and perceiv'd by their geſture, that they were haſting their people forward, and thereupon turn'd back to our own Horſe, crying out to them, *they are afraid, they are afraid, let us take them at their word, Camrades, let us take them at their word, that they fly not back. Theſe are Poltrons, they tremble at the very ſight of us.* I then ſent to Monſieur *de Burie* to leave the Artillery, and advance to put himſelf into the Squadron of the three Companies of Gens d'arms, and we began to march at a good round trot towards them. Some there were who call'd out to me to ſtay for the Foot; but I made anſwer, that we muſt not ſuffer them to recover the Mountain, for they would make head againſt us, and fight at their advantage. I evermore remembred *Targon*, where they had made head againſt us upon the Hill, ſo that we were conſtrain'd to charge them againſt the aſcent of the Mountain, where had they come down upon us, we had infallibly been defeated. Our Foot made all the haſte that Foot could poſſibly make, and when the Enemy ſaw they could not recover the Mountain, they rallied a thouſand or twelve hundred old Soldiers they had left in the corner of the field, whom Monſieur *de Burie* had plaid upon with his Artillery, and ſo all their Forces march't ſide by ſide at a good round trot; when ſo ſoon as we came within two hundred paces of one another, I began to cry out, *charge, charge*; which I had no ſooner ſaid, but that we all fell in pell-mell amongſt their Horſe and Foot, except Captain *Maſſes*, who at the ſame time that he ſaw their people overthrown, ſaw alſo another great party of them hard by the Hill, who did not offer to move, and therefore did not charge till he came up to that party, and

The great judgment of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

The Sieur *de Montluc* encourages his people.

The Battel.

then

then flew in furiouſly amongſt them. Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, vvho had rallied ſome few of our men, vvas in this ſecond charge alſo, and there they were all defeated, and their Artillery taken. We purſued the Victory all along the Plain, and thorough the Vineyards, vvhere many of them threw themſelves into a Wood on the left hand, and ſwarm'd up the Cheſnut Trees, vvhere the *Spaniſh* and *Gaſcon* Foot ſhot at them as they do at Rooks. It vvas vvell for me that I vvas vvell arm'd, for three pikes had encloſed me amongſt them, and put me to my Trumps, but Captain *Baretnau* the younger, and two others had diſengag'd me, vvhere the ſaid Captain *Baretnau* had his horſe kill'd under him, and mine was hurt in the noſe, and in the head, with two thruſts of Pikes; for my horſe had carried me whether I would or no into their Battalion, and I never knew that he had an ill mouth till then, that it had like to have coſt me my life: the Captains *Arne* and *Bourdillon* were both wounded cloſe by me. My being thus engag'd was the reaſon that I could not rally with the Cavalry, for they vvere following the Chace on the left hand; and I vvith fifteen or twenty horſe that vvere rallied purſued the Victory on the right hand towards a little Village, vvhere thirty or forty vvere ſlain. I there made a little halt to take breath, after vvhich I returned to the Artillery vve had taken, vvhere I found Monſieur *de Burie*, and vvhere vve ſtaid the return of our people, vvho vvere yet purſuing the Chace, and rallied our men. We found that ſome of ours had followed the purſuit for above two long leagues from the Field of Battel, and about two a clock in the afternoon return'd to quarter at *Ver*, from whence vve ſent Oxen to fetch in the Artillerie vve had taken, and all the next day continued there.

The Sieur *de Montluc* engag'd.

The Runawayes faild but a very little of meeting vvith Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, vvho vvent to put himſelf into *Muſſidan*, thinking to joyn vvith us, which had it pleaſed God that it had ſo fall'n out the buſineſs had been done, though he had but very few Forces vvith him; for men that fly ſeldom or never face about, and are ſo afraid of every thing, that they take Buſhes for Squadrons. Thoſe vvho eſcaped of their Foot (vvhich vvere very few) rallied to their horſe, and marcht all the reſt of the day, and the night following towards *Xaintonge* to carry the good news to their Brethren. Of three and twenty Enſigns that they had we took nineteen, and of thirteen Cornets of Horſe, five, all which we ſent to Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, by that Complement acknowledging him for our Chief. The Country people kill'd more than we, for in the night they ſtole away to retire themſelves into their houſes, and ſome hid themſelves in the Woods, but ſo ſoon as ever they were diſcover'd, both men and women fell upon them, ſo that they could find no place of ſafety. There was numbred upon the Plain, and in the Vineyards above two thouſand ſlain, beſides thoſe who were diſpatch't by the Boors.

Nineteen Enſigns taken, and five Cornets.

Number of the dead.

After this Victory we marcht ſtraight to *Muſſidan*: Monſieur *de Burie* went before to attend Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, and we left all the Army at *Grignoux* in two or three great Villages there are betwixt *Mauriac* and *Muſſidan*, where after I had ſeen them ſettled in their Quarters, I alſo went to pay my duty to him at *Muſſidan*, where I was as well receiv'd as I ſhall ever be in any Company what ever ſo long as I live, and do think that Monſieur *de Montpenſier* took me above ten times in his arms, making me ſtay above four hours with him. He was a good Prince a truly honeſt man, and very zealous for the Catholick Religion. He was of opinion that I ſhould return into *Guienne*, which was alſo the Judgment of all the forementioned Seigneurs who were with him, and indeed in the King of *Navarre*'s Company and mine there were not thirty Horſe that were not wounded; and was reſolv'd to take along with him Monſieur *de Burie*, the three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and that of the Mareſchal *de Termes*, together with the three *Spaniſh* Companies to go and joyn with the other ten led by Don *Juan de Carbajac*, who was that day to be at *Bergerac*. This was the ſucceſs of the Battel of *Ver*, and becauſe ſome perhaps may ſay that I commend my ſelf as the ſole cauſe that the Battel was fought, and attribute to my own courage, and conduct the entire glory of the victory: Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, and Meſſieurs *de Chevigny*, and *de Vaiguyon* are yet living, who if they pleaſe can bear witneſs, what they heard the whole Army ſay, and particularly the very Servants of Monſieur *de Burie*, which Sieur *de Burie* himſelf did not deny, but that he refer'd the whole management of that buſineſs to my conduct: for he was old, and not ſo active as I to command, and to run up and down from one to another as I did, being at the end of the Battel as wet as if I had been plung'd into the River. Neither is the ſaid Sieur *de Burie* to be reprehended, for he came in good time, and though he did not meddle himſelf, yet the Battallion he brought along with him ſtrook a terror into the Enemy, which made us have a better match. If this Body of Hugonots could have joyn'd with the Prince of *Conde* they had mated the King's Army, as may well be ſuppos'd, when without them he was very near winning the Battel of *Dreux*: and beſides, had it

The Sieurs *de Burie*, and *de Montluc* with Monſieur *de Montpenſier*.

Importance of the Battel of *Ver*.

not been for this Battel the *Spaniards* would never have dar'd to have entred into *France*, neither could Monſieur *de Montpenſier* himſelf have been there, but had been ſent to defend and relieve *Guienne*, whereas by means of this victory he carried all the Forces of *Guienne* and *Xaintonge*, which conſiſted of four Companies of Gens-d'armes, and ſix, what of his own, and what of *Xaintonge*, and Monſieur *de Sanſac* with his three and twenty Enſigns of *Gaſcons* and *Spaniards*, which were no contemptible ſuccours that he carried to the King, of which a good part alſo were at the winning of the Battel, and I have been told, that all thoſe who went from that ſide behav'd themſelves admirably well at the Battel of *Dreux* (and indeed there are no Soldiers in the Kingdom that ſurpaſs the *Gaſcons*, if they be well commanded) eſpecially the ten Enſigns of Captain *Charry*, whom the King ſince honor'd ſo far, as to take them into his own Guards, and keeps them to this day, that Monſieur *de Strozzy* has the command of them after the execrable murther murther of Captain *Charry* moſt viley aſſaſſinated at *Paris*. And although a man ſhould not commend himſelf, I ſhall not nevertheleſs forbear to deliver the truth, and to give it under my hand, that I did at that time as great ſervice for the King my Lord and Maſter, as ever Gentleman did, and in a time of extreme need, and the greateſt neceſſity of his affairs. And if the Queen pleaſe to lay her hand upon her heart, I am confident ſhe will confeſs the ſame; ſhe better knew than any other the condition affairs were in, and how much I traverſt and prevented the intelligences the Prince of *Condé* had in *Guienne*, of which he counted himſelf cock ſure.

The Succours of *Guienne* ſent to the King.

You Lords then and Companions of mine, who ſhall read my Book, take example by the great diligence and ſudden execution I perform'd after the taking of *Lectoure*, and do not (you who are Lieutenants of Provinces) I beſiech you depend upon the reports others may make you of the diſcovery of an Enemy, at leaſt if you be able to do it your ſelves: for you your ſelves ought to ſee and obſerve their order, countenance, and motion; and in ſo doing ſhall ever be better able to command, than upon the report of another. Your own eyes will better diſcern what is neceſſary to be done, than any other whoever you can ſend to perform that ſervice, you may take an old Captain or two along with you; but above all things have a care of taking an old Captain out of any particular affection you have to him, in company with you when you go to diſcover; for it is to be fear'd, that that affection of yours may make you take ſome ſwaggering inſignificant Coxcomb, inſtead of a good Soldier, who ſo ſoon as he ſhall diſcover the Enemy, will find a falſe friend about his heart, which will be the cauſe, that out of the opinion you have of his judgment and valour, and the friendſhip you have for him, he will make you commit ſo great an error, and loſe ſuch an opportunity as perhaps you ſhall never again retrieve: but alwayes take ſome old Captain, who in all places whereever he has been, ſhall not only have fought but have been moreover the occaſion of fighting; and although he may have been ſometimes, unfortunate, and beaten, provided it was not thorough default of courage or underſtanding, do not forbear out of that conſideration to take him about you. For all the world are not ſo fortunate as *Montluc*, who was never defeated. Rather take ſuch a one, than one who has never either wonne or loſt, and that has never ſerv'd in an Army otherwiſe than as a looker on. I do not ſay this without experience, I have learnt theſe Leſſons under the late Monſieur *de Lautrec*, who was a brave commander, and if he was unfortunate, it was rather thorough the defect of his Councel, than thorough want of courage, or good conduct, for he had as much of both thoſe qualities, as any Lord Lieutenant I ever ſerv'd under. I continued my Apprentiſhip under *Meſſieurs les Mareſchaux de Strozzy*, and *de Briſſac*, and others. I have ſeen errors enow committed by the King's Lieutenants upon the reports have been made them by thoſe they have ſent out to diſcover, and will moreover be bold to ſay, that when a General has himſelf ſeen and diſcover'd the Enemy, he is more confident, and commands with greater boldneſs; and if before he was in ſome apprehenſion (as no man living is without fear, when he ſees his Enemy make head againſt him) he will reaſſure himſelf, and forget his apprehenſion. How many times did Monſieur *d'Anguien* curſe and revile himſelf upon Eaſter day at night, before the Battel of *Seriſolles*, that he had not truſted to his own opinion, and that of the reſt who were for fighting, when he ſaw the Enemy face to face, and had not his Army with him? Aſſure your ſelves (Lords Lieutenants) I do not write this without great reaſon on my ſide; but you will ſay, that this were to put the perſon of the Chief in hazard, though it may be done without any ſuch apparent danger. Let ſuch as are afraid of danger lie abed, go to diſcover in your own perſon, no one can be a better judge than your ſelf, who will eaſily diſcern if you have never ſo little experience, by your Enemies countenance and motion, if he be timerous or reſolute. And pardon me if I be conſtrain'd to write my own praiſes, for ſeeing I am to write my own Life, you ſhall have the truth, neither

The qualities of Monſieur *de Lautrec*.

A General ought to diſcover an Enemy in his own perſon.

neither would I have ſcrupled, had I been beaten, to have confeſſed it. If I lye in any thing I have ſaid, there are a thouſand Gentlemen that are able to diſprove me.

But to return to my Subject, and to make an end of this War, Monſieur *de Montpenſier* went with all his Forces to ſtay for the *Spaniards* at *Barbezieux*, where he met with intelligence from Monſieur *de Sanſac*, that Monſieur *de Duras* was retir'd, and Monſieur *de la Rochfoucaut*, and that they made a ſhew as if they intended to turn towards him. I was come to *Bergerac*, to which place Monſieur *de Montpenſier* diſpatcht away to me two Courriers, one in the heels of another, intreating me with all poſſible ſpeed to return back to him, for that Meſſieurs *de Duras*, and *de la Rouchefoucaut* were rallied together, and as he was enform'd, were turning towards him. As God ſhall help me, amongſt all the Gentlemen, both of the King of *Navarre*'s Company and my own, I could not find thirty Horſe that could go a ſtep without great pain, however two hours within night I ſet out, and except to eat a bit or two by the way, never reſted till I came within two leagues of *Barbezieux*; in which march I twice met parties of the Enemy by the way, of thoſe who were eſcap'd from the Battel, whom I cut to pieces, and about one of the clock in the night took up my Quarters at *St. Private*; my Brother Monſieur *de Lieux* was with me, who could not come time enough to the Battel, and we were at Monſieur *de Montpenſiers* riſing, who took the good haſte I had made to come to him very kindly at my hands: and there I found Monſieur *de Sanſac*, who told me that the Enemy in a day and a night had marcht eighteen or twenty Leagues. There being then nothing to do, Monſieur *de Montpenſier* diſmiſt me, and I return'd to lie at *St. Privat* near unto *Auberterre*, and the next day to *Bergerac*, where at my return I found *Don Juan de Carbajac* with the ten *Spaniſh* Companies, who ſtaid one day there, and the next morning marcht away. Thus I return'd and diſmiſt every one to his own houſe, there being nothing that ſtirr'd in all *Guienne*, nor a man that dar'd to own he had ever been of that Religion, every one going to Maſs, and to the Proceſſions, and aſſiſting at Divine Service, and the Miniſters who had been the Trumpets of this Sedition were all vaniſht and gone, for they knew very well that in what corner ſoever they could lie, I ſhould trap them, and then they knew what would follow. *Guyenne* free.

Being come to *Agen* I there heard that Monſieur *de Terride* was gone to engage himſelf before *Montauban*, with the Artillery of *Tholouze*, and the two Companies of *Bazordan*, that I had left to guard the Country, and ſeven or eight more that thoſe of the City had ſet on foot, which Siege he had undertaken immediately upon the news of the Battel being won: and after I had been eight daies there the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, who at that time commanded *Tholouze*, ſent to entreat me, with whom the Court of Parliament alſo joyn'd in the requeſt, that I would go to *Montauban*, they conceiving that matters there went very ſlowly on, which put them out of all hope of any good account of that Enterprize. I immediately then departed, and took the way directly to *Tholouze*, where I recieved a Letter from a friend of mine, wherein he writ me word, that Monſieur *de Terride* had ſent a Letter to the Cardinal, another to the Court, and another to the Capitouls, wherein he writ, that he had heard they had ſent for me to command at the Siege of *Montauban*, complaining that they did him great and manifeſt wrong, and invaded his honor; for by that means after he had beaten the Buſh another muſt come and take the Hare. Theſe were the contents of his Letters, which were brought by Captain *Bidonnet*. Being then at *Tholouze*, I was preſſ'd to go to the Leaguer; but I made anſwer to the Cardinal and the reſt, that I would not do my friend that wrong, eſpecially ſince it appear'd by his Letters, that he made himſelf ſure of the place; when ſeeing they could not prevail with me, to take upon me the command of the Siege, they entreated me at leaſt to go thither, to ſee how matters went, which I did. The Sieur *de Terride* before *Montauban*.

At my coming thither Monſieur *de Terride* ſhewed me all he had done, by which I found that in twelve dayes he had lain before it he had not done two dayes work, and ſaw the beginning had not been very good, which made me doubt the end would be worſe: for I found that he had quitted the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, which is upon the way from *Cauſſade*, by which they carried out, and brought into the Town whatever they would. He had indeed been neceſſitated to do it, becauſe the Soldiers had forſaken him after the death of Captain *Bazordan*, who had been there ſlain, and ſerv'd him in the quality of Camp-maſter, which had it not ſo fallen out, it was my opinion, and ſeveral others were of the ſame, that matters would have gone much better; for he was an underſtanding man, and a good Soldier. Neither is it to be wondred at, if Monſieur *de Terride* was not very perfect in the beſieging of places; for I will maintain that no man underſtands a Siege but a Maſter of the Ordnance (who has alſo been long in that employment) the Commiſſaries of the Artillery, an Engineer, the Camp-maſter, and the Colonel, if they Captain *Bazordan* ſlain before *Montauban*.

be old Soldiers, who in theſe commands (if they have been long in them) muſt neceſſarily have ſeen much of that kind of ſervice. All the reſt underſtand nothing of it, nor the General himſelf, if he have not learnt by being very much with them, but having us'd to go with them, when they have gone to diſcover places, learns to know what belongs to a Siege, but otherwiſe not : for the Captains of *Gens d'armes* never go to diſcover ; nor to the approaches, it being their buſineſs to be in a readineſs to fight, and to watch that no kind of relief enter into the place. How then ſhould they be expert in Sieges, conſidering that they have never aſſiſted at diſcoveries, nor heard the debates that old Soldiers enter into with one another upon that Subject ; for there they argue upon what they themſelves have diſcover'd, and in ſight of the ſtrengths and defects of the place. 'Tis a thing of all others in War of the greateſt difficulty and importance, and by which many who are otherwiſe great Captains are put to a ſtand ; and it requires a long practice to underſtand fortification, to obſerve and know the defects of a Baſtion, a Spur, a Flanker, and to gueſs what may be within it, by what you your ſelves would do if you were in the place. Monſieur *de Terride* was a good Horſe Officer, and very proper for fighting, but not for beleaguering of places, no more than ſeveral others, who have never had other command than thoſe he had been trained up in ; although [illegible] his Quarters every one will be giving his vote, and ſpending his judgment upon a [illegible] or over a ſheet of Paper. It is indeed good to ſee the Map, but that very often deceives. I could wiſh, that when any one, who has never been employed in any of the forementioned Commands, nor ever follow'd the Kings Lieutenant when he went to view a place, nor heard the diſpute of the above named Officers upon their ſaid diſcovery will be prating, and offering to put in their Verdict : the Kings Lieutenant would bid him, firſt go hazard himſelf through the Enemies ſhot at the diſcovery, and then deliver his advice. 'Tis alwayes the ticklieſt place, foraſmuch as if the beſieged be men of any metal, they will hinder as much as in them lies, the aſſailant from diſcovering their Fort : and as much as they poſſibly can will diſpute all they have without, as much as to a hut, for if they ſuffer them to make their approaches at firſt, they either diſcover themſelves to be weak, or that they are no Soldiers.

I left then this hopeful Siege, and return'd to *Agen*, having told Monſieur *de Terride* my opinion, that he would have no better ſucceſs, than what I had prophecied to him. A few dayes after the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, and Monſieur *de Novailles* Governor of the City, ſent to entreat me that I would come to *Bourdeaux*, to help to pacifie a Tumult was riſin in the City, which I accordingly did, and there ſtaid ſome dayes ; after which I returned again to *Agen*, that I might be in the heart of the Country, to which all the Gentry ordinarily repair. And there it is that the Lieutenant of a Province ought to reſide, and not at *Bourdeaux*, although that be the Capital City, it being too farre off. And moreover there is a Court of Parliament, that will have a hand in every thing, and the Gentry cannot go thither without great expence, and beſides there is alwayes ſomething or other amiſs, and ſome one or another queſtion'd, which frights the Gentlemen from going thither.

The Sieur de Montluc at Bourdeaux.

Not long after the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, Court of Parliament of *Tholouze*, and the Capitouls of the ſame, ſent to entreat me to come thither about ſome affairs of importance they could not commit to writing, which I did, they needed not to ſummon me twice, and when I came there they called a Council wherein were aſſiſting Meſſieurs de Cardinals of *Armagnac*, and *de Strozzy*, Monſieur *le primier Preſident d'Aſſis*, the Seigneurs *de Terride*, *de Negrepelice*, *Fourquevaux*, *du Faut* the Kings Advocat General, and the Capitouls, where they gave me to underſtand that they intended to ſet ſome Forces on foot to go into *Languedoc*, and that they had choſen me for head of the Army : but I excus'd my ſelf, repreſenting to them, that the Conſtable would not take it well, conſidering it was in his Government, and that beſides he had no great kindneſs for me. Now the Battel of *Drux* had already been fought, where, as every one knows, his Majeſties affairs were very foul ſhaken, but the Victory remain'd to the King, thorough the valour and conduct of the Duke of *Guiſe*. Nevertheleſs the ſaid Conſtable was taken priſoner on the one ſide, as the Prince of *Conde* was on the other, and ſo both the Generals were taken, a thing that was never known before ; which ſhews that it was well fought, but being that I was not there it nothing concerns me to ſpeak of that buſineſs. I was ſo importun'd by theſe people, that in the end I was fain to accept the Commiſſion, and we ſet down in writing all things that were neceſſary to be provided for the expedition. Of which the Cardinal *de Strozzy* undertook to cauſe twelve Hundred Canon ſhot, and a proportionable quantity of Powder to be brought from *Marcelles*, and Monſieur *de Fourquevaux* took upon him to ſend ſome alſo from *Narbonne* ; and ſo we began to diſtribute

The deſign of thoſe of Tholouze.

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the foot Commiſſions, concluding within thirty dayes to have all things in a readineſs, together with the money that was to be levied by the City and the Country of *Languedoc*, who were alſo aſſociated in the Deſign.

During theſe tranſactions in a day and a nights time no leſs than three Couriers came to me from *Bourdeaux*, of which the eldeſt Son of the Recorder *Pontac* was the firſt, the Kings Advocat *la Het* (who ſince has been Atturney-General) the ſecond, and a Gentleman belonging to Monſieur *de Novailles* the Third; who all came upon one and the ſame errand, which was to tell me, that if I did not ſuddenly, and with the extremeſt diligence go to relieve the City of *Bourdeaux*, it would infallibly be loſt, through an unhappy difference was fall'n out there betwixt the firſt Preſident *Lagahaſton*, and Monſieur *de Novailles* the Governor: wherefore the Court of Parliament, the Jurats, and the ſaid Monſieur *de Novailles*, all of them entreated me to make haſte, or otherwiſe I would come too late, for Monſieur *de Novailles* had already ſent for all the Train'd-Bands to bring them into the City by the Caſtle of *Ha*, that was in his poſſeſſion, and ſome of thoſe of the Town poſſeſt themſelves of the Gates, for part of the City ſided with Monſieur *de Novailles*. I had much ado to prevail with theſe Gentlemen to let me go thither, till I was fain to promiſe them upon my honor within fifteen dayes to return to *Tholouze*, deſiring them in the mean time to haſten their Levies and Preparations, that I might find all things ready at my return; and ſo I put my ſelf upon my way, for I was never a man of delays; and being I had a great number of Gentlemen with me, I could not go by water, but was conſtrain'd to make my journey by land, by reaſon of the armes and great Horſes we had, ſo that we were three dayes in going to *Agen*. I had diſpatcht away *Pontac*, and Monſieur *de Novailles* his Gentleman, to aſſure thoſe of *Bourdeaux* of my coming: but Monſieur *de Het* would not go away till he firſt ſaw me on horſeback, and afterwards rid ſo hard, that he fell ſick, and had like to have died. Their arrival held every one in ſuſpence, both on the one ſide and the other. We ſtaid but one night at *Agen*, and went forwards, and in three dayes more I came to *Bourdeaux*, where I found a Patent the King had ſent me, by which he made me his Lieutenant in the one half of the Government of *Guienne* in the abſence of the King of *Navarre*, and the other half to remain to Monſieur *de Burie*, without making nevertheleſs any diſtinction as then, which part ſhould belong to Monſieur *de Burie*, and which to me.

Diviſion at *Bourdeaux*.

They believ'd that at my coming I would preſently have had recourſe to arms, and have kill'd all thoſe of the Preſidents Party, and out of that beliefe many were fled away: but I knew very well that that had been to ruine the City, and that the King would be a great loſer by it; for had I gone that way to work the Earth could not have ſaved the City from being ſacked. I went by *Cadillac*, where Monſieur *de Candalle* did me the honor to bear me company, and we ſhipt our ſelves in his Galion, and other Veſſels, for there was a great number of Gentlemen, and by the way met news, that Monſieur *de Novailles* died that night, having lain only two dayes ſick, which gave occaſion to ſome afterwards to ſay that he died of poiſon, how true it was I know not, but it was great pity, for he was a prudent honeſt Gentleman, and a good Subject.

The death of Monſieur *de Novailles*.

The next morning after my arrival I went to the Palace, and there propounded to the "Court what I had retein'd from the Siege of *Sienna*, and after what manner we ought "to proceed in a great City, either in Warre or in Sedition; telling them that ſhould "we put our hands to blood, the City would be totally deſtroyed, wherein both parties "would ſuffer alike, laying before them the example of *Tholouze*, where had I permitted "thoſe who came from the Mountains, and *Comenge*, to enter the City, it had not been in "the power of man to have preſerv'd it from being ſackt, which would alſo befall them, "if we once proceeded to blood, and gave reins to the peoples fury, eſpecially thoſe from "without, bidding them remember what hapned when Monſieur *de Monens* was ſlain, "that the people took the Authority upon them. That they were therefore to begin with "a good reconciliation and union, without engaging in any diſorders or trouble, after "which they might proceed to puniſh the Delinquents by the way of juſtice. All the Aſſembly approv'd of my advice, and return'd me infinite thanks. At my departure from thence, ſo ſoon as I had din'd I went to the Town Hall, where I had appointed the Jurats and all the Council to meet me, and made them the ſame remonſtrance, where though there were ſome who had a mind to blow the coals, nevertheleſs I laid ſo many exemples and good reaſons before them, that they all altered their reſolution, and about four of the clock I went to the Arch Biſhoprick, where I had aſſign'd all the Clergy to expect me, and there made them alſo a Remonſtrance touching the Eſtate of the Church, as I had done to the other two concerning theirs: ſo that that very day I appeas'd the City, and the next day we fell to conſult of the order was to be obſerv'd, that the paci-

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fication might endure, wherein I ſo beſtirr'd my ſelf, that in three dayes all tumults were converted into peace and perfect union. I will be bold to ſay, and call all the City of *Bourdeaux* to witneſs it, that had I proceeded otherwiſe the City had been deſtroyed; neither ought we to have recourſe to violence, where there is any other way left open, eſpecially conſidering, that it was a diviſion amongſt the Catholicks, or at leaſt thoſe who profeſſed themſelves to be ſuch, for I am not God Almighty to dive into mens hearts.

Oh that the King ought well to conſider to whom he entruſts the Government of a Province, and above all things to make choice of ſuch as have formerly been Governors of places; for if by a long experience he be not intelligent in ſuch employments, the Country or City where ſuch Tumults ſhall ariſe, run a manifeſt danger. I had been Governor of *Montcallier* and *Alba*, and the Kings Lieutenant firſt at *Sienna*, and afterwards at *Montalſin*: Where the various accidents I had had experience of, had taught me to know, and to foreſee the ruine or preſervation of a place; without which experience I do believe I had taken the way of execution, I being in my own nature rather enclin'd to ſcuffle, than to pacifie affairs, and more to fighting and cutting of throats, than to making of ſpeeches: but my diſcretion govern'd me upon this occaſion; neither ought a man to ſuffer himſelf to be hurried away by his own inclination, or tranſported by his paſſion, foraſmuch as his Maſters affairs will ſuffer by it. There were enow in the City that would have been glad to have cut out work enough, in hatred to the chief Preſident, who was never much belov'd amongſt them: but whether he were hated with reaſon, or otherwiſe I referre to others to determine. Monſieur *de Bourdeaux*, who is yet living, knows very well what intelligence a certain perſon brought me as I was walking with him in his Garden.

The Nature of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

I was then ſolicited by all the Court of Parliament, all the Gentry, and the whole City, to accept the Charge the King had conferr'd upon me, which nevertheleſs I would by no means be perſwaded to do, and had ſent away a diſpatch to the King and Queen to return their Majeſties my moſt humble thanks, and to excuſe my ſelf from that employment; for I ſtill fancied to my ſelf that that would happen which has ſince befaln me, and that this Government would bring upon me the envy and hatred which peradventure I might otherwiſe avoid: neither did I ever propheſie any thing of my ſelf that has not come to paſs. Let any one ask Preſident *Lagebaſton*, who made me the Harangue in the Palace, to perſwade me to take the Government upon me, what anſwer I made him there in publick, and what I afterwards ſaid to him in private. There are alſo other Preſidents and Counſellors yet living, who heard my reaſons, and who I am confident can remember if the Predictions I then made of my ſelf be come to paſs. So it was that at that time I did not accept it, nor of two dayes after; not that the King did not herein conferre a greater honor upon me than I deſerv'd; nor that I would not have been glad of ſo good a fortune; but I had evermore a thouſand niceties before my eyes. But the premier Preſident *Lagebaſton*, the other Preſidents his Brethren, and the antient Councellors, came to my lodging, and gave me very many arguments to perſwade me, and on the other ſide Monſieur *de Candalle*, Monſieur *d'Eſcars* (whom I found there) Monſieur *de Lieux* my Brother, Meſſieurs *de Barſac*, *d'Uza*, and all the Gentlemen who were with me, were very preſſing upon me, ſaying that I ought to accept it; and the Jurats, together with the whole Body of the City did the ſame; by which means being left ſingle in my opinion, I was conſtrain'd to paſs the Wicket, like a man that is thruſt into the Gaol; for ſo I may ſay I was forc'd in, and had I been left at liberty, I would have loſt my life, or have perform'd ſome ſervices that ſhould have been acceptable to the King, and from which I would have deriv'd ſome recompence, whereas by the ſervices I have perform'd in my adminiſtration in theſe parts, I have reapt no other advantage than reproaches and diſgrace. And yet I will be bold to ſay that no man under heaven could have behav'd himſelf better than I did, by the teſtimony of all the three Eſtates of *Guienne*, and had I done ſuch ſervices in the life time of either of the late Kings, *Francis*, or *Henry*, there had not been a Gentleman in *France* under the Title of a Prince, who had been higher preferr'd, or in greater eſteem than I had been. But God be praiſed for all; all the recompence I have had is a great Harquebuz ſhot in my face, of which I ſhall never be cur'd ſo long as I live, which makes me eternally curſe the hour that ever I had this Command. Many better men than I would have eſteem'd themſelves honor'd by it, and ſo did I, but being to ſerve a King in his Minority, and in a Country where I foreſaw I ſhould have enough to do, and very little means wherewithal to do it, I conceived it might have been more advantageous to me, to have gone further off from my own Dunghil. And I would ever adviſe any friend of mine rather to accept a remote Command, than one near

Conſiderations of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

near home; for *no man is a Prophet in his own Country.* However for the benefit of my Country I was content to take this great burthen upon me.

The Peace after the firſt Troubles concluded.

Now as I thought to have departed from *Bourdeaux* to go to *Tholouze* after I had appeaſed all things here, the Peace came, which was brought by Captain *Fleurdelis.* He had met with Captain *Montluc* hard by *Muſſidan,* who was carrying twelve Companies of Foot (the fineſt Companies, and the beſt arm'd that ever had been raiſed in *Guienne*) and one Troop of Lighthorſe, to the King; the Sieur *de Langon* was his Lieutenant, and the Sieur *de Montferran* his Enſign. The City of *Bourdeaux* had ſent him two pieces of Canon, and one Culverine, which the ſaid Captain *Fleurdelis* met two leagues from *Muſſidan:* but Captain *Montluc* would not ſtop his March till firſt he heard from me. The Peace being publiſht, every one was of opinion that I ſhould countermand him, which I therefore did, brought back the Artillery, and disbanded all the Foot and Horſe, that the people might no longer be eaten up: ſending in like manner to *Tholouze* to do the ſame: ſo that in eight dayes time every one was retir'd to his own home, I making no queſtion of ſecuring *Guienne* without Gariſon either of Horſe or Foot: which I did, and ſo well, that for the ſpace of five years neither Trooper nor Foot Souldier eat ſo much as a Hen throughout the whole Province upon the account of arms. I had three pieces of Canon at *Agen,* and with threats and bravadoes kept all the world in awe, making every one lay aſide his arms, eſpecially fire arms, ſo that not a man was ſeen to wear any arms, the Gentlemen excepted, who were allow'd their Swords and Stillettoes. And for two Catholick Souldiers that I cauſed to be hang'd for tranſgreſſing the Edict, I ſtroke ſo great a terror into the whole Country, that no one dar'd any more to lay hand to his arms. The Hugonots thinking to eſcape better cheap, and that I would not offer to puniſh them; two other Soldiers of the Religion alſo tranſgreſſed the Edict, whom I likewiſe immediately truſſ'd up to bear company with the others; ſo that the two Religions ſeeing there was no impunity for either of them, and that neither the one nor the other could promiſe to themſelves any aſſurance of me if they ſhould offend, they began to love one another, and to frequent one anothers houſes. Thus did I maintain the Peace for the ſpace of five years betwixt both parties in this Country of *Guienne,* and do believe that if every one would have taken the ſame courſe, without partiality to the one ſide, or the other, and have executed juſtice indifferently upon thoſe who deſerv'd it, we had never ſeen ſo many troubles in this Kingdom. And it was no little thing that I perform'd, for I had to do with as capricious and fanatick head-pieces as any in the whole Kingdom of *France,* or peradventure in all *Europe*; and who governs a *Gaſcon* may aſſure himſelf he has done a Maſterpiece, who as he is naturally warlike, ſo is he proud, mutinous, and inſolent; neverthleſs by playing one while the gentle, and another the auſtere, I ſubjected all to me, without any one ſo much as once daring to lift up his head. In brief the King was acknowledg'd, and his Laws obey'd.

The Nature of the *Gaſcons.*

This was the end of the firſt Civil War, and the firſt troubles in thoſe places where I was, with the account of what I did in them, which is in ſumme, that if God had not inſpir'd me with courage to oppoſe the Hugonots in due time, they would have been ſo eſtabliſht, that it had not been in the power of the King of a long time to have remov'd them: for I am not of the opinion of thoſe, who ſay it had ſignified nothing, and that though they had been canton'd here, one might have ſhut them up: It is a rich and plentiful Country as any in the Kingdom of *France,* abounding in Navigable Rivers, ſtrong Holds, and very good Harbours; how then ſhould ſuch a Country be ſhut up, conſidering that the *Engliſh,* and other forreign Nations may at all times come to it by Sea? The King has ſet but two little value upon it; 'tis well if he do not one day repent it. But provided theſe fine talking Gentlemen, who prate at their eaſe, may have their own arms at liberty, they care not for any body elſe, and when one comes to demand of them aſſiſtance of money (for of every thing elſe we have but too much) they cry, *let them raiſe it upon the Country,* and ſo the Soldier, not being paid, is neceſſitated to plunder, and rob, and the King's Lieutenant to endure it. 'Tis all one ſay they, *a Country ſpoiled is not loſt.* O lewd expreſſion, and unworthy of a Counſellor of the Kings, who has the management of affairs of State! He has not the trouble of it, nor does he bear the reproach; but he who has the charge of the Province, and whom the people load with continual execrations.

Behold then our *Guienne* thus loſt, and recover'd, and ſince maintain'd in peace for the good of the people; and to my particular and great misfortune: for my Son Captain *Montluc* being no more able to live at reſt than his Father, ſeeing himſelf uſeleſs in *France,* as being no Courtier, and knowing of no forreign War wherein to employ his arms, deſign'd an Enterprize by Sea, to go to make his fortune in *Affrick,* and to this end followed

The Deſign of Captain *Montluc.*

by

by a brave number of Gentlemen Volunteers (for he had above three hundred with him) and by a great many of the beſt Officers and Soldiers he could cull out, he embarkt at *Bourdeaux* in a Fleet of ſix Men of War, as well equipt as Veſſels could poſſibly be. I ſhall not inſiſt upon the deſign of this unfortunate Expedition, wherein he loſt his life, being ſlain with a Musket ſhot in the Iſland of *Maderas* going aſhore to water, and where being the Iſlanders would not peaceably permit him to refreſh his Ships, he was conſtrain'd to have recourſe to violence, to their loſs and ruine; but much more to mine, who there loſt my right hand. Had it pleaſed God to have preſerv'd him to me, they had not done me thoſe charitable Offices at Court they have ſince done. In ſhort I loſt him in the flower of his age, and then when I expected he ſhould have been both the prop of mine, and the ſupport of his Country; which has very much miſs't him ſince. I had loſt the brave *Mark Anthony* my eldeſt Son at the Port of *Oſtia*, but this that died at the *Maderas* was of ſuch value, that there is not a Gentleman in *Guienne* who did not judge he would ſurpaſs his Father. But I leave it to thoſe who knew him, to give an account of his valour and prudence. He could not have fail'd of being a good Captain, had God been pleaſed to preſerve him; but he diſpoſes of us all, as ſeems beſt to his own wiſdom. I think this little *Montluc* that he has left me will endeavour to imitate him both in valour and loyalty to his Prince, which all the *Montluc*'s have ever been eminent for, and if he prove not ſuch, I diſclaim him. Every one knows, and the Queen more than any other, that I was never the Author of this unfortunate Voyage; and the Admiral knows very well how much I endeavour'd to break the deſign; not that I had a mind to keep him idle by the fire, but out of the apprehenſion I had it might occaſion a Breach betwixt the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, which though I might perhaps in my own boſom deſire, to remove the War from our own doors, I would alſo have wiſht that ſome other might have been the occaſion of the rupture. My Sons deſign was not to break any Truce with the *Spaniard*; but I ſaw very well that it was impoſſible, but he muſt do it there, either with him or the King of *Portugal*: For to hear theſe people talk, a man would think that the Sea was their own. The Admiral lov'd and eſteem'd this poor Son of mine but too much, having told the King, that never a Prince nor Lord in *France*, upon his own ſingle account, and without his Majeſties aſſiſtance, could in ſo ſhort a time have made ready ſo great an Equipage. And he ſaid true, for he won the hearts of all that knew him, and that were enamour'd of the practice of arms; and I was ſo wiſe as to think that fortune was oblig'd to be as favourable to him as ſhe had been to me. For an old Soldier as I am, I confeſs I committed a great error, that I did not diſcover the deſign to ſome other (conſidering that the Vicount *d'Uza*, and *de Pampadour*, and my young Son were of the party) who might have tried their fortune, and purſued the Enterprize projected; which nevertheleſs I ſhall not here diſcover, becauſe the Queen may peradventure another day again ſet it on foot.

He is ſlain.

Commendation of the *Montlucs*.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE COMMENTARIES OF *Meſsire Blaize de Montluc*, MARESCHAL of FRANCE.

The Sixth Book.

FOr the ſpace of five years *France* enjoyed this tranquility and repoſe with the two Religions that divided the Kingdom; nevertheleſs I ſtill doubted there was ſome Snake lurking in the graſs: though for what concern'd the Province of *Guyenne*, I was in no great apprehenſion; for I had evermore an eye to all things, ſending the Queen notice of every thing I heard, with all the fidelity and care wherewith any man living could give an account of his truſt. The King at this time went a Progreſs to viſit the ſeveral Provinces of his Kingdom, and being come to *Tholouze*, I went to kiſs his Majeſties hand, who gave me a more honorable reception than I deſerv'd. The Hugonots faild not upon this occaſion to make uſe of their wonted artifices and practices, and made me falſe fire under hand, for openly they durſt not do it; but I did not much regard their malice. The Queen did me the honor to tell me all, wherein ſhe manifeſted the confidence ſhe repos'd in me, and I by that very well, that ſhe did not love the Hugonots. One day being in her Chamber with Meſſieurs the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Guiſe*, ſhe repeated to me all her fortune, and the perplexity ſhe had been in. And amongſt other things, that the night news was brought her of the loſs of the Battel of *Dreux* (for ſome brave fellow who had not leiſure to ſtay to ſee what Monſieur *de Guiſe* did after the Conſtable was routed and taken, had given her this falſe Alarm) ſhe was all night in Council with the ſaid Cardinals, to conſult what courſe ſhe ſhould take to ſave the King; where in the end it was reſolv'd, that if in the morning the news ſhould be confirm'd, ſhe ſhould try to retire into *Guienne*, though the Journey was very long, accounting that ſhe ſhould be ſafer there than in any other part of the Kingdom. May God for ever refuſe to aſſiſt me, if hearing this ſad ſtory, the tears did not ſtart into my eyes, ſaying to her theſe very words; *Good God! Madam was your Majeſty reduc'd to that neceſſity?* which ſhe aſſur'd me, and ſwore upon her ſoul, ſhe was, as alſo did both the Cardinals, and to ſpeak the truth had this Battel been loſt, her Majeſty had been in a very deplorable condition, and I do believe there had been an end of *France*; for the whole State and Religion had been turn'd topſie turvy, and with a young King every body does what they will.

The King at *Tholouze.*

The Queens diſcourſe to the Sieur *de Montluc.*

Now their Majeſties having paſſed thorough *Guienne*, found all things in a better poſture than had been repreſented to them: For my good friends the Hugonots had ſpread a report that all was ruin'd and loſt: but their Majeſties found it in a much better condition than *Languedoc*. They ſojourn'd ſome time at *Mont-de Marſan* in expectation of the Queen of *Spains* coming to *Bayonne*; and I will here ſet down a thing that I diſcover'd there, to ſhew that I have ever inviolably kept with the Queen the Promiſe I made her at *Orleans*, after the death of King *Francis*, that I would never depend upon any other than the King and her, as I have never done, and although I have reapt no great advantage

A League ſet on foot in *France*.

by it, yet I had rather the default ſhould be on the other ſide, than that I had fail'd of my word. I heard then ſome whiſper of a League that was forming in *France*, wherein were ſeveral very great perſons, both Princes and others, whom nevertheleſs I have nothing to do to name, being engag'd by promiſe to the contrary. I cannot certainly ſay to what end this League was contriv'd: but a certain Gentleman named them to me every one, endeavouring at the ſame time to perſwade me to make one in the Aſſociation, aſſuring me it was to a good end: but he perceiv'd by my countenance, that it was not a diſh for my pallate. I preſently gave the Queen private intimation of it; for I could not endure ſuch kind of doings, who ſeem'd to be very much aſtoniſht at it, telling me it was the firſt ſyllable ſhe had ever heard of any ſuch thing; and commanding me to enquire further into the buſineſs, which I did, but could get nothing more out of my Gentleman; for he now lay upon his Guard.

The Sieur *de Monluc's* advice to the Queen.

Her Majeſty then was pleaſed to ask my advice, how ſhe ſhould behave her ſelf in this buſineſs, whereupon I gave her counſel to order it ſo, that the King himſelf ſhould ſay in publick, that he had heard of a League that was forming in his Kingdom, which no one could do without giving him ſome jealouſie and offence: and that therefore he muſt require every one without exception to break off this League, and that he would make an aſſociation in his Kingdom, of which he himſelf would be the Head; for ſo for ſome time it was call'd, though they afterwards chang'd the name, and call'd it the Confederation of the King. The Queen at the time that I gave her this advice did by no means approve of it, objecting, that ſhould the King make one, it was to be feared that others would make another; but I made anſwer and ſaid, that the King muſt engage in his own all ſuch as were in any capacity of doing the contrary, which however was a thing that could not be conceal'd, and might well enough be provided againſt. Two dayes after her Majeſty being at Supper called me to her, and told me, that ſhe had conſider'd better of the affair I had ſpoke to her about, and found my counſel to be very good, and that the next day, without further delay, ſhe would make the King propound the buſineſs to his Council; which ſhe accordingly did, and ſent to enquire for me at my lodging, but I was not within. In the Evening ſhe askt me why I did not come to her, and commanded me not to fail to come the next day, becauſe there were ſeveral great difficulties in the Council, of which they had not been able to determine. I came according to her command, and there were ſeveral diſputes. Monſieur *de Nemours* made a very elegant Speech, remonſtrating "That it would be very convenient to make a League and Aſſo-

The advice of Meſſieurs *de Nemours*, and *de Montpenſier*.

"ciation for the good of the King and his Kingdom, to the end, that if affairs ſhould ſo "require, every one with one and the ſame will might repair to his Majeſties perſon, to "ſtake their lives and fortunes for his ſervice, and alſo in caſe any one of what Religion "ſoever, ſhould offer to invade or aſſault them, or raiſe any commotion in the State, that "they might with one accord unite, and expoſe their lives in their common defence. The Duke of *Montpenſier* was of the ſame opinion, and ſeveral others, ſaying, that this could not chooſe but ſo much the more ſecure the peace of the Kingdom when it ſhould be known, that all the Nobility were thus united for the defence of the Crown.

The advice of the Sieur *de Monluc*.

The Queen then did me the honor to command me to ſpeak; whereupon I began, and ſaid, "That the League propoſ'd could be no wayes prejudicial to the King, being that "it tended to a good end for his Majeſties ſervice, the good of his Kingdom, and the "peace and ſecurity of his People; but that one which ſhould be form'd in private could "produce nothing but diſorder and miſchief: for the good could not anſwer for the "evil diſpoſ'd; and ſhould the Cards once be ſhuffled betwixt League and League, it "would be a hard matter to make of it a good game; that being the moſt infallible way "to open a door to let Strangers into the Kingdom, and to expoſe all things to ſpoil and "ruine; but that all of us in general, both Princes and others, ought to make an Aſſo-"ciation, which ſhould bear the Title of the League, or the Confederation of the King, "and to take a great and ſolemn Oath, not to decline or ſwerve from it upon penalty of be-"ing declar'd ſuch as the Oath ſhould import: and that his Majeſty having ſo concluded, "ought to diſpatch Meſſengers to all parts of the Kingdom, with Commiſſion to take the "Oathes of ſuch as were not there preſent, by which means it would be known, who were "willing to live and die in the ſervice of the King and State. And ſhould any one be "ſo fooliſh or impudent, as to offer to take arms, let us all Sir ſwear to fall upon them; "I warrant your Majeſty I will take ſuch order in theſe parts, that nothing ſhall ſtirre to "the prejudice of your royal Authority. And in like manner let us engage by the faith "we owe to God, that if any Counter-League ſhall diſcloſe it ſelf, we will give your Ma-"jeſty immediate notice of it: and let your Majeſtie's be ſubſcrib'd by all the great men "of your Kingdom. The Feaſt will not be right without them, and they alſo are eaſie

"to

"to be perſwaded to it, and the fitteſt to provide againſt any inconveniency may "happen.

This was my Propoſition, upon which ſeveral diſputes enſued; but in the end the King's Aſſociation was concluded on, and it was agreed, that all the Princes, great Lords, Governors of Provinces, and Captains of Gens d'arms ſhould renounce all Leagues and Confederacies whatſoever, as well without as within the Kingdom, excepting that of the King, and ſhould take the Oath upon pain of being declar'd Rebels to the Crown; to which there were alſo other obligations added, which I do not remember. There aroſe ſeveral difficulties about couching the Articles, ſome ſaying they were to be couch'd after one manner, and others after another; for in theſe great, as well as in our inferior Councils there is black and white, and obſtinacy and diſſimulation, and ſome perhaps there were, who though they ſet a good face on the matter, were elſewhere engag'd. So goes the World. O 'tis a miſerable thing when a Kingdom falls to a King in minority, had he then had the knowledge that he has had ſince, I do believe he would have made ſome people ſpeak good *French*. In the end all was paſt and concluded, and the Princes began to take the Oath, and to ſign the Articles, where though I was but a poor Gentleman, the King would alſo that I ſhould ſign with them, by reaſon of the charge I had under him, and it was alſo ſent to the Conſtable at *Bayonne*, who ſign'd it there. On the other ſide they ſent to the Prince of *Condé*, to the Admiral, Monſieur *d'Andelot*, and other Lords and Governors of *France*; and at the return of the Meſſengers the King (as I was told) caus'd an Inſtrument to be ingroſt of all, and put amongſt the Records of the Crown. I do believe it cannot be loſt, and that there a man may ſee in black and white ſome people forſworn to ſome purpoſe. I know not who was the beginning of the War *a la St. Michel*; but whoever it was I know he went contrary to his Oath, and that the King, if he ſo pleaſed, might juſtly declare him perjur'd, foraſmuch as he ſtands obliged by his Oath, and his own hand and ſeal are againſt him: neither would he have any wrong done him, becauſe he was conſenting to the conditions. And although there was no fighting work in this affair, I do nevertheleſs conceive, that I did the King and Queen a good piece of ſervice in diſcovering this practice, which had it not been diſcover'd, matters might peradventure have gone worſe than they did.

The King at his return from *Bayonne* took his way towards *Xaintonge*, and *Rochelle*, to which place I attended him, and there he commanded me to return, giving me inſtructions to cauſe the Edicts of Pacification to be inviolably obſerv'd; which I have ever done; neither can it be ſaid that the War began in my Government: and alſo if they had begun with me, they would have had no great match on't, neither could they have taken me unprovided: but their deſign was at the head. The Queen who is yet living may remember what I ſaid to her concerning *Rochelle*; for had this feather been pluckt from the Hugonots wing, and ſecur'd to his Majeſties devotion, as I adviſ'd her it ought to be, *France* had never ſeen thoſe many miſchiefs that have follow'd ſince. But ſhe was ſo timerous and fearful of giving any occaſion of new trouble, that ſhe durſt attempt to alter nothing, and I know very well, that ſhe one night entertein'd me above two hours, talking of nothing but things that had paſt during the life-time of the King her Husband my good Maſter. And yet one, who was none of the leaſt, went and reported that I was contriving ſomething to the prejudice of the Peace. Would to God her Majeſty had taken my advice, *Rochelle* ſhould never have dar'd to have mutter'd.

The timeroufneſs of the Queen Mother

Now as the King was going out of *Brittany*, to take his way to *Blois*, I had intelligence from *Roüergue*, *Quercy*, *Perigord*, *Burdelois*, and *Agenois*, that the Hugonots were ſeen to go up and down with great horſes in ſmall parties, carrying Sumpters along with them, wherein 'twas ſaid they carried their Arms and Piſtols. Three or four times I gave the Queen notice of it, but ſhe would never give credit to my intelligence. In the end I ſent to her *Martineau*, the ſame who at this preſent is * Comptroller of the Wars, who was not very welcome to bring ſuch news, and three dayes after his arrival at Court *Boëry* a Secretary of mine arriv'd alſo with other intelligence from me to the Queen, that they all march't openly day and night, though I think ſhe would hardly have believ'd it, had it not been, that at the ſame time her Majeſty had advertiſements from all the other Governments of the Kingdom, which made the King go in all diligence directly to *Montlus*. I know not to what this tended, nor why they march't up and down in Troops after that manner, but it ought to have been known, and it was a ſign of no good: for without the knowledge of the King, or his Lieutenant, no one ought to have attempted any ſuch thing: and had it not been that I was afraid of being accuſed for breaking the Peace, I would ſoon have ſent them to their own houſes with a vengeance: for I did not ſleep. I went however very well accompanied with a good number of Gentlemen; and

* A kind of Secretary who is to give an account of the charge and expence of the Warre.

my own Company of Gens-d'arms into *Roüergue*, *Quercy*, and all along by the skirts of *Perigord*, to ſee if any one would openly ſtir, and ſent to the King to tell him, that if his Majeſty pleas'd to give me leave to talk with them at their return, I hop'd I ſhould be able to give him a good account of their intention: But the King ſent me a poſitive command not to do it, but let them quietly return every man to his own houſe, and then it was, that I perceiv'd the League of *Mont de Marſan* would not long be obſerv'd. I thought fit to write this paſſage, to the end that every one may ſee how vigilant in my Government I have ever been, ſeeing that I who was the furtheſt off, gave his Majeſtie the firſt intelligence. And now I will begin the War *de la St. Michel*, which were the ſecond Troubles.

The Sieur *de Moutlac* has intelligence amongſt the Hugonots.

Though it has been ſaid, and I know it alſo to be true, that the Hugonots did perfectly hate me, yet was I not ſo negligent in my adminiſtration, but that I had acquir'd ſome friends amongſt them, and even ſome who were of their Conſiſtory. It was not now as in the former troubles, our Cards were ſo ſhuffled, and confuſed, as nothing could be more, and theſe people were not now ſo hot in their Religion, as they had formerly been; many either out of fear, or for good will, came to us, ſo that we began to be ſociable, and to converſe with one another. The fear alſo they were in of me made ſome few my friends, or at leaſt ſeem to be. About two Moneths and a half before *la Sainct Michel*, I had notice by a Gentleman, and another rich man in the Country, who knew nothing of one another, that the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral, had ſent to them all to make themſelves ready, with horſes and arms, as many as had wherewithal to procure them, and that thoſe who had not, ſhould arm themſelves as well as they could; and alſo that they ſhould lay in great ſtore of Corn and other proviſions of Victual at *Montauban*. I judg'd this intelligence to be very probable, foraſmuch as there was not a horſe to be bought for money in the whole Country, and ſome there were who ſent to the Paſſes of *Spain* to furniſh themſelves from thence, and nothing was too dear, young nor old. I therefore diſpatcht away the Sieur *de Luſſan* poſt to the Queen, to give her an account of all theſe things, but her Majeſty would believe nothing, ſending me word that I was not to give credit to ſuch informations, and was only to take care, that the Edicts were duly obſerv'd. In the mean time from day to day I had continual advertiſements, that their practiſe ſtill continued, and that they had a private Aſſembly at *Montauban*, and another at *Tholouze* in the Houſe of *Dacetat*. I again ſent the Queen word of all I had heard; but her Majeſty would never be induc'd to believe any thing, though I ſent three or four Meſſengers one after another. In the end ſhe grew ſo angry at my frequent and reiterated Advertiſements, that ſhe commanded *Araignes Sindic* of *Condommois*, to bid me ſend her no more, for that ſhe knew the contrary of what I ſent her intelligence, and ſaid moreover, it ſeem'd as if I was afraid, and I had word alſo ſent me by others, that they laught and jeer'd at me in the Council, calling me Trompetter and make-war, they might have ſaid more becauſe I did not hear them; but had I been within a Pikes length, I ſhould have made ſome of them ſilent that ſpoke very loud. I except thoſe that ought to be excepted: but theſe Courtiers, who never handle other Iron than a knife and fork, prate at their own pleaſure, and play the Demi-Gods, and keep a clutter, as if nothing could be well but what paſſes through their learned Coxcombs. Nothing of this kind is ſtrange from ſuch people as thoſe; but I could not but wonder that the Queen being a woman of ſo great underſtanding, and knowing what ſhe ſaid to me, ſhould uſe me ſo. There was no remedy; for I was ſo far off I could make no reply.

The Hugonots begin to arm.

About fifteen or twenty dayes before *la Sainct Michel*, I went to dine at a Gentlemans houſe a friend of mine, to which place alſo came one of thoſe who uſed to give me intelligence, who told me, that but two dayes before one of the Admiral's Gentlemen paſſed by *Montauban*, and that he was going poſt from Church to Church, to give them notice to be all in a readineſs to riſe at the time, when another Gentleman from the ſaid Admiral, or the Prince of *Condé* ſhould come to call them out, which at the furtheſt would be within fifteen or twenty dayes. I thereupon entreated him, that if he ſhould be in *Montauban* at the time when the Gentleman ſhould come thither, that he would ſave all the Catholicks that were in it, which he promiſed he would do; and ſo I departed thence and came to *Caſſaigne*, where I met with a Letter from a Gentleman, who was at that time at *Tholouze*, wherein he gave me the ſame advice: but being the Letter was not ſign'd, I would not ſend it to the Queen, doubting ſhe ſhould not believe it. The next day there came to the ſaid *Caſſaigne* the Baron *de Gondrin*, whom we now call Monſieur *de Monteſpan*, who was going poſt to Court to obtein her Majeſties Letters in the behalf of his Father and himſelf, concerning a Suit they had depending in the Parliament of *Tholouze*. I gave credit to thoſe who gave me intelligence, and they were faithful to me; foraſmuch as of three

they

they were, two of them had occaſion to uſe me, in the concern of ſome Eſtates they were in ſuit about, and upon that occaſion it was, that I knew by their complexion they were not ſo zealous in their Religion, but that they had a greater kindneſs for worldly concerns, and would forſake Religion, Miniſters, and all, to gain that for which they were in conteſt. (I believe this Religion is nothing but a meer cheat) and without me they could not do their buſineſs neither was I wanting to aſſiſt them all I could, that I might have continual intelligence from them: for I had ſome intereſt, and was well belov'd in the Parliaments of *Tholouze* and *Bourdeaux*, and by the Kings Officers. They had reaſon to do as they did, and I to requite their kindneſs, foraſmuch as I ever found them very affectionate to the Kings ſervice. "I then intreated the Baron *de Gondrin* to preſent my moſt "humble and obedient ſervice to the Queen, and to deſire her Majeſty to remember, that "ſhe had never been pleaſed to give any credit to the ſeveral advertiſements I had continual-"ly given her upon all occaſions; and to tell her that her own eyes would ſhortly weep for "her unbelief; that her Majeſty had ſent me word ſhe thought I was afraid; and that in "the Kings Council they had been pleaſed to call me Trompetter, and Make-war; but "that I did moſt humbly beſeech her Majeſty to believe, that I had no other apprehenſi-"on for my ſelf, who God be thanked was born without fear, and knew not what be-"longed to any other than what an honeſt man ought to have: But that I was afraid of "the King, and of her, they being threatned with no leſs than death, or impriſonment; "and that therefore ſhe ſhould look to her ſelf for a few dayes, and detein the King from "going ſo often a hunting, and appearing ſo much in publick as he uſed to do; eſpecial-"ly if ſhe had a mind to ſave his life and his Crown. The Baron *de Gondrin* acquitted himſelf faithfully of his Commiſſion, and told me her Majeſty had made anſwer, that ſhe would give ear to no intelligence I ſhould ſend her, and that ſhe better knew the Hugonots intentions than I, and alſo their power how far it could extend; and that they deſir'd nothing but peace. Theſe people purſued their practiſes with great cunning, and a far off, and ſhe was certainly charm'd by ſome of their Agents. The ſaid Sieur *de Monteſpan* made ſo great haſte, that he return'd ten or twelve dayes before *la St. Michel*, and told me what anſwer her Majeſty had given him. It is impoſſible, but that as I have ſaid, ſhe was either gull'd or bewitch'd by ſome one or other ſhe had about her, who did it either out of malice or ignorance: but it was however a moſt ſtrange thing, that ſhe ſhould be ſo deluded, it being a thing ſo notoriouſly publick with us, that ſo much as the very Pages and Footmen knew of the Preparation the Hugonots made to riſe, and before the ſaid Baron *de Gondrin* return'd, I had intelligence, that eight dayes before or eight dayes after *la Sainct Michel*, the Admirals Gentleman was certainly to come. Upon theſe ſlight anſwers of the Queens I had like to have committed a very great error, in laying aſide all ſuſpicion, believing that her Majeſty was better enform'd than I, and that therefore I ought no more to give credit to thoſe who gave me theſe daily advertiſements. Whereupon I made a match with the late Biſhop of *Condom*, and the Sieurs *de Saincterens* and *de Tilladet*, Brothers, to go the Baths at *Barbottan*, as I had been by the Phyſicians appointed to do, for a pain in my hip I got at the taking of *Quiret*, which Monſieur *d'Anmale* I know does very well remember, and that I believe I ſhall carry along with me to my Grave.

The Parliaments of *Bourdeaux* and *Tholouze* affectionate to the Kings ſervice.

We went upon the Saturday from *Caſſaigne* to go lie at Monſieur *de Panias* his houſe, taking two Taſſels of Goſhawks along with us, wherewith to paſs away the time at the Baths: and the very night that we came thither in my firſt ſleep I dreamt a dream, that did more diſcompoſe and weaken me, than if I had four dayes had a continued Fevor, which I will here ſet down, becauſe there are many living to whom I told it, for theſe are no tales made for pleaſure. I dream'd that all the Kingdom of *France* was in Rebellion, and that a ſtranger Prince had ſeiz'd upon it, and had kill'd the King, my Lords his Brothers, and the Queen, and that I was flying night and day on every ſide to eſcape; for me thought I had all the world in ſearch of me to take me: ſometimes I fled to one place, and ſometimes to another, till at length I was ſurpriz'd in a houſe, and carried before the new King, who was walking betwixt two great men in a Church. He was low of ſtature, but groſs, and well knit, and had on his head a ſquare velvet Cap, ſuch a one as they wore in former times. The Archers of his Guard were clad in yellow, red, and black, and me-thought as they led me priſoner thorough the Streets, all the people ran after me crying, *kill the Villain*; one preſented a naked Sword to my throat, and another a Piſtol to my breaſt: thoſe that led me, crying out, *do not kill him; for the King will have him hang'd in his own preſence*. And thus they carried me before the new King, who was walking, as I ſaid before. There was in the Church neither Image nor Altar; and ſo ſoon as I came before him, he ſaid to me in Italian; (a) *Voni que forſante, tu m'ai fatto la guerra*, &

The Sieur *de Montluc* goes to the Baths.

A ſtrange Dream of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

(a) Come hither Rogue, thou haſt made war againſt me, and theſe ſervants of mine, for which I will preſently hang thee.

& a quelli i quali ſuono mei ſervitori, io ti faro apicquar adeſſo, adeſſo. To which I made anſwer in the ſame language, (for me-thought I ſpoke Tuſcan as well as when I was in *Sienna*) (b) *Sacra Maeſta, io ſervito al mio Re, ſi come ſuono obligati fari tutti gli huomini da bene, ſu Maeſta ne deve pigliar queſto a male.* At which, enflamed with fury, he ſaid to the Archers of his Guard, (c) *Andate, andate menate lo adpicar quel forfante, que mi farebbe ancora la guerra.* Whereupon they would have led me away; but I ſtood firm, and ſaid to him, (d) *Io ſupplico ſu Maeſta voler mi ſalvar la vita, poi che il Re mio ſignire é morto enſiemi gli ſignori ſuoi fratelli: Io vi prometto che vi ſerviro con medeſima fidelta con la quale io ſervito il re mentre viveva.* Vpon this the Lords who were walking with him, begg'd of him to ſave my life: upon whoſe interceſſion, looking ſtedfaſtly upon me, he ſaid to me, (e) *Prometti tu queſto del cüore?* or *Sü io ti da la vita per le pregiere di quelli che mi pregano, ſie mi fidele.* Theſe Lords me thought ſpoke *French*, but we two ſpoke *Italian*; whereupon he commanded them to take me a little aſide, and that he would by and by talk to me again. They then ſet me by a Cheſt that ſtood hard by the Church door, and thoſe who were to look to me fell to talking with the Archers of the Guard. As I was there ſtanding by this Cheſt, I began to think of the King, and repented me of the oath of Fidelity I had taken; for that peradventure the King might not be yet dead, and that if I could eſcape away, I would rather wander alone, and on foot, throughout the world to ſeek the King if he were yet alive; and thereupon took a reſolution to run away. Thus reſolv'd I went out of the Church, and being got into the Street began to run, and never thought of my hip, for me-thought I ran faſter than I would, when on a ſudden I heard a cry behind me, *ſtop the villain*; whereupon ſome came out of their houſes to take me, and others ſtood in my way; but ſtill I eſcap'd both from the one, and the other, and recover'd a pair of ſtone ſtairs that went up to the Wall of the Town, where coming to the top, I looke down, and methought the Precipice was ſo great, thet I could hardly ſee to the bottom. They mounted the ſtairs after me, and I had nothing wherewith to defend my ſelf, but three or four ſtones that I threw at them, and had a great mind to make them kill me; for me-thought they would put me to a cruel death; when having nothing left to defend my ſelf withall, I threw my ſelf headlong from the Battlements, and in falling awaked, and found my ſelf all on a water, as if I had come out of a River, my Shirt, the Sheets, the Counterpain all wringing wet, and I fancied that my head was bigger than a Drum. I call'd my *Valet de Chambre*, who preſently made a fire, took off my wet ſhirt, and gave me another. They went alſo to Madam *de Panias*, who commanded another pair of Sheets to be given them, and her ſelf roſe and came into my Chamber, and ſaw the Sheets, Blankets, and Counterpain all wet, and never departed the room till all was dried; which whilſt they were in doing, I told her my dream, and the fright I had been in, which had put me into this ſweat; She remembers it as well as *I*. The Dream *I* dreamt of the death of King *Henry* my good Maſter, and this put me into a greater weakneſs than if *I* had had a continued Fever for a whole week together. The Phyſitians told me that it was nothing but force of imagination, my mind being wholly taken up with theſe thoughts: And *I* do believe it was ſo; for *I* have fancied my ſelf in the night fighting with the Enemy, dreaming of the miſhaps, and the ſucceſſes alſo *I* afterwards ſaw come to paſs. *I* have had that misfortune all my life, that ſleeping and waking *I* have never been at reſt, and was alwayes ſure when *I* had any thing working in my head that *I* was to do, not to fail to dream all that night; which is very troubleſome.

The next day being Sunday they would needs have had me away to the Baths; but *I* would never be perſwaded to go; for it ſtill ran in my mind, that ſome diſaſter would befall the King, ever remembring my dream about King *Henry*; ſo that for all they could ſay upon Monday we return'd. Upon Thurſday came a Conſul from *Lectoure*, who told me that Monſieur *de Fonterailles*, Seneſchal of *Armagnac*, kept himſelf ſhut up in his Caſtle, and ſtirr'd not out, and that all night they heard a knocking within againſt ſome Wall, or Wood, and that the Hugonots of the City were ſecretly providing arms. *I* made him to return, aſſuring him, that the Sieur *de Fonterailles* would never do any thing prejudicial to the Kings ſervice, which *I* ſaid, relying upon his word, and a promiſe he had made me in my Houſe at *Agen*. But the ſaid Conſul would not take this for current pay: wherefore *I* bad him to pry more narrowly into what the Seneſchal was doing. Upon Friday there came to me two Conſuls from *Moiſſac*, who came to tell me, that two of the Kings Officers of *Montauban*, and ſeveral others were fled to *Moiſſac*, upon ſome apparences they had ſeen in the ſaid *Montauban* of the taking of Arms. *I* made theſe alſo to return, giving them in charge that without any buſtle, or raiſing of arms, they ſhould be careful of the preſervation of their Town, and that if they ſhould hear, that the others

took

b Sacred Majeſty, I have ſerv'd my King as all honeſt men are oblig'd to do; your Majeſty ought not to take that in evil part.

c Go go hang this Raſcal, who will again make war againſt me.

d I beſeech your Majeſty to ſave my life, and ſeeing the King my Lord and Maſter is dead, together with my Lords his Brothers, I do promiſe to ſerve you with the ſame fidelity I did the King when he was alive.

e Doſt thou promiſe this from thy heart? Go to, I give thee thy life at the requeſt of theſe who entreat me, be faithful to me.

Intelligence of the deſign upon *Lectoure*.

took arms they ſhould betake themſelves to arms alſo, and ſend me an account of all. Upon Sunday Monſieur *de Sainctorens* came to dine with me, where we made a Match the next day to go ſee our Hawks fly, and that he ſhould come by break of day in the morning to *Caſſaigne*. At midnight there came to me a Meſſenger from the Sieur *de la Lande*, Canon of *Agen*, who brought me a letter from him, and another that had been ſent to him by Monſieur *de Lauzun*. Monſieur *de la Lande's* Letter was, *I ſend you a Letter, which Monſieur* de Lauzun *has ſent me in ſo great haſte, that the man who brought it is able to go no farther.* In that of Monſieur *de Lauzun* there was *Monſieur* de la Lande *I pray ſend ſpeedy notice to Monſieur* de Montluc, *that the Hugonots have taken arms at* Bergerac, *and are gone in all haſte to ſeize upon ſome horſes of the Marquis* de Trans, *which are kept at* Eymet, *and that all thoſe of this Country take horſes where ever they can find them.* Now becauſe the Marquis *de Trans* was in ſuit with his Brother-in law call'd Monſieur *de St. Laurence*, it preſently came into my fancy, that theſe might be ſome of the ſaid *St. Laurence* his people, who were going to execute ſome diſtreſs for Coſts againſt the ſaid Marquis, and made no other account of it. About break of day I aroſe, and looking out of the window whilſt my man was truſſing me, to ſee if Monſieur *de Sainctorens* came, there comes in a man on horſeback, who came from a place upon the River *Garonne*, whom I will not name, for fear he ſhould be kill'd; for the man that ſent him to me is yet living; and as I was opening the Letter my *Valet de Chambre* ſaw a Ticket fall down upon the floor. I fell to reading the Letter, the contents whereof were, *that he entreated me to give him leave to ſell a Quintal of Pepper to a Portugueſe*, which made me in a rage tear the Letter to pieces, curſing all the Portugueſe to the pit of Hell; for it put me in mind of the death of my Son at the *Maderas*. This Letter was only purpoſely contriv'd to encloſe the Ticket, and my *Valet de Chambre* began to gather up the Ticket, telling me it fell out as I open'd the Letter. I then fell to reading the Ticket, where it was thus written, *Betwixt the twenty eighth and thirtith of this preſent* September, *The King taken, the Queen dead*, Rochelle *taken*, Bergerac *taken*, Montauban *taken*, Lecteur *taken*, *and* Montluc *dead*. Theſe were the very words of the Ticket; which put me quite out of the humour of Hawking, and reconcil'd me to the Portugal; ſo that I immediately ſent away Captain *Mauries*, who had been Lieutenant to the late Captain *Montluc* in *Piedmont*, Captain *Jean* of *Agen*, and *Tibanville* Commiſſaries of the Artillery, commanding them to go directly towards Monſieur *de Sainctorens* his houſe, whom they would meet by the way, and bid him return home, and ſend notice to Monſieur *de Tilladet* his Brother, and the Gentlemen his Neighbours, to come by ten of the clock to *Sampoy* (a Town in the Kings poſſeſſion, where I have a houſe) with their horſes and arms, without any noiſe at all; for we were within a league of one another. I gave them alſo in charge, that ſo ſoon as they had ſpoke with Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, they ſhould gallop away to *Lectoure*, which was three leagues from *Caſſaigne* (for what the Conſul had told me came into my head, and it was very probable, that to cut out work in *Gaſcony* they would begin with this ſtrong place) giving them inſtructions withal, that ſo ſoon as they ſhould come within ſight of the Caſtle, to ride ſoftly, pretending to be Merchants, and enter in by the Gate of the Bulwark (doubting the Seneſchal might have taken ſome people into the Caſtle by the Poſtern Gate, who if they perceiv'd themſelves once to be ſuſpected, might preſently ſeize upon the Town by the help of the Hugonots who were in it) but that ſo ſoon as they ſhould be got in, they ſhould talk privately with the Conſul, poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſaid Gate of the Bulwark, and that dead or alive I might find them within it; for I would ſoon be with them; which they accordingly did. I ſent Diſpatches alſo to Monſieur *de Verduzan*, Seneſchal of *Bazadois*, and to ſeveral other Gentlemen his Neighbours aſſigning them all to repair to *Sampoy* by ten of the clock; to which place according to appointment I went my ſelf, but found no body there but Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, who by misfortune had found none of the Gentlemen his Neighbours at home, and Monſieur *de Tilladet* had been let blood that morning, ſo that no body came but an Archer of my Company call'd *Seridos*, and two Sons of Monſieur *de Beraud*, who were alſo of my Company, their Father being ſick, and a Kinſman of mine call'd Monſieur *de la Vit*. I ſtaid there for Monſieur *de Verduzan* till twelve a clock, when ſeeing no body come, I reſolv'd to go to *Lectoure* without expecting any longer, where alſo I doubted I ſhould come with the lateſt. Thoſe who were in my company remonſtrated to me, that if the Seneſchal was crafty, and that he had men in the Caſtle he would eaſily defeat me in the Town; to which I made anſwer, that ſhould I longer deferre going, he would have notice of the three Gentlemen I had ſent before, and would ſo ſecure the Gates, that I ſhould not be able to enter, and that it was better for us to venture our lives in the Town, than to keep out, and ſuffer the Town to be loſt. We then mounted to horſe, being no more than ſix Light-

The Sieur *de Lauzun* ſends notice of the Hugonots taking arms.

Advertiſement to the Sieur de *Montluc*.

Diligence of the Sieur *de Montluc* to preſerve *Lectoure*.

Light-horſe, and we might be in all (the Servants compriz'd) thirty horſe. I commanded fourteen Harquebuzeers to follow after me, under the conduct of a Prieſt called *Malaubere*, commanding them to follow at a good ſhog trot, and ſo we marcht with theſe mighty Forces. When we came near unto *Terraube*, a little league from *Lectoure*, there came a man on horſeback, diſpatcht away by the Conſul and Captain *Mauriz*, by whom they ſent me word, that they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Gates, and that the City was all in arms, deſiring to know by which Gate I would enter; I told him by the Gate of the Caſtle; whereupon he return'd upon the ſpur as he came. By good fortune there hapned to be in the Town the Sieur *de Luſſan*, and the Captain his Brother, who came out to meet me, knowing nothing of all this buſineſs, they being come thither by appointment of Proceſs, and ſo we entred into the Town. So ſoon as we were come into Monſieur *de Poiſegurs* houſe, I entreated the Sieur *de Luſſan* to go bid Monſieur *de Fonterailles* come and ſpeak with me, for I had ſomething to ſay to him that concerned his Majeſties ſervice. He ſent me word back, *that he would not come, and that he was in the Caſtle in the behalf of the Queen of* Navarre, *Lady and Miſtreſs of the ſaid Caſtle and Town.* Whereupon I ſent him word again, *that if he did not come I would aſſault the ſaid Caſtle, and at the ringing of the Tocqueſaint call in all the neighbouring Towns to my aſſiſtance:* which I think ſtartled him, for he came. At his coming I told him, *that I would have the Caſtle to put people into it, who were of the Religion of the King, and a Gentleman to command them, till I ſhould ſee to what the beginning of this Commotion tended*; to which he made anſwer, *that he was a faithful Servant of the Kings, and that he would rather die than do any thing contrary to his Majeſties pleaſure.* To which I replied again, *that I did believe him to be ſo, but that notwithſtanding I would in the mean time ſecure the Caſtle, and that I had a greater confidence in my ſelf than in him*; and after ſome diſputes Monſieur *de Sainctorans* put in, and ſaid ſomething, to which the other replied briskly upon him: but he did not go without his anſwer; and had he not ſuddenly reſolv'd, I was about to have taken him priſoner. Monſieur *de Luſſan* then took him aſide, remonſtrating to him, *that he was highly too blame not to obey, and that it was as much as his life was worth; for I would die there but I would have it, and that he himſelf knew well enough what a kind a man I was.* Monſieur *de Fonterailles* thereupon came to me, and told me, *that he was ready to deliver up the Caſtle into my hands, but that he earneſtly begg'd of me, that I would permit him to reenter into it, and ſleep there that night, that he might pack up all the goods he had there, ready to go away in the morning.* I deſir'd him on the contrary, *that he would not offer to ſtir out of the Town, and that I would deliver the Guard of the Caſtle to ſuch Catholick Gentlemen as he ſhould name.* He therefore nam'd ſeveral, but I would like of none of them, when ſeeing I would not put in thoſe he deſir'd, he nam'd Monſieur *de Caſſaigne* (a neighbour to the Town, who ſince has been Lieutenant to Monſieur *d'Arnes* Company) with whom I was content, and ſent preſently for him. However I plaid the Novice in one thing, for I let the ſaid Sieur *de Fonterailles* go in again upon his word into the Caſtle, which was not diſcreetly done; for a man ſhould alwayes in ſuch caſes take all things at the worſt.

The Sieur *de Montluc* in *Lectoure*.

In the mean time Monſieur *de Verduzan* arriv'd with four or five Gentlemen in Company with him, and preſently after Monſieur *de Maignas*, and every hour ſome or other came in to us. After Supper we went out of the Caſtle, where I fell to view and conſider the Poſtern of the falſe Bray, and began to remonſtrate to thoſe friends who were with me, that in caſe the Seneſchal ſhould have made an appointment for thoſe of his Party to come that night to the Portal, the Guards and Centinels of the Town could not poſſibly hinder him from letting in whom he pleaſed, wherefore I was reſolv'd to lodge *Theanville* Commiſſary of the Artillery, and the Prieſt with the fourteen Harquebuzeers in the falſe Bray, betwixt the two Portals; and it was well for me I did ſo, for otherwiſe they had trapp'd us, and cut all our throats that night. See how a man may fall into danger thorough his own fault: for I thought my ſelf wonderful wiſe and circumſpect; and yet notwithſtanding I put a place of ſo great importance, together with the whole Country in danger to be loſt. I was not yet ſatisfied with this Guard, but I moreover order'd all the Gentlemen and their Servants to lie down in their Cloaths, and ſent a command to all thoſe of the Town to do the ſame. In the morning by Sun-riſe the ſaid Seneſchal came to me again, to entreat me to leave him the Caſtle, and that he would give me ſecurity, with a great many other fine good morrows; but I told him he did but loſe time in ſuch propoſals; for I was reſolv'd to put men into it: ſo that ſeeing no other remedy, he receiv'd the Sieur *de la Caſſaigne* with twenty Soldiers into the place, and then came to take his leave of me. I did what I could to perſwade him to ſtay in the Town; but he made anſwer, *that he would not truſt himſelf with the Inhabitants*, beginning to tell me, *that I*

Order given to the Captains.

The Sieur *de Fonterailles* delivers up the Caſtle of *Lectoure* to Monſieur *de Montluc*.

put

put a very great affront upon him, in not confiding in his Loyalty; that he was a man of a race too remarkable for their ſervices, and fidelity to the Crown of France, *to be ſuſpected, and that his Anceſtors had ſav'd the Kingdom.* To which I made anſwer, *that his Grandfather, of whom he intended to ſpeak, did never ſave the Kingdom, and that in his time reigned* Lewis *the twelfth, in whoſe Reign the Kingdom had never been in any ſuch danger, and that if it was of the time that King* Charles *retir'd to* Bourges, *that he intended to ſpeak, that honor was to be attributed to* Potton, *and* la Hire, *of whoſe valour all the Chronicles are full. For* la Hire *and* Potton, *two* Gaſcon *Gentlemen, were indeed cauſe of the recovery of the Kingdom of* France: *yet would I not deny but that his Grand father was a great and valiant Captain, who having fifty* Gens-d'armes des Ordonnances, *and being General of twelve hundred Light-horſe, the moſt of which were* Albanois, *perform'd great ſervices for the Crown. In recompence whereof the King alſo married him to the Inheritrix of* Chattillon, *by whom he had ſeven or eight thouſand Livers yearly revenue: but that the Houſe from which his Father deſcended, which was that of* Fonterailles, *was as mean a Family as mine*; At which he broke out into a ſudden paſſion, ſaying, *would to God, would to God I might die at this inſtant, provided the Prince of* Navarre *was at age to command!* why ſaid I? *what reaſon have you to wiſh your own death for the Prince of* Navarre, *ſeeing that neither you, nor any of your Race, have ever receiv'd any benefit or honor from the Houſe of* Navarre, *nor other, than from the King?* to which he replied, *that it was true, but that he did ſo love the Prince of* Navarre, *that he would be content to die upon that condition.* I then began to ſuſpect there was ſome knavery in the wind, and ſo he bad me farewel. Monſieur *de la Caſſaigne*, who was preſent at all this diſcourſe, waited upon him to his Horſe, where, as he was going to put foot in the ſtirrup, he cried out like a man in diſpair, *O unfortunate man that I am, I ſhall never again have the confidence to ſhew my face amongſt men of honor!* Whereupon Monſieur *de la Caſſaigne* took occaſion to tell him, *that he was too blame to complain of me, who had treated him with all the civility he could himſelf expect, or deſire*, and that perhaps another would not have uſed him with ſo great reſpect, as I had done; to which he replied in theſe words, *but you do not know all; this day the Kingdom is ſet to ſail, farewell* France; and ſo mounting to horſe, he went directly *to la Garde*, the Houſe of Monſieur *de Firmacon* his Uncle.

Before the Sieur *de la Caſſaigne* could return back to me there came fifteen or ſixteen Peaſants loaden with Harquebuzes, Halberts, and Croſs-bows, leading a boy priſoner along with them, whom they brought into my Chamber, in the preſence of all the Gentlemen that were there, telling me they were of *la Maſquere*, within a quarter of a league of *Lectoure* (which is a little Hamlet conſiſting of ſeven or eight Tenements) and that at midnight there came a great company of armed men, both horſe and foot, and drew themſelves into a great Meadow cloſe by the houſes, where they laid them down upon the ground. The poor people ſaw them, and durſt not ſtir out of their houſes: but they ſaw them ſend ſix horſe-men as far as the Suburbs of *Lectoure*, where they met intelligence, that I with a great number of Gentlemen was entred into the Town; and had alſo ſent to diſcover thoſe whom I had planted without to hinder the relief: by which ſeeing their enterpriſe was defeated, and concluding that the Seneſchal was taken priſoner, they return'd full ſpeed to their Troops, telling them that I was entred into the Town, and had taken the Seneſcal priſoner, wherefore they muſt retire before it was day, that they might not be known. And (as the night has no ſhame) they took ſo great a fright at the news, that they began to throw away their arms in flying, and by break of day paſſed by *Plieux*, where the common people began to purſue them, and they running away to abandon their arms, which the Inhabitants of *Plieux* had almoſt all, excepting ſome few that fell into the hands of thoſe of *la Maquere*. The horſe ran ſtraight to their other Troop that had made a halt at *St. Roſe*, till they ſhould be commanded to march: who alſo took a terrible fright in retiring, running every man as faſt as his horſe would carry him to his own houſe. The chief Leaders of theſe two Parties of Horſe and Foot were the Sieur *de Montamat*, brother to the Seneſchal, the Sieurs *de Caſtelnau, d'Audax, de Popas*, and *de Peyrecave*. I knew nothing as yet of the Troop at *St. Roſe*, for neither the Boy nor the Boors of *la Maſquere* had heard of any other than that they had ſeen. All the Gentlemen hereupon adviſ'd me to go take the Seneſchal, and clap him up priſoner, which nevertheleſs I would not do out of reſpect to the Houſe of *Firmacon*, to which he was a Nephew, remonſtrating to them, that ſhould I take him priſoner, the Court of Parliament of *Tholouze* would immediately ſend to demand him of me, whom I could not juſtly deny, and if they once got him, he would not be two hours alive, and I would by no means be the occaſion of his ruine.

* The ordinary men at arms in *France* firſt reduc'd by *Charles* the 7th in the year 1444 into certain Companies, and under particular orders, one whereof was that the Gens-d'arm muſt at the youngeſt be twenty, and one and twenty years of age, and muſt have been one year at leaſt an Archer, which no man was to be but a Gentleman born, or one that had been a Captain, Lieutenant, Enſign, or Serjeant-Major of a Foot Company ſix years. Who was alſo by the order of his admiſſion to keep three Horſes, two for ſervice, and one for his Baggage, in regard whereof he had 400 Livers *Tournon* yearly entertainment. Theſe Gens-d'arms were at firſt but 1500 in all; but they have ſince been encreaſed to a hundred Companies.

The Hugonots come too late to relieve *Lectoure*.

Whilſt we were in theſe diſputes, Monſieur *de la Caſſaigne* came, and told me the words he had ſaid to him at his going away, no body being by; whereupon I entreated him to go into the Town to ſeek out ſome Hugonot, who was a friend to the Seneſchal, and to give him all aſſurance that he ſhould receive no manner of injury, nor diſpleaſure, provided he would reveal the Enterprize. He went then to ſpeak with one who was a very intimate friend of his, telling him what words the Seneſchal had caſt out at his departure, and that it was as much as his life was worth, if he did not diſcover all he knew: who after he had given him all the aſſurance he deſir'd, made him this reply. *What did the Seneſchal mean to enter into ſo many diſputes with Monſieur* de Montluc, *I was behind him when he conteſted ſo highly with the ſaid Sieur, and do wonder that he did not ſeize him priſoner, which had he done all we of the Religion had been dead men: I pray be faithful, and take care, that we may have no harm done us; for there is not a perſon of the Religion, who knows any thing of the Enterprize of* France, *and of this Town, but thoſe who are gone out with him, my ſelf excepted, who durſt not go. This day or to-morrow the King or the Queen ſhall be taken or dead, and all the whole Kingdom of* France *revolted.*

Deſign upon the King.

I pray conſider a little how cloſely theſe people could carry on ſuch an Enterprize as this: I was told that in their Conſiſtory they made them ſwear to renounce Paradice, if they ever reveal'd any thing. Monſieur *de la Caßaigne* returned preſently to me, and taking me aſide told me all that the other had ſaid to him, and then I remembred my ſelf of the Advertiſements in the Ticket, and of my unfortunate Dream, and began with tears in my eyes to declare all I had heard to Meſſieurs the Seneſchal of *Bazadois*, *de Sainctlorent*, and to all the Gentlemen who were preſent, who all began to cry out, *that we ought to mount preſently to horſe; and gallop after the Seneſchal*, which nevertheleſs I would not do for the aforementioned reaſons, remonſtrating to them, *that though he ſhould be taken, the evil would not be prevented by the ſeizing of his perſon, and that the miſchief was ſufficiently diſcover'd by the words he had caſt out to Monſieur* de la Caſſaigne: *which alſo this other had confirm'd to him: but that I would preſently ſend away to all the Gentlemen, to give notice to all the other Gentry, and their Neighbours, to aſſemble together for the common ſafety*, which I did, and was very glad within my ſelf, in this ill aſpect of affairs, to have pluckt ſo conſiderable a feather from their wing.

I ſent immediately poſt to *Tholouze* to advertize the Court and the Capitouls, that they muſt forthwith betake themſelves to arms, and employ all they could wrap and wring, either to ſuccour the King, if he was living; or to revenge his death, if he were dead. I cauſed ſome proviſions immediately to be put into the Caſtle, and left the fourteen Harquebuzeers with Monſieur *de la Caſſaigne*, ſending to the Soldiers of *Florence* and *Pancillac* forthwith to come, and put themſelves into the Town, and that they were to obey Monſieur *de la Caſſaigne*. Whilſt I was about theſe diſpatches there arriv'd Monſieur *de la Chappelle*, Vice-Seneſcal, and Monſieur *de Romegas* (the ſame who has ſo ſignaliz'd himſelf againſt the Turk at *Malta*) who had both of them been all night on horſe-back, by reaſon that a Hugonot (whoſe life Monſieur *de la Chapelle* had ſav'd) came ad midnight to give them notice that we were marching directly to *Lectoure*, where the Seneſchal was by the Poſtern to let them in. Upon this intelligence they had mounted to horſe (for they were near Neighbours) and put themſelves into a little Wood, where they diſcover'd theſe people, who were retiring in great fear, but durſt not ſtir out of the Wood, having no more than ſeven or eight horſe; but ſo ſoon as it was day took their way towards *Lectoure*, though they fear'd it was already taken, and as they came to the Town were inform'd, that I was within it, where they told me of the diſorder they had ſeen in the Troop of *St. Roſe*, and then we knew that they had been in two Troops. Monſieur *de la Chappelle* then began to enform himſelf on his part, and the Court of Parliament ſent in all dilligence to enform themſelves on theirs. The Indictment was drawn up, and a hundred or more Witneſſes examin'd, the moſt of which were of the new Religion, and who had actually been in thoſe forenamed Troops, who all depos'd one and the ſame thing, of a Conſpiracy plotted againſt the King and State.

In the progreſs of the Tryal the Witneſſes gave evidence of the Enterprize, which was, That that very night *de la St. Michel* the Seneſchal was to let in the two Companies of Foot into the Town by the Poſtern of the Falſe-Bray, and afterwards into the Caſtle by the Poſtern belonging to it. Of theſe the Conſuls of the Town kept one key, and the Seneſchal another, and ſo ſoon as he was gone the Enterprize being diſcover'd, they went to examine the two Locks, and found that thoſe of the Conſuls were broke open, and put again into their place, with nails that were not clench't. (All this is couch'd in the Proceſs) and that after the two Foot Companies ſhould be Maſters of the Town, the Horſe were to come at a good round trot before *Caſſaigne* where I was, which was but three

leagues

leagues from *Lectoure*, and ſhut me up in the Caſtle; and that at the ſame time all their Churches of *Nerac*, *Caſtelgeloux*, *Thoneins*, *Cleirac*, *Mourejau*, *Condom*, *Moncrabeau*, and other adjacent places were to come flocking about the Caſtle. Theſe were the fruits of the good prayers of their Godly Miniſters; and being the Caſtle had no Flanckers, they made ſure to have me in four and twenty hours by ſapping. *Rapin* the ſame day came with four hundred men to *Grenade*, being come from *Montauban*, who ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould have notice that I was ſhut up, was to march day and night to come before the ſaid *Caſſaigne*, they making account that I could not be reliev'd in eight dayes, there being no place of any ſtrength to which any one could repair, they having poſſeſſed themſelves of *Lectoure*. The Enterprize was ſo laid, as it had been certain, and would infallibly have taken effect, had I been aſleep in the buſineſs; or if to move in State like the Kings Lieutenant, I had ſtaid till morning, that thoſe I had ſent for had come in.

The Kings Lieutenants may here take a good example by me, both as to the good intelligence I was careful to keep, in my judgment to provide againſt the preſent extremity, and in my prompt reſolution (not regarding whether I was weak or ſtrong) to go, as I did, to put my ſelf into the Town: for all theſe things together preſerv'd the place in the Kings obedience, together with my own life, and conſequently the whole Country, which had been abſolutely loſt had I been kill'd, and *Lectoure* taken: for that being ſurpriz'd, there had been no place of ſafety, but within the Gates of *Tholouze* and *Bourdeaux*: and when all *France* had heard that *Guienne* was loſt, I leave men of underſtanding to judge how the Kings affairs would have been diſcountenanced, and the ardour of thoſe who ſtood for him cool'd at the news. I believe the greateſt part of them would have cloſed with the Enemy. Therefore do not you who are the Kings Lieutenants propoſe to your ſelves; I muſt ſtay for the Nobleſs, I muſt go well attended; for if you be ſuch as you ought to be, that is to ſay, fear'd, and belov'd, you your ſelf alone are worth a hundred. Every one that ſees you march will come in to your aſſiſtance, and take courage by your example, and your Enemies for one man that you have will ſay you have a hundred. It is no time to dally, and ſtand upon punctillio's in ſuch affairs, for whileſt yo deferre time, to Lord it in greater ſtate, you loſe your place. And take warning by the error I had like to have committed in permitting the Seneſchal to go again into the Caſtle upon his word; we live in a time wherein it is the faſhion with many to diſpence with the breach of their faith; and a man ſhall excuſe himſelf that his promiſe was extracted from him by force, and in the mean time you are ſhut out of your Fort. Never deferre that till to morrow that you can do to day, for it failed but very little that I was not loſt; and had I not ſet thoſe people without, the Succours had entred, and the Seneſchal had had good reaſon to laugh at my eaſineſs. This was the Enterprize upon *Guienne*; and I dare be bold to ſay, that *Bourdeaux* it ſelf had not been very ſecure had my throat been cut: for a Country without a head is in very great danger, and the Hugonots had very great intelligence, and a very ſtrong party in that City.

After I had left order with Monſieur *de la Caſſaigne* about *Lectoure*; the ſame Tueſday (being *Michaelmas* day) I went in all diligence to *Agen*, where ſo ſoon as I arriv'd, I immediately ſent for the Sieurs *de Nort* the Kings Counſellor, and *Delas* the Kings Advocate to come to me, who were aſſiſting to me in all my diſpatches, and were ever my Counſel in all affairs. We ſent then for two Clerks of the Town, and two Secretaries of mine, and of all night long we did nothing but write Letters to all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Country, and I do believe amongſt us we writ above two hundred. The Elder Brother of the Counſellor call'd *de Navy* was Conſul, who did nothing all night long but run up and down to ſeek out Meſſengers to ſend every way. I gave notice in my Letters to every one, as well of the attempt upon *Lectoure*, as of the words the Seneſchal had caſt out, and of the other who had confirmed them. I gave them "likewiſe to underſtand, that now the Kings good and faithful Subjects would be known, "as alſo who were good Frenchmen, and that ſince there had been a King in *France*, ſo "fair an occaſion had never preſented it ſelf, wherein to manifeſt the fidelity we owe to "the Crown of *France*; for at that very time the life of the King was in apparent dan- "ger, if not already taken from him, which ſhould it prove ſo, we were all bound by "the Law of God, Nature, and Nations to revenge his death: or at the leaſt he was "threatned with Captivity, and in ſuch an extremity, thoſe who ſhould ſit at home, "ought to be branded for diſloyalty, and mark'd for Traitors to their Prince and his "Crown for ever: that the *Gaſcons* had never hitherto been branded, with thoſe Characters, "and that therefore I begged of them we might not leave ſuch an obloquy upon our own "Poſterity, nor our Childrens Children, that ſhould ſucceed them. In ſhort I omitted nothing I could think of that might excite or encline them to betake themſelves to arms,

Diligence of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

and to ſuccour the King; aſſigning them all to meet at *Agen* by the tenth of *October* following. The forementioned perſons and I continued five dayes and five nights, ſending away diſpatches to all parts, inſomuch that I do not think any one of us had eyer of all that while an hour in four and twenty to ſleep in, which put all three of us into ſo great a diſtemper, that we verily believ'd we ſhould fall ſick. I have all my life hated writing, having ever much rather paſs over a whole night with my arms on my back, than to ſpend half ſo much time in writing; for I was never cut out for that employment, though perhaps there might be ſome fault in my ſelf, as I have obſerv'd in ſome others, who have been on the contrary ſo over-addicted to it, that they had rather be in their Cabinets, than in the Trenches. News came to me from every ſide, that every one prepar'd to march, and I diſpatch'd forty Captains of Foot, four Companies of Gens-d'arms, which had been thoſe of the Sieurs *de Gondrin*, *de Maſſes*, *d'Arne*, and *de Bardozan*, and eight or ten Cornets of Harquebuzeers on horſeback. Of theſe I gave the Command of the Foot to Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, who was Colonel of the Legionaries, that is to ſay, fifteen Enſigns for him, and fifteen for my Son the Knight of *Malta*, who was in *Piedmont*, and to whom I writ to come away to the Army. After I had heard what had paſt at the fine buſineſs of *Meaux*, I ſent him to the King, beſieching his Majeſty to conferre upon him the Command of the fifteen Enſigns; which alſo he did with a very good will.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s humour.

The ninth day after *la Sainct Michel*, as I was walking upon the Sands of *Agen* to ſee the Horſe and Foot come in from all parts, which I quarter'd on both ſides the River *Garonne*, there came to me Captain *Burée*, who had been eight dayes in coming, and ſcap'd narrowly four or five times of being taken, having come moſt part of the way on foot, not daring to ſhew himſelf at the Poſt-houſes, moſt of the Poſt-maſters being Hugonots. He brought me a Letter from the King, and another from the Queen, wherein their Majeſties acquainted me with their fortunes, and how they had been very near being taken, his Majeſty exhorting me once more to preſerve for him the Province of *Guienne*, as I had done in the former troubles. His Majeſty in theſe Letters did not ſend to me for any Succours, fearing I ſhould have enough to do to ſecure the Country with all the forces I could make in it. The ſaid Captain *de Burie* ſtaid but two hours with me, I ſending him back in all diligence (for ſo I was to proceed, and had alwayes done ſo) to aſſure their Majeſties of the Succours I was about to ſend into *France*, and to tell them that I hoped to ſecure *Guienne* with the Gentlemen only who were Natives of the Province, and the People of the Country. But I did not fail to write to the Queen, that ſhe ſhould no more be ſo incredulous, nor deaf to my advertiſements; and that had ſhe pleaſed to have begun the game, and got the ſtart of her Enemies, ſhe had put them quite out of their play. I then preſently diſpatch'd away new Meſſengers to *Tholouze* and *Bourdeaux*, and to all the Gentlemen of that part of the Country, with Copies of the King and Queens Letters, deſiring them to march with all poſſible expedition to relieve the King, whom the Enemy had beſieg'd in *Paris*, and one thing I can affirm with truth, that I never in my life either ſaw, or read in any Hiſtory of ſo wonderful a diligence, as every one made both Horſe and Foot to this effect. There is not in the whole world ſo good a People, nor a Gentry ſo affectionate to their Prince, had not this new Religion corrupted them; for in truth that has ſpoil'd all; I do not know who will ſalve it. I was in *Limoges* in nine and twenty dayes (accounting from the thirtieth of *September*, that I wrote my diſpatches) with a thouſand or twelve hundred Horſe, and thirty Enſigns of Foot, whom I there muſter'd together with the Gens-d'armes, the Treaſurer-General *de la Gourgues* having brought along ſome money he had taken up for that purpoſe; for I for my own part was never accuſtomed to finger the Kings money. Being at *Limoges* I aſſembled all the Lords and Captains of Gens-d'armes in my Chamber, and there deliver'd my ſelf to them after this manner.

The King ſends to the Sieur *de Montluc*.

The People of *France* very good and loyal.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s Harangue to the Lords and Gentlemen of *Gaſcony* at their going to the King.

"Gentlemen and fellows in arms, of all the good fortunes I have had ſince I came into "the world (and I have been bleſt with as many perhaps as any Captain in *France*) nor "of all the ſervices I have perform'd for the Crown (which have been no inconſiderable "ones, as you your ſelves know, and have alſo therein had all of you a part, and ſtak't your "lives and fortunes in the Quarrel) I never met with any that gave me ſo great ſatisfaction "as this occaſion that now preſents it ſelf, of manifeſting our loyalty and courage. And "you ought to feel the ſame joy in your boſoms that I do: for what greater bleſſing could "God Almighty have conferr'd upon you, than to ſee your ſelves aſſembled together in "ſo brave and ſo ſpritely a body in ſo ſhort a time on horſe-back to go to the relief of your "Prince, for whoſe defence God has given you life, and made you men, and me alſo; I "ſay for the defence of his Perſon: for, as you very well know, the Maſque is now taken

away,

"away, and there is no more queſtion of the *Maſs*, or the * *Preſche*, but it is immedi-
"ately and directly againſt his perſon, that this Rebellion is ſet on foot, and thoſe who
"were engag'd in the wicked Enterprize of *Meaux*, as you your ſelves very well know,
"directed the attempt immediately againſt his Majeſties ſacred perſon. How great a
"good fortune is it then to ſee, that God has reſerv'd you to revenge ſo great an injury,
"and to aſſiſt your King, and natural Prince in ſo great a neceſſity? O my Companions!
"how much ought you to eſteem your ſelves happy, how highly ought you to be ſatiſ-
"fied with your fortune? How will the King be raviſht with joy to ſee ſuch a Nobleſs
"from the extreameſt part of his Kingdom, in ſo ſhort a time, and in ſo brave an equi-
"page come in to his relief? He will never forget ſo great, and ſo timely a ſervice, but for
"ever acknowledge it to you and yours. Believe me Gentlemen, though I am infinitely
"pleaſed to think, that I have ſome ſhare in this ſervice, yet I am very ſenſibly afflicted,
"that I am like to have no hand in the main ſtroke of the buſineſs, and that I cannot
"have the honor to lead you to this glorious work, that we might go together to lay down
"our lives at his Majeſties feet for the defence of his life and Crown. May God never
"proſper me, if I do not deſire it more than ever I did any thing in this world, but you
"ſee it cannot be without putting the whole Province into manifeſt hazard, which I hope
"to preſerve with thoſe few Forces are left me in deſpite of the Enemies practices. It only
"then, Gentlemen, remains that you make the haſte requir'd, remember what you have
"ſeen me do, and how often you have heard me ſay, that *diligence is the beſt part of a*
"*Soldier*. You know not what condition the Kings affairs may be in, nor how preſſing
"his danger may be; therefore do not delay time I beſeech you. I know there are ma-
"ny amongſt you, not only worthy to lead a Troop, but to command an Army: but let
"me intreat you to approve the choice I have made in the perſon of Monſieur *de Terride*
"for the leading of this, to whom Monſieur *de Gondrin* ſhall be aſſiſting. He is the old-
"eſt Captain, and of greateſt experience amongſt you, and will, I am confident, acquit
"himſelf worthy of his charge; and reſt you aſſur'd, that I will remember to have a care
"to preſerve your Houſes in your abſence. Do me the favour alſo to think of me when
"you come to the work we have often been employ'd in together, and then make it known
"that you are Gentlemen, and *Gaſcons*, and that there is not a Nation in the world to be
"compar'd to ours for feats of arms. I have been converſant with all the Soldiers of the
"world, but have never ſeen the like to ours, and in all engagements and exploits of war,
"whether little or great, that I have been an eye-witneſs of, the *Gaſcons* have ever carried
"away the Prize. Maintain I beſeech you this reputation, you will never have ſuch an
"opportunity again wherein to manifeſt your valour, and the zeal and affection you bear
"to your natural King and Soveraign.

* So they uſe to call the Hugonot Aſſemblies,

They all return'd me thanks, aſſuring me, that they would not ſtay longer than was neceſſary to bait, in any place till they came to the King, and Monſieur *de Terride* made me a particular acknowledgment for the honor I had done him. After, they fell into conſultation, which way they ſhould go, where every one adviſed what he thought beſt, for in matter of Counſel, it has evermore been my cuſtom, to make every one deliver his opinion; I have found advantages by it: but after many diſputes, it was at laſt determin'd that they ſhould take the way directly to *Moulins*. For me, Monſieur *de Monſalles* had like to have made me a little angry; for he would needs have been going before, as if he had had more deſire, and a greater affection than the reſt: but *I* told him, that it was neither ſafe nor fit to leave the Party; and it was after ſuch a manner that he ſaw very well he had diſpleaſed me. *I* deliver'd to him the leading of the Vant-Guard, and to Monſieur *de Sainctorens* the Command of the Foot, and before my departure from *Limoges*, *I* ſaw them all march away. "*I* ſhall ſay nothing of this Enterprize of *St. Michel*, it was ſo foul and unworthy a Frenchman, and worſe than the buſineſs of *Amboiſe*, where-in *I* perfectly diſcern'd the effects of the League, or Counter-league *I* had heard whiſper'd at *Mont-de-Marſan*. *I* know not what uſe was made of thoſe Succours *I* ſent, but *I* dare be bold to ſay, that never any Lieutenant of *Guienne* drew ſo many Gentlemen, and ſo great a number of Foot, all on a ſudden out of the Country as *I* did: nor ſo many men of ſingular note for their parts and valour; of whom *I* had ſo good an opinion, that had *I* met the Prince of *Condé* without the Traitors, I would not have given our Victory for his; and as *I* return'd back *I* ſtill met ſeveral parties who were coming in to joyn with the reſt. Neither ſhall *I* meddle to ſet down how theſe Succours behav'd themſelves in the occaſions preſented, foraſmuch as the Monſieur himſelf was there, and all the Princes and great Captains of *France*.

Monſieur *de Monſalles* leads the Vantguard of the *Gaſcon* Succours.

Now

Now when I thought to have this great diligence of mine very kindly taken, and expected to receive a return of thanks from their Majeſties for ſo opportune a ſervice, I was quite contrary preſented with a Patent, that one *Dragon*, Deputy to the receiver of *Guienne* brought from Court, and that was ſent by the King to Monſieur *de Candalle*, by virtue whereof his Majeſty made the ſaid Sieur *de Candalle* his Lieutenant General in the City of *Bourdeaux* and *Bourdillois*, with as ample commiſſion, and full power, as if I was there. I was very much ſurpriz'd at this, and knew very well that ſome one or another had given me a Traverſe at Court, and that the King and Queen would never have put ſuch a trick upon me, had it not been for ſome back friend of mine; and thanks be to God the Kings of *France* have ever ſuch kind of Vermin to ſpare, who have evermore lent their Charities to the beſt and moſt faithful ſervants our Kings have had, which made me not ſo much wonder at this laſt kindneſs of theirs. It was not the firſt office of that kind I had receiv'd at their hands, Monſieur *de la Malaſſize*, who is yet living, did me one in *Romania* to Monſieur *de Guiſe*, endeavouring by that means to make me be put out of the Government of *Tuſcany*, to make way for Monſieur *de la Molle*, making the Duke believe that I had ſpoke unhandſomely of him, which the ſaid Duke gave credit to, and for a time bore me ill will upon that account. Since in the preſence of Monſieur *d'Aumale*, Monſieur *de Montpezat*, Meſſieurs *de Cipierre* and *de Randan* (which two firſt are dead, and the other two living) at *Macherate*, I acquitted my ſelf; yet could I not ſo far diſpoſſeſs him of his ill conceiv'd opinion, but that ſome ſeeds of it remain'd, ſo that he was never abſolutely reconcil'd till the buſineſs of *Thionville*. At my return to *Montalſin* it faild but very little that I did not cut the throat of him that was the cauſe, and therefore 'tis no wonder if he continue to do me all the ill offices he can: yet I will not here inſert the reaſons for ſeveral conſiderations. I ſhall ſtill let him proceed to do as he has hitherto done, managing the Queen, though I hope her Majeſty will one day alter her opinion, as did Monſieur *de Guiſe*.

Of the Siege of *Vulpian*.

I had another good office done me when King *Henry* ſent me into *Piedmont* after my return from *Sienna*, at the taking of *Vlpian*, only becauſe I kept about Monſieur *d'Aumale*, not ſparing my life no more than the meaneſt Soldier in the Army, and I think they had no mind that Monſieur *d'Aumale* ſhould have the honor to take it, nor other places that he took; I had there a Letter brought me from the Conſtable, wherein he writ me word, that the King had commanded him to write to me, that I ſhould retire to my own houſe till further order, charging me, that I had ſaid I would not obey Monſieur *de Termes*, as if I had not alwayes been accuſtomed to obey him; for I have all my life preferr'd him before my ſelf in all things; and he did deſerve it. Not long before, ſome body had done him ſuch another courteſie, ſaying, that by reaſon of his Marriage in *Piedmont*, and the friendſhip he had contracted with the *Biragues*, he might eaſily ſeize *Piedmont* into his own hands; as if either the one or the other had ever ſo much as thought of any ſuch thing: however this was ſufficient to make him to be call'd back out of *Piedmont*: but he was too honeſt a man, and that was not a fit recompence for ſo many ſervices as he had done. Monſieur *d'Aumale* alſo had the ſame piece of ſervice done him, it being reported to the King, that the Princes would not obey him, and that therefore his Majeſty muſt ſend Monſieur *de Termes* to command; as if Monſieur *d'Aumale* was not of a better Family than Monſieur *de Termes*, and that the Princes would ſooner obey a private Gentleman, than one who was a Prince, though he was not of the Royal blood; I can affirm, as having been an eye-witneſs, and no man can give a better teſtimony than my ſelf, that the ſaid Princes no more ſpar'd themſelves than the meaneſt Gentleman in the Army, and perform'd a piece of bravery worthy the noble Families from whence they deſcended; for they went on in their own perſons to the aſſault, and mounted the breach at *Vlpian*, ſcrambling up with the help of their Pikes, and ſome few Ladders of Ropes, for the Breach was not reaſonable, as I have ſaid elſewhere before.

Charity lent to Monſieur *de Termes*, and to Monſieur *d'Aumale*.

And ſince I am entred upon the diſcourſe of the good offices honeſt men have done them at Court, I will reckon up ſome others that I have ſeen in my time, as alſo ſome that I have read of in the Roman Hiſtories. And of theſe I will firſt mention that which had like to have coſt Monſieur *de Lautrec* ſo dear; which was, that a certain perſon detein'd from him a hundred thouſand Crowns, which the King had commanded *St. Blanzay* to ſend him, wherewith to pay the *Swiſs*, which ſumme had it accordingly been ſent, the *Swiſs* had not retir'd into their own Country; for they only return'd for want of pay, and by that means the Dutchy of *Millan* was loſt. Upon which occaſion this poor Lord Monſieur *de Lautrec* was hardly thought good enough for the Dogs, for a certain time, and could never obtein the favour to be heard to juſtifie himſelf: but in the end the King was pleaſed to hear him, and thereupon cauſed *St. Blanzay* to be hang'd, though the fault

St. Blanzay hang'd.

was

was none of his; but the poor man paid for't. I know who was the cauſe of all this diſorder: but I have nothing to do to write it. Oh 'tis a tickle thing to ſerve theſe great ones, and the paths are very ſlippery men are to walk in, but we muſt thorough. God has ordein'd them to command, and us to obey, and others alſo obey us, and yet we are all of one Father and Mother; but it is too cold fled to derive our Pedegrees.

I ſaw alſo the trick that was playd Monſieur *de Bourbon*, by which he was reduc'd to that deſpair, that he was conſtrain'd to do many things unworthy of a Prince; for they would take his Eſtate from him, and reduce him to his Childs part only of the inheritance of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, of which he was a younger Brother. At the Camp of *Meſſieres*, and in the Expedition of *Valentiennes*, they made him ſwallow two injuries at once; if Monſieur *Bonivet*, who was Admiral, was or no the cauſe I am not able to ſay, but it was ſo reported: ſome one or other muſt alwayes bear the blame. I think had not the King of himſelf been diſpos'd to uſe him ill, neither his Majeſty, nor the Queen his Mother would have driven this brave Prince into ſuch extremes. However it was, the foul play that was offer'd him was the cauſe of a great miſchief to *France*, and the King repented him of it more than once afterward. The Prince of *Aurange*, who commanded the Emperors Army after the death of the ſaid Seigneur *de Bourbon*, had alſo a little before quitted the King's ſervice by reaſon his Majeſty had commanded the Mareſchal *de Logis* to diſlodge him for the King of *Poland*'s Embaſſador. The occaſion indeed was very light, but it is nevertheleſs very true, that a brave heart diſdains to be deſpis'd.

Monſieur de *Bourbon*.

Monſieur de *Bonivet*.

The Prince of *Aurange*.

There was another good office alſo done to *Andrea Auria*, who was Admiral of his Majeſties Galleys, at the time when he accounted the Kingdom of *Naples* as good as ſure; and that was by giving the Gallies to Monſieur *de Barbezieux*, which for any default on his part could not juſtly be done, for Count *Philippin d'Auria* his Nephew had won the Battel by *Naples*, which I have already writ of, againſt the Viceroy Don *Hugues de Moncalde*, who was there ſlain, and the Marquis *de Guaſt*, with ſeveral other great perſons taken priſoners. The ſaid Count was ſo careful and vigilant, that ſo much as a Cat could not enter into the City of *Naples*; thoſe within were reduc'd to the laſt extremity, the Viceroy dead, many of the Grandees priſoners, and the reſt revolted to the King; it muſt therefore of neceſſity be confeſt, that the Kingdom had been the Kings in deſpite of all the world, when the juſt ſpite and indignation of the ſaid *Andrea Auria* depriv'd him of it. When the King was taken priſoner at the Battel of *Pavie*, and that they carried him by Sea into *Spain*, *Andrea Auria* went out to meet the Galleys that convoy'd him, to fight them to deliver the King out of their hands; which he had done, and put it to hazard; but the King ſent to adviſe him not to do it, for if he did he was a dead man; and they had determin'd to put him to death, ſhould *Andrea Auria* preſent himſelf to fight them; which was the reaſon that the ſaid *Andrea Auria* returned to *Genoa*, which at that time was the Kings. See here another great misfortune, and an unfortunate Traverſe, which brought as great an inconvenience along with it, as that of Monſieur *de Bourbon*; upon which occaſion we not only loſt all we had got in the Kingdom of *Naples*, but *Genoa* alſo; for all the loſſes as well of the Kingdom of *Naples*, as of *Genoa*, hapned by reaſon of the revolt of the ſaid *Andrea Auria*, who took offence at the wrong and diſhonor had been done him, in taking from him the Command of the Galleys to give it to another, without having any way miſdemean'd himſelf, or having receiv'd any diſadvantage in his Charge, and alſo for that they would make him give up his Priſoners of war without any recompence. Now the ſaid *Andrea Auria* kept the ſea in ſo great awe, that the King durſt never offer to paſs into *Italy* till ſuch time as he had won him into his own ſervice; and the Emperor having heard how he had been uſed, ſent him a Blank to write his own conditions, provided he would come over to his ſervice. After which the ſaid *Andrea Auria* ſent to Count *Philippin* his Nephew to retire from before *Naples*, and abandoning the Kings ſervice to come to him at *Gajetta*, which he did, and before he went, put all the proviſion he ſuddenly could into the City, that it might not be loſt, and ſo he that had done them the miſchief did them the good, without which they muſt within eight dayes have been neceſſitated to capitulate. O that ſuch a man as this ought to have been husbanded, for I think that he alone ruin'd the affairs of King *Francis*. Kings and Princes ought not to uſe Strangers at that rate; nor their own Subjects neither, when they know them to be men of ſervice: and if our Maſter was ill adviſed, the Emperor was very diſcreet to put in in' time, to win the ſaid *Auria* over to his ſide, that the King might not have leiſure to reconcile himſelf to him, and to reeſtabliſh him in his ſervice. Wherein Princes ought to take good example, and learn to be wiſe at anothers expence, and ſhould have a care of diſobliging a generous heart, and a man of employment, eſpecially

Prince *Auria*.

Of how great importance it was to the Kingdom of *France* to diſcontent *Andrea* as one who alone ruin'd the Kings affairs.

cially when you have no ſuch tye upon him, as upon a natural Subject of your own, who has his Wife and Children and Eſtate at your mercy. The King had none of all theſe ties upon *Andrea Auria*, and it was one of the greateſt incongruities I have ſeen in my time, and alſo of far greater importance than that of the Duke of *Bourbon*.

The Prior of *Capua*.

I ſaw another done to the Prior of *Capua*, who was one of the braveſt men that theſe hundred years has put to ſea, and as much feared both by Turks and Chriſtians, whom they unjuſtly accus'd of Piracy, ſo that he was conſtrain'd to go put himſelf and his two Galleys into the protection of the *Malteſes*. O how invincible a wrong did the King there do this worthy perſon, to be ſo facile of belief to the prejudice of his honor! how great a diſadvantage was it to himſelf, and how great a loſs to the Kingdom of *France*? for this Signior was a man of ſervice, and one that very well underſtood his Trade, for he was a very able Seaman.

The Mareſchal *de Bies*.

I ſaw another trick alſo put upon the Mareſchal *de Bies*. I dare pawn my ſoul that the Gentleman never thought of doing any unhandſome act againſt the King, and yet he was highly ſlander'd a little after the death of King *Francis* the Great, it being laid to his charge, that he was the cauſe that Monſieur *de Vervin* his Son in Law had ſurrendred *Bullen*, and one *Cortel* appointed to try him, the moſt infamous Judge that ever was in *France*. Was it ever ſeen, or heard of, that one man ſhould be puniſht for the treachery or cowardize of another? When he came to his tryal they confronted him with three great Rogues, who all of them depoſ'd, that the day he had the Encounter with the *Engliſh* he was mounted upon a great Courſer, bearing a plume of white Feathers for a mark, that the *Engliſh* might not fall upon him, as if it had been an eaſie mark to be diſcern'd: when men are mixt in a Battel, the duſt, the ſmoak and the cries confound a man's judgment; and beſides 'tis uſual with gallant men to appear in their greateſt bravery, that they may be known in a day of Battel, eſpecially in a War with Strangers, which is for honor, and not upon the account of animoſity: but in a Civil War 'tis not ſo proper, Monſieur *de Guiſe* being very much endanger'd by ſo diſtinguiſhing his perſon at the Battel of *Dreux*. Thus did they calumniate this poor Lord, though he that very day defeated eight hundred *Engliſh*: I do believe had the King ſent ſuch a Judge, and that he would have hearkned to the Hugonots, he would have found Witneſſes enow that would have been depos'd. I had promiſed *Guienne* to the King of *Spain*, though I never lov'd that Nation, nor ever ſhall, I am too good a *Frenchman* for that. But to return to the ſaid Mareſchal, when thoſe who had given him this Traverſe, ſaw that they could no way enſnare him, and that he was likely to be ſet at liberty, to the great diſhonor of thoſe who had brought this trouble upon him; they then accuſed him, that he made certain Skip-Jack hirelings paſs muſter in his Company of Gens-d'armes, to get ſo many Pays, which (as it was ſaid) was prov'd to be true, but it was to pay men withal he had in *Flanders*, to ſend him continual intelligence of all that paſſed in the Enemies Country; for we are ſometimes neceſſitated to make uſe of ſuch ſhifts for the Kings ſervice: but I leave any one to judg, if this was ſufficient to bring him upon a Scaffold, and to degrade him from his Nobility, his Arms, and Mareſchalſy, and to condemn him to the loſs of his head. Nevertheleſs as they were proceeding to execution, King *Henry* calling to mind, that he had made him Knight of the Order, ſent him his pardon, ſo that five or ſix moneths after, what of old age, and what of grief, he died a natural death, and who would have liv'd after ſuch an injury and diſgrace? The Judicature of *France* is not without *Cortels*, for there are enow, who ſhould the King put into their hands the honeſteſt man of his Kingdom, would find out enough againſt him, as *Cortel* boaſted, who ſaid, *that deliver up to him the moſt upright Lieutenant in the Kingdom of* France *(provided he had been but a year or two in that employment) and he doubted not, but to find matter enough to put him to death.* This poor Lord had perform'd a Soldier-like action if ever man did, at the Fort of *Montrean*, when the *Engliſh* ſallied out of *Bullen* to give him Battel; he had with him the Count *Rhinegraves* Regiment (and as I think the Count himſelf was there) that of the *French* commanded by Monſieur *de Tais*, and ſeven Enſigns of *Italians*. So ſoon as the Enemy charg'd our Horſe, they were immediately put to rout, and fled, when the ſaid Sieur ſeeing the diſorder of the Cavalry, he ran to the Battaillon of Foot, and ſaid, *Oh my friends, it was not with the Horſe that I expected to win the Battel, but it is with you*, and thereupon alighted, where taking a Pike from one of the Soldiers, to whom he deliver'd his Horſe, and cauſing his Spurs to be pull'd off, he began his retreat towards *Andelot*. The Enemy after they had a great way purſued the Cavalry, return'd upon him, who was four hours or more upon his retreat, having the Enemies horſe, ſometimes in his Front, and ſometimes in his Flancks, and their Foot continually in his Rear, without their ever daring to break into him, and I was told by the Captains who were preſent in the Action, that he never advanc'd fifty paces without facing about upon the Enemy;

A brave Retreat.

by

by which this may be call'd one of the braveſt retreats that has been made theſe hundred years. I ſhould be glad any one could name me ſuch another, having upon him the whole power both of Foot and Horſe, and his own Cavalry all run off the Field. Behold what this poor Lord did for a parting blow, at above threeſcore and ten years of age, and yet he was uſed after this manner. Let any one ask the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who it was that did him this courteſie, for at the Aſſembly of the Knights of the Order before King *Francis* the ſecond, he reproach'd him with this buſineſs, and they grew into very high words upon it; for my part I am too little a Companion to name it, though I was preſent there, and alſo there were ſome Ladies who had a hand in the buſineſs.

A year after I ſaw another pranck plaid Monſieur *de Tais*, wherein he was accuſed to have ſpoken unhandſomely of a Court Lady; 'tis a misfortune *France* has ever had, that they meddle too much in all affairs, and have too great credit and intereſt: for upon this the command of the Artillery was taken from him, and he never after return'd into favour. The King of *Navarre* entreated the King not to take it ill, if he made uſe of him in the taking of *Hedin*, which his Majeſty gave him leave to do, and he was kill'd in the Trenches of the ſaid *Hedin*, doing ſervice for him to whom his ſervice was not acceptable, which is a great heart-breaking, and the greateſt of all vexations, to die for a Prince that has no regard for a mans ſervice; wherein our condition is of all others moſt miſerable: notwithſtanding I believe the King would in the end have made uſe of him again, for in truth he was a man of ſervice: and I moreover believe that his Majeſty was ſorry he had baniſht him the Court: but very often thoſe of both Sexes, who govern Princes, make them do things againſt their own natures and inclinations, and afterwards they are ſorry for it; but it is too late to repent, when their Traverſes have brought upon a Prince ſuch an inconvenience as is irreparable, and thoſe who would afterwards ſeem to excuſe them, endeavour to make the matter worſe by contriving new accuſations, and laying other aſperſions upon them. I ſhall not mention the Conſtables buſineſs, which drave him alſo from Court, and all, as it was ſaid, about women; nor that of the late Monſieur *de Guiſe*, we have ſeen them ſometimes out, and ſometimes in. The King would do well to ſtop the mouths of ſuch Ladies as tattle in his Court; for thence proceed all the reports and ſlanders; a prating Goſſip was cauſe of the death of Monſieur *de la Chaſtaigneray*, who would he have taken my advice, and that of five or ſix more of his friends, he had done his buſineſs with Monſieur *de Jarnac* after another manner; for he fought againſt his conſcience, and loſt both his honor and his life. The King ought therefore to command them to meddle with their own affairs (I except thoſe that are to be excepted) for their tittle tattle has done a great deal of miſchief, and after, as I ſaid, it is too late. Theſe are the good offices that in my time I have ſeen done ſeveral great perſons, and alſo ſuch poor Gentlemen as my ſelf, all which proceed from the jealouſie and envy they bear to one another, who are near unto the perſons of Princes. In the time that I have been at Court I have ſeen great diſſimulations, and ſeveral carry it very fair to one another in ſhew, who would have eaten one another if they could, and yet outwardly who ſo great as they, embracing and careſſing one another, as if they had been the greateſt friends in the world. I was never skill'd in that Trade, for every one might read my heart in my face.

Monſieur *de Tais* baniſht the Court.

He is ſlain.

The death of Monſieur *de la Chaſtaigneray*.

Diſſimulation at Court.

By this one may judg, that the misfortune into which this Kingdom is fallen, is not come upon it through any default of courage, or wiſdom in our Kings, nor for want of valiant Captains and Soldiers; for never Kings of *France* had ſo many both of Horſe and Foot, as *Francis*, *Henry*, and *Charles*; who had they been employed in forreign Conqueſts would have carried the War far enough from our own doors, and it was a great misfortune both to them and the whole Kingdome, that they were not ſo employed, and yet can we not lay the blame thereof, either to the Church, or the third Eſtate, for all that have by the Kings been demanded of them, have been freely granted. Every Child then may judg where the fault lay, and from whence ſprung the Civil Wars; I mean from the great ones; for they are not wont to make themſelves parties for the word of God, If the Queen and the Admiral were together in a Cabine, and the late Prince of *Condé*, and Monſieur *de Guiſe* together with them, I could make them confeſs, that ſomething elſe than Religion mov'd them to make three hundred thouſand men cut one anothers throats, and I know not if we have yet made an end; for I have heard there is a Prophecy (I know not whether in *Noſtradamus* or no) that their Children ſhall ſhew their Mothers as a wonder when they ſee a man, ſo few ſhall be left, having kill'd one another. But let us ſay no more of it, it goers my heart to think on't, mine who have the leaſt intereſt, and who am ſhortly going into the other world.

Should I repeat all the Traverſes and Charities that I have read of in the *Roman* Hiſtories, I ſhould never have done; which Hiſtories I have formerly delighted to read, wondring why, and what ſhould be the reaſon, that we are not as valiant as they. I ſhall only reckon one or two, and begin with that I have read in I know not what book, of *Camillus* a great *Roman* Captain, who after he had won many Battels, and enlarg'd the *Roman* Empire, with the addition of a large extent of Dominion, was in the end call'd to judgment, for having dedicated the ſpoil of his Conqueſts to the foundation of Temples, wherein to ſacrifice to their Gods, of which ſpoil the one half belong'd of right to the Soldier: but that the Gods might aſſiſt them in their Battels and Conqueſts, he preſented them this gift, ſaying, *That the Soldiers ſtood as much in need of the aſſiſtance of the Gods as he.* So that upon his return to *Rome*, for the reward of the great ſervices he had perform'd, and the famous Victories he had obtain'd for the Common-wealth, they brought him to his Tryal: yet did they not nevertheleſs put him to death, but ſent him into exile to a City the name whereof I do not remember, for it is long ago ſince I read *Livie*, not in Latin (of which I have no more than my *Pater Noſter*) but in French. Now when he had remain'd ſometime in this City, there came two or three *Gauliſh* Kings with a mighty Army, and took *Rome*, killing almoſt all the Citizens, ſaving ſome few who retir'd into the Capitol, and there held out for ſome time. *Livie* reports, that one night thoſe who were thus retir'd into the Capitol were all aſleep, and the Enemy had already gain'd a part of the Capitol, when a Gooſe begining to cackle awak'd the Guards, who thereupon enter'd into a combat with the Enemy, and repell'd them. At this time the ſaid *Camillus*, gathering together all the men he could, took the field, where the Enemy finding nothing more to plunder, nor proviſions to maintain their pleaſures in *Rome*, having diſperſed themſelves all over the Country ten or twelve leagues diſtant from the City, he ſlew in the fields ſeven or eight thouſand of them. (When I was at *Rome* in the time of Pope *Marcellinus*, I cauſed thoſe fields to be ſhew'd me, taking great delight in viewing the ground where ſo many brave Battels had been fought; for me-thought I ſaw before my eyes the things I had heard of, and read; but notwithſtanding I ſaw nothing, either like, or any way reſembling the great *Camillus*.) The rumour of this defeat having run thorough all the neighbouring Cities, cauſed ſeveral gallant men to repair to *Camillus's* Camp; by which means finding himſelf ſtrong enough he march'd directly to *Rome*, poſſeſſed by an infinite number of *Gauls*, whom he defeated, and ſav'd a vaſt ſumme of money, which thoſe who were retir'd into the Capitol had promiſed to give, and was afterward call'd the ſecond Founder of *Rome*. The Hiſtorians can give a better account of this ſtory than I, who perhaps miſtake it; it being above thirty years ſince I have ſo much as taken a book in hand; and much leſs dare to read now by reaſon of my ill eyes, and the wound in my face.

The two *Scipio's*.

In *Spain* the two *Scipio's* were defeated by *Aſdrubal* in thirty dayes time, and within thirty leagues of one another, to wit *Pub. Scipio* the firſt, and his Brother *Cornelius Scipio* afterwards, and of both the one Army, and the other ſome eſcap'd away, who all retir'd to the Garriſons where they had lain all Winter, where being come they found that all their Colonels were ſlain, and were therefore neceſſitated to chooſe one, whom they call'd the New Captain. *Aſdrubal* having intelligence that this new General had rallied the *Roman* Soldiers who were eſcap'd from the two defeats, went immediately to aſſault them; but was ſtoutly repuſ'd, and conſtrain'd to retire himſelf to a certain place, where this valiant Captain fell upon him by night, and not only defeated the Army he had there with him but another alſo that lay in another place hard by; inſomuch, that by his valour he not only ſav'd thoſe few *Romans* who were eſcaped from the two loſt Battails, but moreover both the *Spaynes* for the people of *Rome*, which but for him had been loſt to *Rome* for ever. Now the Senate in the mean time continued a great while without hearing any news of the *Scipioes*, or of their affaires: but had at length intelligence brought of the loſs of the two *Scipio's*, together with the victories of this new Captaine (I do not remember his name before he was created, and call'd the new Captain, the Hiſtorians will better remember it than I who have not ſeen the book of ſo many years) which ſo ſoon as the Senate had notice of, they ſent away *Scipio* the younger to command the Army (I think ſon to the firſt *Scipio* who had been ſlain) and withall commanded the new Captain to *Rome*, whom, ſo ſoon as he came, inſtead of rewarding his ſervice, they call'd to judgment, accuſing him that he had accepted the Soldiers Election, and taken upon him the command of the Army from them, and not by Commiſſion from the Senate, and I think put him to death, at leaſt I find no more mention of him in *Livy*.

* His name was *Lucius Marcius*.

Oh

Oh how many other great Captains have been recompenced with ſuch rewards in the time of the *Romans*, the Hiſtorians are full of ſuch exemples, and the Judicature of *France* being rul'd and govern'd by the Laws of the *Romans*, 'tis to be expected that the Kings of *France* ſhould govern themſelves by their Cuſtoms. Would to God the King would perpetuate his own glory, and leave ſuch a memorial of his prudence as ſhould for ever be commended; that is, that he would burn all the Books of the Laws by which his Judicature determines of affairs, and erect a new, equal, and upright Judicature (for I dare be bold to ſay, there is not a Monarch in Chriſtendom, who is govern'd by his Laws, the Kings of *France* excepted, all the reſt have Laws made by themſelves to cut off all tedious Suits; ſo much as even in *Bearn* and *Lorrain*, which are in two Corners of the Kingdom) that no Suit might be above two years depending. If his Majeſty would pleaſe to do this he might boaſt to have a world of Soldiers, who would be neceſſitated to take arms, having nothing to do in the * Palace: for this Profeſſion being taken away, to what would you that a brave and generous heart ſhould apply it ſelf, but to arms? what is it that ſo much encreaſes the Power, and enlarges the Empire of the Grand Signior but this, he thinks of nothing but arms? O how many brave Captains would this Kingdom then ſupply the world withal, whereas I do believe that two Thirds of the Nation are taken up in theſe Courts, and pleadings, and in the mean time, though they are naturally brave, by degrees degenerate into Poltrons and Raſcals. This Kingdom would then be formidable to Strangers, and beſides how rich and opulent? for the whole ruine of the Gentry proceeds from no other cauſe, but thoſe peſtiferous Counſels wherewith the Advocates ſeduce their Clients; and ſet them together by the ears. I remember I once read in the window of a houſe at *Tholouze*, which one of the moſt eminent Advocates of that Court call'd *Mainery*, had cauſed to be written there theſe words,

* Courts of Law.

The greatneſs of the Turk.

Faux conſells, & mauvaiſes Teſtes,
M'ont fait baſtir ces Feneſtres.
Evil advice, and idle brains
Have helpt me to erect theſe pains.

and ſince they themſelves record it, I may well ſay after them, that we are very great fools to deſtroy one another to enrich them: it being equally ruinous to him that prevails, with him that is baffell'd, for they ſpin out the Suits in ſuch length, that when he who has got the better of his adverſary comes to reckon the money he has ſpent, he will find himſelf ſtill a great deal out of purſe, beſides the loſs of his time. And if the King would do this perhaps the cuſtom of Traverſes, and ill offices men now practice upon one another would be laid aſide with the Laws; and his Majeſties good Subjects, who meditate no other thing, but how loyally and faithfully to ſerve him, would either be maintain'd about his Majeſties perſon, or elſewhere employ'd in his ſervice.

Now ſeeing I have the honor in my diſgraces to be rancked with ſo many great Perſonages, both of former ages, and thoſe whom I my ſelf have known in my own time, I ſhall the better enjoy my retirement, and be proud of being aſſociated with ſo many illuſtrious perſons, being aſſur'd of two things, one whereof is my fidelity, which no one can by any means deprive me of, and the other that I have to do with a gracious King, who in time will (I doubt not) acknowledg the ſervices I have perform'd for him, and for his Crown. And if I am retir'd into my own houſe, it is with no great regret, it being a thing I have long deſir'd, provided it might be with the good favour of the King and Queen, which alſo they cannot juſtly take from me, for which I praiſe God, who has guided me ſo well through all my ſeveral Employments, that I never gave them any juſt cauſe of offence, and am in this privacy of mine more happy, and better ſatisfied, than they who have given me theſe Traverſes: for I laugh at the anxiety they are in, both how to wound and defend themſelves from one another. I think the Souls in Purgatory are not in ſo great pain, whilſt I live here in repoſe in my Family, with my kindred and friends about me, paſſing away my time, in cauſing to be writ down before me the things that I have ſeen; ſo that were it not for the great Harquebuz ſhot in my face, which I am conſtrain'd to keep open, I ſhould be very well content, and think my ſelf exceeding happy. For concerning the loſs of my Sons, I comfort my ſelf that they all died like men of honor with their ſwords in their hands for the ſervice of my Prince, and as to the reſt, I ſhould be a man void of ſenſe and underſtanding, if I did not look upon them as tricks that are commonly practiſed in the world, and conſider my ſelf in a happy eſtate, who have no more occaſion to do harm to any one, which continuing in ſuch, and ſo great an employment, as that wherein I was before, I could not ſometimes poſſibly avoid.

But I ſhall leave this diſcourſe, which has half made me angry, to return to what became of me after I had taken my leave of all thoſe Lords and Captains who went into *France*. I return'd thorough *Perigueux*, where I gave the Seneſchal of *Perigord* Commiſſion to make head againſt whatever Inſurrection ſhould ſtir on that ſide: and ſo ſoon as I came to *Agen*, I ſent a Patent to Monſieur *de Bellegarde* at *Tholouze*, in my abſence to command in the Country of *Cominge* and *Bigorre*, and as far as the Frontiers of *Bearn*: another to Monſieur *de Negrepelice* to command in the Juriſdictions of *Verdun* and *Riviere*, and a third to Monſieur *de Cornuſſon* the Elder to command in *Roüergue*; which being done, I left yet fourteen or fifteen Enſigns more of Foot, whereof part I quarter'd in *Quercy* to make head againſt the Vicounts (who never ſtirr'd out of the Country, and were evermore ſtirring new Commotions) and the reſt towards *Bourdelois*, and not long after the King ſent me a Command to go and beſiege *Rochelle*, in order whereunto he would ſend me a Commiſſion to raiſe money wherewith to defray the expence of the War.

Preparation for the Siege of *Rochelle*.

Firſt he would that thoſe of *Tholouze* ſhould deliver me twenty thouſand Francs of the money rais'd upon the Confiſcation of the Hugonots Goods, wherewith to pay the Foot, and for the charge of the Artillery that I ſhould take fifteen thouſand Francs upon ſome Revenues the King has in *Xaintonge*, whereof his Majeſty never himſelf made above nine thouſand, and that his ſaid Majeſty would ſend order to the Governor of *Nantes* to ſend me four pieces of Canon, and ſome Culverine. Theſe were my aſſignments, wonderful certain, and very proper for ſuch an Enterprize, which ſeem'd rather a Mockery, and a Farce than any thing elſe; and that they would ſend me before *Rochelle*, either to be thrown away, or to ſuffer ſome notable diſgrace. However I would try alwayes to execute his Majeſties Command, to which end I immediately diſpatcht away a Courrier with his Majeſties Letters to the Parliament, and Capitouls of *Tholouze*, to which they return'd me anſwer, that the few goods of the Hugonots which had been found in their City had long ago been ſold, and the money diſpos'd of for the charge they had been at in ſeveral occaſions. Upon this anſwer I went forthwith to *Bourdeaux* to try if I could perſwade the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats there to furniſh me with ſome money for the Enterprize, but could never prevail with them to advance one Denier, they telling me, *that they would reſerve the Stock they had to employ it for the defence of their City, if occaſion ſhould be, and not lay it out upon* Rochelle, *which was no member of their Juriſdiction.* I then diſpatcht away to their Majeſties to give them an account of the anſwers I had receiv'd; but notwithſtanding did not for all that forbear to march into *Xaintonge*, beſeeching them to ſend me other more certain aſſignments, or that otherwiſe I could not engage my ſelf before *Rochelle*, without loſing their Majeſties reputation, and my own, and peradventure the whole Army: for to beſiege a place of that importance without paying the Soldiers to keep them in their Trenches, were to force them abroad to pillage, and to leave my Artillery in the mean time engag'd; neither was I to learn in thoſe affairs. I writ moreover to his Majeſty that he would pleaſe to command the Governor of *Nantes* to ſend me the Artillery with all poſſible ſpeed, and cauſe it to be brought to *Broüage*, hoping that I ſhould ſoon gain the Iſles. Having ſent away this diſpatch, I return'd into *Agenois* to march away twelve or thirteen Enſigns, as alſo to take the Gentlemen of the Country along with me, when being come to *St. Macaire*, I there found Monſieur *de Lauzun*, and the Muſter-Maſters, who was muſtring his Company, whom I entreated that immediately after the Muſter he would ſend away Monſieur *de Madaillan*, who carried his Enſign directly to *Xaintes* to which Sieur *de Madaillan* I gave a Cornet of *Argoulets* belonging to the Sieur *de Verduzan* Seneſchal of *Bazadois* my Kinſman, together with the Compânies of *Malrun*, *Thodias*, and *la Mothe Monganzy*, giving him in charge to make extreme haſte without ſtaying till he came to *Xaintes*, and that in caſe the *Margnois* ſhould be at *St. Seurin*, ſo ſoon as ever he had baited his men, he ſhould immediately go to fight them, and if they got the victory be ſure to ply their hands, for they were only a pack of Raſcals, and when the others ſhould hear of the defeat of their Companions, they would take ſuch a fright at the news, that they would never make head again, and that the fear would run as far as *Rochelle*: but that he muſt above all things be ſure to make a great ſlaughter to ſtrike a terror into the whole Party. I writ alſo to Monſieur *de Pons* an account of the whole deſign, ordering him to ſend ſome of his Forces to *Xaintes*, to the end they might jointly fall upon this execution. I had already ſent to the Enſigns that they ſhould move towards *Agenois*, and to the Gentry alſo, and the ſaid Seneſchal *de Bazadois* took upon him the Charge of our Mareſchal de Camp of Gens-d'armes. I had no more but the Company of Monſieur *de Lauzun*, my own, and that of Monſieur *de Merville* Grand Seneſchal of *Guien*, for of that of Monſieur *de Jarnac*, which the King had appointed to come to me, the fourth part was not to be found, moſt of them being with the Prince of *Condé*: nowithſtanding

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which, I ſtaid three daies only at *Agen* : but return'd ſtraight into *Bourdelois* with the few Forces I could get together, giving the Command of the Foot to my Nephew the Sieur *de Leberon*. In my ſecond dayes march from *Agen* I receiv'd letters from Monſieur *de Madaillan*, wherein he gave me to underſtand, that he had made ſo good haſte, as that the third night after I departed from them they arriv'd at *Xaintes*, where having intelligence that there were three Enſigns of Foot at *St. Seurin*, who had there lodg'd and fortified themſelves, they had fallen upon them, and brought away three Colours. Five or ſix daies after I came to *Marennes*, where I found Monſieur *de Pons*, to whom his Majeſty had written, as alſo to Monſieur *de Jarnac*, to come to me to the Siege of *Rochelle*. Soon after I received a letter from the Governor of *Nantes*, wherein he ſent me word, that I was not to wait in expectation of his Artillery, for that he had one piece of Canon only mounted upon an old rotten Carriage, and that all the reſt were on ground, without poſſibility of being made ready in leſs than three months time. See how our Frontier Cities and places of importance were provided and fortified! *Rochelle* was not ſo. I then fell to ſpinning out the time about *St. Jean* and *Xaintes*, in expectation of an anſwer from their Majeſties, and money to bring the Artillery from *Bourdeaux*, very ſorry that I had advanc'd ſo far. Day by day I ſent new diſpatches to them to that effect; but could never obtain any anſwer. The laſt I ſent to Court was *Dragon*, who had retir'd himſelf to Monſieur *de Pons*, and in the mean time Monſieur *de Lude* came near unto *St. Jean*, where at a privat Gentlemans houſe we had ſome conference. He there ſhewed me the letters the King had writ to him, wherein his Majeſty commanded him to joyn with me in the Enterprize of *Rochelle*, telling me that he would as cheerfully obey me as the proper perſon of the King himſelf, as being the oldeſt Captain in *France*, that he would bring me ſix or ſeven Enſigns of Foot, and three or four hundred horſe. It did not then ſtick at me, nor at thoſe Gentlemen the King had commanded to aſſiſt me, neither at the Forces of Foot or Horſe; but only at the want of means to bring up the Artillery, and a little money to pay the Foot, that this Siege of *Rochelle* did not ſucceed. I will not ſay I ſhould have carried it, but I ſhould have frighted them at the leaſt, and perhaps have done them no good.

In this interval Monſieur *de Pons* had reduc'd the Iſles of *Oleron* and *Alvert*; for they are for the moſt part his own, and Captain *Gombaudiere* was in them, having his houſe there, and commanded as well in *Alvert* as *Oleron*. There only then remain'd the Iſle of *Ré*, where they had erected a Fort near unto a Church, and ſeveral others at the places of landing. I cauſed five hundred Harquebuzeers to be choſen out of all our Companies, with all the Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns, the one half of *Monganzy* the elders Company excepted, who ſtaid aſhore to command thoſe that were left behind, making my Nephew *de Leberon* with the ſaid five hundred to embark at the Port of *Broüage*. *Guillet*, the Kings receiver in thoſe parts took great pains to victuál and prepare the Veſſels, whom the Queen of *Navarre* put to death in the late troubles, but I could never learn for what, I ever knew him to be a good ſervant of the Kings, and believe his diligence upon this occaſion of our mens putting to ſea did him more harm than good, and perhaps might be the cauſe of his death, for the Queen of *Navarre* did by no means love thoſe people. My ſaid Nephew was a day and a night hindred by foul weather from landing, as alſo the Enemy defended the landing places from the Forts they had made : but in the end he unbethought him in the night to ſend away all the leſſer boats he had brought along with him full of Soldiers to land amongſt the Rocks on the back of the Iſland, where the Enemy kept no Guard, who ſo ſoon as part of them were got on ſhore, the Enemy diſcovering the ſtratagem, ran to that part, and fought them; but ours remain'd Maſters of the place. My Nephew who was one that was engag'd in the fight, thereupon preſently diſpatcht a Skiff to the Captains and Soldiers who were aboard the greater Veſſels, to bid them come away, which being ſuddenly done, ſo ſoon as they were all landed, they marcht directly to the great Fort by the Church, a long league and a half from thence, which they aſſaulted on two or three ſides at once; ſo that they carried the place, putting all they found within it to the ſword, whilſt the reſt who guarded the landings put themſelves into little boats, and fled away towards *Rochelle*. We imagin'd them to be the people inhabitants of the Iſland, who eſcaped away, and that our people had gotten the victory, and two dayes after my ſaid Nephew ſent me an account of the whole action, which ſooner he could not do, the wind being ſo contrary that they could not poſſibly get to *Marennes*, where the aforeſaid Sieur and I lay : upon which news we call'd back my ſaid Nephew, leaving two Foot Companies in the Iſle. I then left Monſieur *de Pons* at *Marennes*, and went away to St. *Jean*, where Monſieur *de Jarnac* came to me, to take order for all things neceſſary for me in order to the Siege. I cauſed great proviſion of vi-

The taking of the Iſles.

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Proviſion for the Siege of *Rochelle.*

ctuals to be made ready, wherein the Providore of the late Monſieur *de Burie* was very aſſiſting to me, for he was of that Country.

In the mean time I ſtill expected to hear from the King, but could never obtain the favour of one ſyallable, neither did any of my Meſſengers ever return; and in truth there was very great danger by the way, the Enemy being poſſeſt of all the great Roads, by which they were to return into *Xaintonge*. The firſt that came was *Dragon*, who brought news that the Peace was as good as concluded, and that the King would ſuddenly ſend me word what I was to do. I think that having ſeen the Prince and the Admiral with their Forces at the Gates of *Paris*, ready to fight a Battel, and afterwards at liberty to overrun all *France*, they more thought of that than they conſider'd the affairs of *Guienne*. This was the ſucceſs of my expedition into *Xaintonge*; and ſeeing I have been reproacht, that for three years I had done nothing conſiderable, I could wiſh that ſuch as propoſe Enterprizes to the King would be as prompt to provide things neceſſary for ſuch deſigns, as they are ready to give aſſignments that ſignifie nothing, like thoſe they ſent me, and then perhaps ſome good might be done: but as they order it, a man muſt be a God to work miracles. Oh the happy time that theſe men have who are about the Kings perſon, and never come within danger of a Battel! they cut out work, and very good cheap for others, that the King may think them wiſe and politick; but they never care to offer his Majeſty, that if *Montluc* or another ſhall refuſe to go upon ſuch an Enterprize, they themſelves will undertake it. It is enough for them that they can talk well, and ſuch perhaps there are, who propound a deſign which they would be glad ſhould miſcarry, for generally there is nothing but diſſimulation, jealouſie, and treachery amongſt them, and this is to betray ones Maſter like a good Frenchman. I am confident by the chearfulneſs I ſaw in the Gentlemen who were with me, and by the aſtoniſhment I diſcover'd in the people we had to do withal, that had I been ſupplied with neceſſaries requiſite for ſuch an Enterprize, I ſhould have ſet hard to have carried this City, which has ſince ſo fortified it ſelf, that if the King permit them to take ſurer footing, 'tis to be fear'd they will withdraw themſelves from his obedience: but I was at this time ſo ill aſſiſted, and his Majeſty ſo ill ſerv'd, that I could do no more than I did.

The importance of *Rochelle.*

A few dayes after the King ſent me the Peace to cauſe it to be proclaim'd at *Bourdeaux*, commanding me to disband the Foot, and to diſmiſs them every man to his own houſe; which I accordingly did, and ſent the Proclamation to the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats to cauſe it to be publiſht: but for my own part I would not be preſent at it, knowing very well, that it was only a Truce to get breath, and a Peace to gain time to provide themſelves better for a War to come, and not intended to be kept, for the King who had been taken unprovided I was confident would never put up the affront had been put upon him, who though he was very young, was notwithſtanding a Prince of great ſpirit, and that bore this audatious Enterprize with very great impatience, as I have ſince been told by ſome who were then about him. He gave ſufficient teſtimony of a generous courage, and truly worthy of a King, when he put himſelf in the head of the *Swiſs* to eſcape to *Paris*; and do you think, Gentlemen, you who were the Leaders of thoſe mutinous Troops, that he will ever forget that inſolence? you would hardly endure it from your equal, what then would you do with a Servant? for my part I never ſaw, nor ever read of ſo ſtrange a thing, which made me alwayes think it would ſtick in the Kings ſtomack. The Prince and the Admiral committed a great overſight in this Peace; for they had by much the better of the Game, and might doubtleſs have carried *Chartres*, ſo that thoſe who mediated, and procur'd this accommodation, perform'd a very ſignal ſervice for the King and Kingdom.

The Sieur *de Montlucs* judgment of the Commotion of *St. Michel.*

This was all I did in the ſecond Troubles, and me-thinks it was no contemptible ſervice, to ſend the King a recruit of eleven or twelve hundred Horſe, thirty Enſigns of Foot, and to preſerve for him the Province of *Guienne*, conquer him the Iſles, and not to be wanting on my part, that I did not try my fortune at *Rochelle*, and ſend him all the money the Rebels had amaſſed together in that part of his Kingdom. But I muſt do miracles forſooth, thoſe who are about the Kings perſon have ever done me one good office or another, and on my conſcience would his Majeſty hearken to them now, that I have nothing at all to do, they would find out one thing or another to lay to my charge; for the cuſtoms of the Court muſt not be loſt, which is to do all ill offices, and invent ſlanders againſt thoſe who have a deſire to do well. Was I near them I could quickly give ſome of them their anſwer, but the diſtance is too great betwixt *Gaſcony* and *Paris*; beſides I have loſt my Children, and *an old Beaſt has no reſourſe.*

The ſhort Peace, 1567.

This accommodation of the Second Troubles concluded at *Chartres* continued but eight or nine moneths at moſt, and was therefore called the *Short Peace.* In this interval I went

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to *Bourdeaux* in the beginning of *May* to ſee how all things went, where, by the news that was ordinarily brought from Court, by ſuch as came from thence, I very well perceiv'd that this Peace would not long continue: For one while I was told, that the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral liv'd contentedly in their own houſes; but for the moſt part was aſſur'd to the contrary, and alſo that the King had ſent no order to disband his own Forces, as at the Peace of the former Troubles, and that thoſe of the new Religion went and came to and fro from place to place, and frequently met at Conventicles. It was moreover bruited that *Rochelle* would not ſurrender, nor *Montauban*, *Millau*, and other places, inſomuch that it ſeem'd to be rather a Truce, than a Peace concluded. On the other ſide I was entred into ſome jealouſie of the Governor of *Blaye* call'd *Des-Rois*, wherefore I went to *Blaye*, taking the Atturney General of the Parliament, called *Laket* along with me, where being come, *Des-Rois* began to fall into a long diſcourſe of the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats of *Bourdeaux*, complaining to me, that they had conceiv'd an unjuſt ſuſpicion againſt him, which made him afraid to go into the City. To which I made anſwer, *that this jealouſie did not originally proceed from any diſaffection that either the Court of Parliament, or the Jurats had to his perſon, but that himſelf was the cauſe he was ſuſpected, foraſmuch as all thoſe of his Garriſon were Hugonots, whom he protected and favour'd in the City, and who not far from thence had defac'd a Church in his own preſence: but that if he deſir'd no one ſhould ſuſpect or cenſure him, he would do well to new-model his Garriſon, and form (the greater part of it at leaſt) of Catholick Soldiers: That notwithſtanding I very well knew the contrary, and thereupon like a true friend remonſtrated to him, that he ſhould call to mind from what Father he deſcended, and remember that in recompence of the good ſervices he had perform'd for the Kings* Francis *and* Henry, *they had firſt given him the Command of that place, and ſince continued it to him his Son; with ſeveral other Remonſtrances*, which I thought proper to wean him from an ill-conceiv'd opinion, in caſe he ſhould peradventure really have entertain'd any ſuch thing in his fancy. I had formerly evermore taken his part, and having ever known him (as I thought at leaſt) very affectionate to the King's ſervice, had writ to his Majeſty, that if I was to be reſponſible for any man, it ſhould be for him (ſee how a man may be deceiv'd in judging of men by their own fair ſpeeches) but ſo ſoon as I was return'd to *Bourdeaux*, and ſaw ſome ſigns that did not much pleaſe me, I had no more the ſame opinion of him that before; of which I alſo gave their Majeſties preſent notice; but it was ſeven or eight dayes after I had parted from him. I heard ſince that a few dayes after I had been with him he had been at *Eſtauliers* to conferre with Monſieur *Mirmebeau*, and the Baron *de Pardaillan*, where they had been five or ſix hours ſhut up together in a Chamber, that they had another meeting three dayes after that, and I had further intelligence, that he was determin'd to go to Court to preſent himſelf to the King, to give his Majeſty more ample aſſurance of his faith. Whereupon I diſpatched away to the King, giving him an account of all I had heard, and telling him that I had formerly given his Majeſty aſſurance of the ſaid *Des-Rois*, but that I would now revoke that engagement, and no more ſtand caution for him, conſidering the conference he had held at *Eſtauliers*, and that if his Majeſty would pleaſe to take my humble advice, he ſhould remove him from his Government, ſubſtituting ſome one of his Majeſties own Religion, which if his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to think fit to do, it would then be convenient to detein the ſaid *Des-Rois* till ſuch time as I ſhould have put in him whom his Majeſty ſhould appoint into his place, and chang'd the Garriſon. Humbly beſeeching his Majeſty, that he would pleaſe to take my poor advice in this affair, or that otherwiſe himſelf would be the firſt that ſhould repent it.

The practices of the Hugonots to win *Des-Rois* over to their Party.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* advice to the King.

Des-Rois fail'd not to begin his Journey the ſame day that I ſent away my diſpatch to the King, which was upon a Monday, and being come to Court, as I was told, addreſſed himſelf to Monſieur *de Lanſac*, to whom I believe he made his complaint, perſwading the ſaid Sieur *de Lanſac* that all theſe jealouſies proceeded from no other cauſe than the deſire I had to preferre ſome Gentleman who was at my devotion, to the Command of that place, which how true it was God then knew, and time has ſince diſcover'd: but I conceive that the ſaid Sieur *de Lanſac*, as well upon the account of neighbourhood, as out of conſideration of the good repute of the Father and Family of the ſaid *Des-Rois*, was willing to embrace his intereſt, and conſequently ſpoke to his Majeſty in his behalf, wherein he was himſelf firſt deceiv'd, and afterward aſham'd of his mediation. It was however hard to judg a man who had never been blemiſhe before, nor ever committed any fault, but rather behav'd himſelf well than ill, as this Gentleman had done. *Men are not to be diſcover'd by the ſight, like counterfeit money*; and God alone can dive into the hearts of men. So it was, that he return'd back very well ſatisfied with the King, to whom, that he might be more affectionate to his ſervice, his Majeſty gave a thouſand Crowns, where-

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in his Majeſty did not perhaps conſider, that he was of an ill hair, of which there are very few good men; but, however it was, another might have been as well deceiv'd as he, for he had a ſmooth tongue, and knew very well how to diſguiſe the rancour of his heart.

Advice to Princes.

See here how cautious a Prince ought to be, whether the King ought not to have taken more notice of this conference of one of his Governors with the Hugonots, and in a caſe of ſuſpition like this, to have enclined to the ſafeſt counſels. There are wayes to ſatisfie ſuch as we would rid our hands of, without driving them to deſpair, whereas we run a very great hazard in leaving a place of importance in the hands of a ſuſpected perſon, as his Majeſty did in the power of *Des-Rois*, and a very good place too. When a woman once hearkens to unlawful ſolicitation farewel vertue, and alſo when a Governor of a Town enters into ſuch ſecret Parlies as theſe, there is ſome knavery a brewing, and in ſuch a caſe the King or Prince ought to be as jealous as the Husband, that knows his Wife has an ear open to Courtſhip, if at the ſame time he who engages in ſuch conferences, do not underhand give his Majeſty or his Lieutenant notice of it; in which caſe there is ſtill ſome danger, and it is hard to be ſubtle enough for a Traitor.

A diſcourſe touching the deſignes of the Prince of *Conde*.

Before I departed from *Bourdeaux* I in the morning aſſembled the Attorney General, the General *de Gourgues*, Captain *Verre*, and my Nephew the Sieur *de Leberon*, to whom I would communicate what I had fancied with my ſelf upon the news that daily came from Court of the diſſidence and diſcontent the Prince of *Condé* was in, and what I ſhould do if I were in his place. In which diſcourſe they may remember I told them, *that if the Prince could paſs, he would infallibly come into* Xaintonge, *having* Rochelle, *and almoſt all the Country at his devotion; that the Iſles when they ſhould ſee Forces in* Xaintonge, *and at* Rochelle, *and Monſieur* de la Rochefoucault *ſo near them, would preſently revolt, and that then the ſaid Prince and the Hugonots would reſolutely turn all their deſigns this way; for in* France Roan *was no longer theirs, which being gone, they had not one Port-Town at their devotion; and that it would be in them a ridiculous and a ſenſeleſs thing, to begin a third War, without firſt having a Sea-Port in their power. Now they could not poſſibly make choice of one of greater advantage to them, than that of* Rochelle, *on which depends that of* Brouage, *which is abſolutely the faireſt, and the moſt commodious Haven in all the Kingdom; for being there they might have ſuccours out of* Germany, Flanders, England, Scotland, Brittany, *and* Normandy, *all of them Countries abounding in people of their own Religion, ſo that in truth ſhould the King give them their choice to Canton themſelves in any Port of the Kingdom, they could not poſſibly chooſe a more advantageous nor a more commodious place.* They all approv'd of my diſcourſe as being near the truth, which I had fram'd in the Night as I lay conſidering the ſtate of our affairs, for ſo I uſed to paſs part of the time in bed; and this waking fancy of mine ſeem'd to preſage almoſt as much diſaſter and misfortune, as the dreams I had dreamt of King *Henry* and King *Charles*.

Brouage the faireſt Haven in *France*.

Having entertain'd them with this diſcourſe, I then proceeded to tell them, *that it would be convenient to find out ſome fit remedies againſt the evil before it ſhould arrive; for to communicate this conceipt to their Majeſties, without propoſing at the ſame time ſome way to fruſtrate the Enemies deſigns, were*, I thought, *to make them neglect my intelligence, and to ſlight my advice.* We therefore fell to conſidering, that to prevent the miſhaps which ſeem'd to threaten us, there was no other way, than by making Forts upon the ſea, and betimes to ſecure the Ports, which with four Ships, and as many Shalops to lie at *Chedebois*, *la Pallice*, and the mouth of the Harbour at *Brouage*, might ſufficiently be provided for; and that the Ports being once our own, neither Engliſh, nor any other of their Party, could or would attempt to come into their aſſiſtance, knowing they were to land at places where they are almoſt always certain to meet with very tempeſtuous weather; and that Seamen will never venture out to ſea to go to any place, unleſs they are firſt ſure of a free and a ſecure Harbour to lie in: and on the other ſide, that our Ships lying about the Iſles would ſo awe the Inhabitants, that they would never dare to revolt, and our men of War would ſo keep *Rochelle*, as it were beſieged, that it muſt of neceſſity in a little time either wholly ſubmit to the Kings devotion, or at leaſt contein themſelves quiet, without attempting any thing of commotion. All which being remonſtrated to them we unanimouſly concluded, that I ought to ſend an account thereof to the King and Queen.

The deſign of a Naval Army.

Now the next thing we were to conſider of, was, which way the money was to be raiſed to equip theſe Veſſels, and to pay the men; and as to that we made account that with ten thouſand *Francs*, and two thouſand ſacks of Corn, which I offer'd of my own for the making of Biſcuit, we ſhould ſet them out to ſea. General *Gorgues* would undertake alſo to cauſe Cattel to be ſent from the upper Country upon the account of his own credit, and all upon the confidence we had, that his Majeſty would in time reinburſe us: The

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Attorney General then dealt very earneſtly with the ſaid Sieur *de Gorgues* to perſwade the Jurats monethly to advance ſomething towards the charge, and moreover to levy the Cuſtom (which the preſent Treaſurer had obtein'd from the Privy Council, and ſnipt from the Kings Revenue, though the Graunt had not yet been executed, by reaſon that the Receiver of *Bourdeaux* had oppoſ'd him in his claim, pretending it to be a Member of his Farm, inſomuch that the Treaſurer out of ſpite had forborne to execute his Warrant) which when the Jurats ſhould ſee was to be laid out for the publick good, not only in the behalf of his Majeſties particular intereſt, but moreover for the benefit of their own City, every one would lay to his helping hand, ſo that what with this, and what with the foremention'd advance, it would not for the future coſt the King a penny. The Attorney General, and the ſaid Sieur *de Gorgues* then with Captain *Verre* caſt up the account before me, which being done, we concluded that the Sieur *de Leberon* ſhould go carry an account of all to the Queen, very well knowing that her Majeſty would better underſtand the buſineſs than any of the Council; whereupon I accordingly diſpatcht away the ſaid Sieur *de Leberon* poſt to Court.

The Queen hearkned to all my ſaid Nephew had to deliver with very great patience, returning him anſwer thereupon, *that ſhe would propound it to the Council*, which ſhe did, and three dayes after told him, *that the Council did by no means approve of the motion*, which I believe was occaſion'd by ſome ones buzzing into their ears, that I made this Propoſition more out of a deſire to range along the Coaſt, than out of any reaſon there was to ſuſpect any ſuch thing, as I fancied ſhould fall out. I remember very well that I gave my ſaid Nephew further in charge to tell the Queen, *that I had been ſo unfortunate in all the advices I had preſum'd to offer to her Majeſty, that ſhe had never been pleaſed to give any credit to any of them, notwithſtanding that her Majeſty had ſo often been convinc'd, that they had been always good, and my intelligences continually true: but that I did moſt humbly beſeech her to give credit to me once in her life only, which if ſhe did not, ſhe would I doubted repent it, and that it would be too late to be remedied, when the misfortune ſhould be once arriv'd:* but all theſe remonſtrances ſignified nothing, and ſhe ſent me back my ſaid Nephew without any other anſwer but this, *that the Kings Council had not approv'd of the thing.* Which prov'd very ill; I believe had her Majeſty been pleaſed to follow my counſel the Hugonots affairs would not have been in ſo good a condition as they now are: but *God diſpoſes all things as beſt pleaſes him.* I know very well, that had I wrought every day a miracle, the Court would never have believed me to be a Saint, eſpecially thoſe about the Kings perſon, who would be ſorry their Majeſties ſhould believe that any in the Nation ſhould be ſo vigilant, ſo intent upon the affairs of the Kingdom, or ſo wiſe as they, and yet I have often heard that thoſe who preſume ſo much upon their own wiſdom, are often the verieſt fools of all.

Oh how vigilant ought a wiſe and prudent King to be, to diſcover theſe Court Cheats, I was too far off to diſpute it with them face to face, and letters have no reply; one Enemy alſo in the Kings Council is able to do a man more miſchief, than thirty friends can do him good, of which I have had woful experience, and in the mean time all things go backwards, without any hopes of amendment, for any thing we can do or ſay. I may here aptly enough bring in the ſtory of *Marco de Breſſe* an *Italian*, who had perform'd ſome ſignal ſervices for the Signiory of *Venice*, for which having long ſollicited a recompence, but ſtill in vain; it hapned at laſt that the Duke of *Venice* died, which ſo ſoon as ever Signior *Marco* heard of, he preſently preferr'd a Petition to the Senate, wherein he entreated the Signiory to chooſe him Duke for the reward of his ſervice. The Senate equally aſtoniſht, and ſcandaliz'd at the ridiculous, and yet the audacious pretence of this man, ſent ſome of their Senators to him to check him for his inſolence, and to remonſtrate to him the offence he had given to, and the affront he had put upon the Republique by his impudent demand; which being accordingly laid home to him, he return'd this anſwer, * *Pardonate mi, voi havete fatto tante coioneriè, che io penſave che faretti anchora queſta, ma baſta ſon contento.* And ſo may we ſay to thoſe Gentlemen that govern all, that we ought not to wonder at any thing they do, nor hope for any better from them. The Kingdom at the long run will find the effects of their doings. In the mean time I return to my Subject.

* Pardon me, you have done ſo many ridiculous things, that I thought you would have done this alſo; but 'tis ſufficient, I am ſatisfied.

I then return'd towards *Agenois*, where upon my arrival at *Agen*, I ſo bruiſed one of my legs, that it conſtrain'd me three moneths to keep my bed, after which when I thought my ſelf cur'd, I was ſurpriz'd with ſo ſharp and violent a Catharre, as I thought verily would have cut my throat, which had it not vented it ſelf at one of my ears, the Phyſitians told me would infallibly have done my buſineſs. So ſoon as I was a little recover'd, I remov'd my ſelf to *Caſſaigne* for change of air, which was about the end of *July*. I had

The Sieur *de Montluc* falls ſick.

there intelligence ſent me out of *Bearn*, that the Queen of *Navarre* was departed from *Pau* to go into *Foix*, to take ſome order about her affairs : ſoon after I receiv'd news that ſhe ſtaid at *Vic Bigorre*, and immediately after I had another advertiſement, that on Wedneſday night there was a Gentleman came to her from Monſieur *de la Rochefoucault*, who had above four hours been ſhut up with her in her Cabinet. What Peace ſoever had been concluded I was evermore at watch, and alwayes maintain'd ſpies to give me an account of what they did in *Bearn*, for I very well knew, that no goodneſs was hatching there. I had further notice given me, that upon Thurſday ſhe was departed from *Vic Bigorre* in all haſte, and was gone towards *Nerac*, as it was true, for ſhe arrived there upon Sunday morning. Her arrival at this place filled many with expectation of novelty, and poſſeſt the wiſer ſort with an opinion that the Peace would not long continue. The next day I ſent my Nephew *de Leberon* to wait upon her, by whom I did humbly beſeech her, *that her coming into theſe parts might turn to our advantage, and produce ſome good effects for the better eſtabliſhment of the Peace concluded, aſſuring her upon my honor, that I on my part would take ſuch care, that it ſhould not be violated on the Catholicks ſide* : in anſwer whereunto ſhe ſent me word, *that ſhe was come to* Nerac *to no other end, but to ſee the Peace inviolably obſerv'd, and to ſuppreſs any evil inclinations that ſome of her Church might unadviſedly nouriſh to the perturbation of the publick quiet, as very well knowing that there were ſome both of the one Perſwaſion and the other, who deſired nothing but war ; and that ſeeing I was ſo well diſpoſed to the conſervation of the publick repoſe, I ſhould ſoon ſee that her deſire and intention was the ſame ; in concurrence to which common benefit I was only to communicate to her ſuch things as I ſhould hear, and that ſhe would take order concerning all things that depended upon thoſe of her Religion.*

The Queen of *Navarre* departeth out of *Bearn*.

Two things oblig'd me to believe that this Queen ſpoke from her heart, although the Court was pleaſed to cenſure me for that credulity, of which the firſt was, that the King had never given her occaſion to act any thing againſt him, but on the contrary both formerly maintain'd her intereſt againſt the Pope, and more lately againſt her own Subjects of *Bearn*, which I conceived ought in reaſon to oblige her : and the other the great promiſes which both by Letters and expreſs Meſſengers ſhe ordinarily made to the King never to be againſt him, of which I do believe his Majeſty has no leſs than a whole hundred to produce. All which conſider'd, together with the near relation ſhe has to the King, what muſt he have been, who durſt have manifeſted a ſuſpicion againſt her. Had I done it ſhe would have ſaid, and have accuſed me to have been the cauſe that ſhe had altered the good inclination ſhe had ever had to his Majeſties ſervice. Wherein ſhe would have wanted no ſeconds at Court againſt me, *to load me with the Pack inſtead of the Saddle*. I am much better ſatisfied that ſhe has perſecuted me as ſhe has done without any cauſe than that ſhe had done it with any juſt pretence : *but the weakeſt alwayes goes to the walls*. If the King or Queen had a mind to have had me done otherwiſe, why did they not order me to do it ; I ſhould then have fear'd nothing ; but I muſt be a Prophet. I had evermore an eye to what they did in *Bearn*, becauſe it is a Country very much infected with the new Religion, that is crept in amongſt them I know not how, nor I know not who will root it out. They had amongſt them, 'tis true, a pack of Godly Miniſters, who with all their ſeeming humility, and pretended ſanctity, breath'd nothing in their Pulpits but War and Rebellion : but as to the Queen of *Navarre*, I could never have imagin'd that ſhe would have committed ſuch an error, and have hazarded her State, which the King had maintain'd her in, as ſhe did. But I think thoſe virtuous Miniſters under ſhew of holineſs inveigled her over to their party ; for to that end they would omit nothing, and would promiſe wonders to whoever would hearken to them. The Queen departed from *Nerac* on Sunday morning, the very ſame day that my Wife intended to have gone thither to have kiſſed her hand, and Monſieur *de Sainctorens* and my Sons were to have gone along with her, to run at the Ring, and to divert the Prince where they made account to have ſtayed eight or ten dayes. I ſent my Wife thither on purpoſe to entertain the Queen with reiterated aſſurances of me and the Catholicks, that we would not offer ſo much as once to think of taking arms, but the ſame Sunday morning by break of day came a Comptroller of hers, by whom ſhe ſent me word, that my Wife ſhould not come thither, for that ſhe was going away to *Caſtelgeloux*, upon ſome intelligence ſhe had receiv'd, that certain incendiaries of her Religion had a mind to raiſe ſome commotion ; but that ſhe would not fail to prevent them. I then perceiv'd that it was ſomething elſe than to ſuppreſs thoſe pretended Mutineers that carried her away ; for had that been all, ſhe might have done the buſineſs at *Nerac* without going to *Caſtelgeloux* : yet could I not penetrate into the bottom of her deſigne. The next morning I went to *Agen*, from thence I diſpatcht away to Monſieur *de Madaillan*, that he ſhould in all ſecrecy gather together thoſe of my Company on the

The Queen of *Navarre* departs from *Nerac*.

other

other ſide the River *Garonne*, at *la Sauvetat*, where his own houſe was: I ſent another diſpatch alſo to the Chevalier my Son, who was a Colonel in *Guienne*, that he ſhould give notice to all his Captains that day and night, in all diligence they ſhould march to Port *St. Marie* with fifteen or twenty Harquebuzeers on horſeback each, without ſtaying for any more. I likewiſe ſent to Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, who lay in Garriſon at *Moiſſac* to do the ſame, and to ſend to thoſe of his Company who were not in the Garriſon with him to follow after with all poſſible ſpeed.

The Queen of *Navarre* ſtaid two daies only at *Caſtelgeloux*, but took her way thence directly to *Thonens* and *Aymett*. Her departure was ſo ſudden, that the Chevalier my Son fell four hours ſhort of being able to joyn with Monſieur *de Madaillon*, by reaſon of the paſſage over the River of *Aiguillon*, where there were no more than two little Boats only, and yet when our people came to *Aymett*, it was not above three or four hours that ſhe had been parted thence, and gone in all haſte ſtraight to *Bergerac*; where the Sieur *de Piles* with three or fourſcore Horſe was come out to meet her, and ſo ſhe paſſed over the *Dordogne*. I had taken ſo extraordinary pains night and day to ſend away my diſpatches to give notice to all the Captains and Gentlemen of the Country to betake themſelves to arms, that being not yet perfectly cur'd of my *Catharre* I relapſ'd into an extreme and dangerous ſickneſs. Every one concluded I could not poſſibly eſcape it, and I my ſelf thought no leſs; for I now made my will, which before for any ſickneſs I had had, or for any wounds I had receiv'd, I had never done. In all the ſickneſſes and wounds I had lain under before, I had never had other care than of my arms, and my horſes; but at this time, believing I ſhould certainly die, I thought of every thing, though that which moſt afflicted me, was to leave my Prince and Country in ſo critical a time, and in ſo dangerous a condition. However during the time of my ſickneſs I made the Knight my Son raiſe thirty Enſigns of Foot, wherein the Levy was ſo ſudden, that the Captains could not get Soldiers to make up a third part of their Companies, by reaſon that almoſt all thoſe that Monſieur *de Sainctorens* had carried to the King in the ſecond troubles were left behind in *France*, and had liſted themſelves into the old ſtanding Regiments there, and alſo ſome of the Captains.

The Sieur *de Montluc* again dangerouſly ſick.

Being yet in the extremity of my ſickneſs, Monſieur *de Joyeuſe*, who was about *Montpellier*, ſent me word that the Provençals had paſſed the *Roſne*, and that Monſieur *d'Acier* was gone towards *Uſez* to meet and receive them; that they were only five or ſix thouſand Ragamuffian Raſcals (which was his own expreſſion) who carried their Wives and Children along with them, and that I might eaſily hinder their paſſage into *Xaintonge*, whether they were going to offer their ſervice to the Prince, and the Admiral, who were already arriv'd in thoſe parts. The Queen of *Navarre* had alſo taken the ſame way, as to a place of the greateſt ſafety, where they had ſo many advantages to proſecute the War, and the whole Country at their devotion. I had likewiſe news ſent me from Court, that the King had ſent away Monſieur *de Montpenſier* to come head the Forces of *Guienne* and *Poictou*; of which I was exceeding glad, being aſſur'd that if we were to ſerve under him, we ſhould be ſure to fight. The very day therefore that I firſt got out of my bed from my dangerous ſickneſs I went towards *Cahors*, taking a Phyſician and a Litter along with me, of which I had more need than of a *Spaniſh* Horſe, and after that manner made a ſhift to crawl as far as *Caſtelnau de Montauttier* within five leagues of *Cahors*, there to aſſemble our Forces together.

Monſieur *de Joyeuſe* ſends the Sieur *de Montluc* intelligence of the coming of the Provençals.

To this place came Meſſieurs *de Gondrin*, *de la Valette*, *de Sainct Colombe* (who brought five and twenty men at Arms of the Monſieurs Company that were of this Country) the Lieutenant, and Enſign of Monſieur *de Montpezat* (who had ſome of the Marquis *de Villars* his men) and Monſieur *du Maſſes* with his own Company, and mine, which at that time conſiſted of threeſcore men at Arms. I ſtayd four or five dayes at *Caſtelnau*, where I began to gather a little ſtrength, and there received Letters from Monſieur *d'Eſcars*, that he was coming to joyn with me with his own Company, and a Company of Light-horſe that he had newly raiſed, as alſo the Vicount *de Limeuil* with his Company, and another of Light-horſe, together with ſome Gentlemen of *Lemoſin* and *Perigord* he had with him, and I alſo had ſome. What betwixt the Forces that Monſieur *d'Eſcars* was to bring, and thoſe of ours, we made account by the report of our Mareſchal de Camp, which was Monſieur *de la Chappelle Lonſieres*, Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Biron*, that we might be in all four hundred Light-horſe, and as to the Foot in all the thirty Enſigns there was not good and bad above eighteen hundred fighting men; for my Son having taken a review of them at his paſſing over the Bridge at *Cahors*, had caſheer'd three or four hundred that were good for nothing but to pilfer and rob the Country, ſo that in all his enſigns he had no more remaining but eighteen hundred men. 'Tis true he had daily ſome or other ſtill

Number of the Catholick Forces.

coming in to him, for the Captains had left their Lieutenants behind, who every day pickt up some. With these then we marchr directly to *Cahors*, where I lay twelve dayes, and the Camp in the adjacent places, and there again receiv'd letters from Monsieur *d'Escars*, who staid for me about *Souillac*, and also from Monsieur *de Joyeuse*, wherein he advertised me, that the Enemy still march't on along the Mountain toward *Rhodes*, and so we departed thence, and in two dayes came to *Souillac*.

At *Souillac* I receiv'd letters from the Bishop of *Rodes*, and from Messieurs *de l'Estang* (eldest Son of Monsieur *de Cornusson*) and *de Saint Bensa*, all of one and the same tenor, which was, *that they had discover'd the Enemy, who were no other than five or six thousand Rascals with their Wives and Children with them*, exactly after the same manner that Monsieur *de Joyeuse* had describ'd them before. Now seeing this account of the Enemy came from men of honor, especially from Monsieur *de Joyeuse*, who sent me word he had caused them to be discover'd by men of worth and understanding in those affairs, and that the others had themselves view'd them in person, we all concluded it to be so. See here the difference betwixt causing an Enemy to be discover'd, and discovering a mans self in his own person the posture of an Enemy; for this advertisement had like to have been the ruine of us all: and we were so near being all lost, that it was the work of God, and not of men that preserv'd us; and yet we were all of us of one opinion, and could hardly let it sink into our heads, that Messieurs the Count *de Tande*, *de Gordes*, *de Maugiron*, and *de Suze* having all the Forces of *Provence* and *Dauphiné* with them (for they were all joyn'd together, as Monsieur *de Joyeuse* had writ me word) would have suffer'd so few people in so evil equipage to pass the *Rosne* without fighting them; or the said Sieur *de Joyeuse* himself, who had a Force sufficient in *Languedoc* to hinder them from passing the River on his side: neither could I imagine that such a handful of men should be so hardy, as to march thorough the Kingdom of *France*; which made me alwayes cry, *these are brave bold Rascals, we must see them, if they be such as we are made to believe they are, we shall have a good bargain of them.* On the other side the desire we had to fight them made us more apt to believe, that the intelligence had been sent us was true, for oftentimes men are apt to deceive themselves, and enclin'd to believe what they desire. In this resolution we made account to go and fight them so soon as ever they should approach the River of *Dordogne*; to which purpose being remov'd to *Gourdon*, Monsieur *de Monsales* arriv'd at our Camp, who brought me Letters from the King, and to Monsieur *d'Escars* also, wherein his Majesty commanded us forthwith to repair to Monsieur *de Montpensier* (who was about *Poictou*) to fight with the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral. He came in a very great heat to make us instantly depart, which made us immediately enter into Councel upon the place, in which was Messieurs *d'Escars*, and *de Bories*, *St. Genies* the elder, with two or three other Knights of the order, who were come with Monsieur *d'Escars*, and on our side Messieurs *de Gondrin*, *de la Vallette*, *du Masses*, *de Fontenilles*, *de Giversac*, *de Saint Colombe*, *de Cançon*, *de Brassac*, *de la Chapelle Losieres*, *Cassaneuil*, and my self, with some other Knights of the Order. I had sent back Monsieur *de Sainctorens* toward *Moissac* (forasmuch as I had been enformed that the Vicomptes were gathering together to go joyn with Monsieur *d'Acier*, and the Provençals) to the end that I might have continual intelligence, making account to fight these fellows with so many of us as we were together, seeing they were no more than five or six thousand pitiful Rascals, as we had been made to believe. There was not one Captain, nor Knight of the Order, who was present at the Council that did not concur in the same opinion, which was, "that the "Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral were no such Novices in War, nor so young Captains, "but that they very well knew how to avoid fighting, unless when themselves thought fit "to do it, wherein also they would find the less difficulty now, considering that they "had already a River in their favour, which was the *Charante*, and over that the Bridges "of *Xaintes* and *Cognac* in their own hands: and on the other side they would never "venture to fight without Foot, which they had not, being come thither naked, with no "more than thirty or forty Horse: but that doubtless before they took the field to fight, "they would stay for the Provençals which Monsieur *d'Acier* was bringing up to them, "who since they were coming upon us, it would be much better to fight them our selves, "than to go joyn with Monsieur *de Montpensier*, who was a great way off, and leave the "Provençals behind at full liberty to march in all security along the banks of the *Dor-* "*dogne* directly to *Cognac*, now that there remain'd no Forces in *Guienne* to oppose their way. So then we all resolv'd, that it was necessary to stay and fight them, hoping in God that the Victory would be our own, seeing they were so few, and so inconsiderable people. It was moreover alledg'd in the Council, that the said Provençals, when they should see themselves at large, would take their way towards the *Vicontes*, for all the Rivers were fordable

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s discourse touching the coming of the Provençaux.

Consultation concerning the Commission of the Sieur *de Monsales*.

fordable, and that the Prince and the Admiral would come and joyn with them about *Libourne* and *Fronſac*, foraſmuch as at *Bourdeaux* there would be none to hinder them: and others ſaid, that whilſt we were meditating to defend the Cities of *Xaintonge* we ſhould loſe our own. In fine there was not one Captain, or Knight of the Order, that was of any other opinion, but that we ought to fight, Monſieur *de Monſales* excepted, who was almoſt at his wits end, ſeeing he could not carry away the Succours, as he promiſed to himſelf he ſhould do; ſo that ſeeing our reſolution to be otherwiſe he departed from us. Whether he went I am not able to ſay, but one thing I know, that he went away in very great wrath. He immediately diſpatcht away his Brother to the King, and, as I have ſince been told, ſaid my errand to their Majeſties, ſaying, *that I had perſwaded all the Captains to return this anſwer*, an anſwer that in truth went very much againſt his ſtomack; for he had a mighty ambition to have ſhew'd the King and Queen what a wonderful authority he had in *Guienne*, that could carry in ſo conſiderable ſuccours, and wherein were ſo many brave Captains; only to gain ſtill more favour and eſteem with their Majeſties, to the end they might grant him his demands, which came ſo thick, that the King never fill'd him one hand, but that at the ſame time he put out the other to beg ſomething more. And this I dare be bold to affirm, that never any King of *France* conferr'd ſo many benefits upon any one Gentleman of *Guienne* as the King had beſtowed upon him: for he gave him two Biſhopricks, two Abbies, and above a hundred thouſand Francs in money at one time, and yet notwithſtanding he was never content. And I will be bold to ſay another thing, that although upon this debate all the Captains had concluded to go to Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, the Devil a one of them would have gone along with him, as they afterwards made it ſufficiently appear, for no body would follow him when he was with the Monſieur, but choſe to follow Monſieur *de la Vallette*, who was not half ſo much a Favourite as he; but he was by much a better Soldier. Yet will I not ſay but that the Sieur *de Monſales* was a very brave Gentleman in his own perſon, but a man ought to take meaſure of his own abilities, to moderate his ambition and to ſweat a long while under his arms, before he take upon him to play the great Captain, and to Lord it in Command.

After this Conſultation held at *Gourdon* the ſaid Sieur *de Monſales* being departed from us, there came news from the Biſhop of *Cahors* his Uncle, who ſent us word, that the Provençals Camp was come within three or fours leagues of *Cahors*, and that therefore he conjur'd us for the honor of God to come ſpeedily and relieve the City; for they expected the Enemy the next morning; and before we departed from *Souillac* there paſt by one whom I will forbear to name, leſt ſhould he be yet living, it might cauſe him to be kill'd, who brought a Letter from the Queen to Monſieur *d'Eſcars*, wherein ſhe writ to him to let the bearer paſs with all the ſecrecy he could, for that ſhe had ſent him to the Provençals Camp to diſcover what number they might be. Monſieur *d'Eſcars* thereupon came to acquaint me with the buſineſs, and carried me to his Lodging, and there into a Cabinet, where he had conceal'd this man, who, ſo ſoon as I came in to him acquainted me with the Command he had from the Queen, telling me, that if I would give him a man in whom I durſt confide, and that was good at the numbring of men, he would undertake to ſhew him all the Army; for he himſelf was not to ſtand upon computing of men, he being to play another kind of perſon; but that he would nevertheleſs order it ſo, that the man I ſhou'd ſend ſhould view the whole Army at his eaſe. Whereupon I deliver'd a Soldier to him, whom I knew I might truſt, who alſo was to counterfeit himſelf a Hugonot, and ſo they went away together.

Now to return to the advertiſement we had from the Biſhop of *Cahors*, upon his Letter we immediately turn'd that way to go fight with the Enemy. Monſieur *de la Vallette* went before with his own Company, and took Monſieur *de Fontenilles* along with him, who at that time was my Lieutenant, with the one half of mine. I every day expected an anſwer from the King, to a requeſt I had made to him to give the one half of my Company to the ſaid Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, and the other half to the Knight my Son, believing I ſhould not live long, both by reaſon of the long ſickneſs I had had, of which I was not yet recover'd, and alſo by reaſon of the violence wherewith I daily forc'd my ſelf to do more than I was able.

Monſieur *de la Valette* made ſo long a march to go to diſcover theſe people, that of two dayes we could not meet again, their horſes being almoſt all unſhod. He was as diligent a Captain as any I ever knew, but by this means he was conſtrain'd to ſtay a day at *Cahors* to get his horſes new ſhoos, for the way they had gone was ſo ſtony, as had left half his party barefoot; and Monſieur *d'Eſcars* having heard that the Enemy took the way towards *Limoſin*, would needs go to defend his own Government: but he was not

long

long before he repented his ſo doing; for the Enemy marcht towards *Acier* and *Gramat*, which the ſaid Sieur *d'Eſcars* having underſtood, and that they were got before him, he return'd back to us in all diligence, and we rallied at *Gourdon*, a Town belonging to Monſieur *de Saint Supplice*. I then diſpatcht away in all haſte to my Son, who was advanc'd a great way towards *Cahors*, that he ſhould immediately face about towards us, and to Monſieur *de la Vallette*, to advance with all poſſible ſpeed, and not fail to come the next day to *Gramat*, that we might fight that day; or however the next morning. Monſieur *d'Eſcars* and I, Monſieur *de Gondrin*, Meſſieurs le Vicompte *de Lemivil*, and *du Maſſes*, ſo ſoon as ever we had baited, immediately departed, and marcht ſtraight towards *Gramat*, ſending Monſieur *du Maſſes*, and the Vicount *de Limevil* with the Company of Light-horſe, and the Mareſchal de Camp before directly to *Gramat*; when being advanc'd as far as the Gallows of *Gramat*, within betwixt three and four Harquebuz ſhot of the Town, we there made a halt to ſtay for Monſieur *de la Vallette* and his Party, in which he had Monſieur *de Saint Colombe*, and the reſt before-nam'd, and alſo for our Foot. I divided our thirty Enſigns into three Regiments, although the Chevalier my Son commanded them all, of which Monſieur *de Leberon* commanded ten, and Captain *Sendat* other ten, beſides the third ten, which was immediately to be commanded by my Son himſelf. Which becauſe the Country thereabout was very barren, we were conſtrain'd to quarter at ſome diſtance from one another, by which means, what by reaſon of the long way they had to return back, as alſo that the Quarters of the thirty Enſigns were ſeparated, and that Monſieur *de la Vallette* could not come up to *Gramat* that day, we there ſtayd till it was ſo late, that the Sun was almoſt going down, where ſtill from hour to hour Monſieur *du Maſſes* ſent continually word that the Enemy ſtill marcht towards the *Dordogne*, and intended to take up their Quarters in certain Villages betwixit *Gramat* and the *Dordogne*.

Monſieur *d'Acier* very well knew whereabouts we lay, inſomuch that it was put to the queſtion, whether or no they ſhould come to attaque us, and their intelligence was ſo good, that they knew how many we were almoſt to fifty men. All his Captains were of opinion that he ought to do it: but he ſhewed them a Letter from the Prince of *Condé*, wherein the Prince conjur'd him by no means to engage, if he could poſſibly avoid it, forasmuch as upon thoſe Forces he had with him, he ſaid, depended his good or evil fortune. Now as we thus ſtai'd in expectation of our own people to come up to us, Captain *Pierre Moreau* the Enemies Mareſchal de Camp hapned to come to *Gramat*, to view the Quarters, not thinking that we were ſo near, where by three or four Light-horſe belonging to the Vicount *de Limevil*, he was taken, and brought priſoner to us to the foremention'd Gallows, where we all were. Immediately upon his being brought before us, being I was well acquainted with the ſaid Captain *Moreau*, he having been formerly of my Company in *Piedmont*, Monſieur *d'Eſcars* and I took him aſide, where I bid him to tell me the truth upon pain of death how many men they were; *for you know Captain* Moreau, ſaid I, *that I am not a man to be dallied withall, and you muſt not tell me a lye*. To which he made anſwer, *that he would forfeit his head if he did not tell the truth*. We very well perceiv'd that he was damnably afraid, for at the very firſt he had deſir'd me *to remember, that he had once been of my Company, and had ſerv'd me upon ſeveral very good occaſions, wherein I had ever ſeen him behave himſelf like a man of honor*. I then gave him aſſurance of his life; whereupon he told us, that they were betwixt ſixteen and eighteen thouſand Foot, and betwixt five and ſix thouſand Horſe, of which there might be three hundred Cuiraſſiers well arm'd, and well mounted; and the other two or three hundred Harquebuzeers and Argoulets, of which they made no very great account. And as to the Foot, that there were ſix thouſand Harquebuzeers old Soldiers all, of which he had never ſeen ſo great a number in any Army of the Kings, that they had other ſix thouſand, of whom they did not make altogether ſo much reckoning as of the firſt, but that nevertheleſs there was good men amongſt them, and ſuch as he believ'd, under favour of the firſt ſix thouſand, would fight tollerably well, and that the remainder to ſeventeen or eighteen thouſand were for the moſt part Harquebuzeers alſo, and the reſt Halberteers, and ſome Pikes. Monſieur *d'Eſcars* and I looke upon one another, very much aſtoniſht at the account had been given us; whereupon Monſieur *d'Eſcars* ſaid to him theſe words, *Captain* Moreau *inſtead of ſaving your life you will throw it away, for you are oblig'd to ſpeak the truth upon pain of hanging, and Monſieur* de Montluc *has very good intelligence, that you are not above five or ſix thouſand, and of thoſe the greater part are women, children, and ſervants*. He then made anſwer, *Sir, we know very well you have been told ſo, but let me die if I lie to you fifty men, but* ſaid I, *we are advertiſed by Monſieur* de Joyeuſe, *who has cauſed you to be diſcover'd to a man, that you are no more than five or ſix thouſand, as alſo by ſeveral Gentlemen, who have*

The Sieur *d'Acier's* Mareſchal de Camp taken priſoner.

The number of the Proveneals.

have all taken a view of you near unto Rodes; *we know very well*, ſaid he, *that Monſieur* de Joyeuſe, *the Biſhop of* Rodes, *and others have advertis'd you ſo: but ſeeing we were ſo few, why did they not then intercept us, and hinder us from paſſing the* Roſne? *let me periſh if they ever gave us ſo much as any one Alarm, judg you then how they could come to diſcover us. Monſieur* de Montluc, *my life lies at ſtake, I will not deceive you, and ſince you are pleaſed to ſecure it if I ſpeak the truth, I will not forfeit it by telling a lye: of which to give you further proof, ſee here the Muſter Roll of our whole Army, Regiment by Regiment, for unworthy as I am, they have made me their Mareſchal de Camp.* Monſieur *d'Eſcars* then took the Rolles, and read them before me, when ſeeing the Sun was about to go down, we were of advice not to quarter at *Gramat*, but to retire from thence to the Quarters from whence we roſe in the morning, and there to receive Monſieur *de la Vallette*, and our Foot, and all of us together to deliberate what we had to do. We accordingly then began to put our ſelves upon our march, entreating Monſieur *de Caſſaneueil* to go draw off Monſieur *du Maſſes*, and our Mareſchal de Camp; for from *Gramat* to the place where the Enemy were ſitting down in their Quarters, was at the fartheſt not above a quarter of a league, and it was well for the Sieur *du Maſſes* that we did ſo; for as he was intentively obſerving the order of their Camp to ſee if he could muſter their Forces, and diſmounted with two others only with him looking upon them againſt the Sun, which was then juſt upon ſetting, the ſaid *de Caſſaneueil* was aware of all their Cavalry coming full drive to intercept their retreat, which made him gallop upon the ſpur to give them notice of their danger, who thereupon, as time it was, retir'd in all haſte towards us. Thus then we began to retreat toward *Gourdon*, when being about the mid way, the Queens Spye overtook us, who knew nothing of the taking of Captain *Moreau*, and drawing Monſieur *d'Eſcars*, Monſieur *de Gondrin*, and me apart, the Soldier there told us, that the ſaid Spy had given him opportunity to ſee, and to number all the Enemies Camp in the Plain of *Figere*, where they were all drawn up into Battalia to give an aſſault to the Town; but that the Inhabitants had ſent Monſieur *d'Acier* a Preſent, which had qualified their fury, and prevail'd with them to forbear. He told us that he had there counted a hundred, fifty, and two Enſigns of Foot, and being the Cavalry were a little at a diſtance, he could not ſo exactly number them, as he had done the Foot: but that he thought they might be betwixt ſix and ſeven hundred Horſe, and that he had numbred the Foot to be betwixt three and and four and twenty thouſand men. Monſieur *d'Eſcars* and I then took the Spy aſide by himſelf, who gave us the ſame account that the Soldier had done; the Spy was in bodily fear leſt Captain *Moreau* ſhould peradventure have diſcover'd him, for ſo ſoon as ever he ſaw him he ſlunk out of the Troop, and before we were ſettled every man in his quarters, it was after midnight. The next day we all met together again, and all the Captains came to my lodging to conſult what we had to do, having found that we had to deal with other kind of people than with five or ſix thouſand ſcoundrils with their wives and children. At night the aforeſaid Captain *Moreau* told me in private, that in caſe we ſhould attempt to fight them in the place where they were encamp't, we ſhould infallibly be defeated, were we four times as many Horſe and Foot as we were, by reaſon that Monſieur *d'Acier* who was of this Country, had purpoſely choſen this place not to ſtir from thence of eight or ten dayes, but there to lie in expectation of the return of a Meſſenger he had ſent to the Prince and the Admiral, to tell them, that he would go no farther; and that they all humbly entreated the Prince to come and make *Guienne* the Scean of the War, which they were confidently aſſur'd they ſhould make their own, before the King could draw ſufficient Forces together to fight them: that to this end they would march before him towards *Libourne*, and would try to carry *Bourdeaux*, for they fear'd nothing but our Horſe, and therefore it was that they had made choice of thoſe Quarters, it being a ſtony Country, and the ſtones ſo ſharp that they cut like knives, inſomuch that a horſe dares not gallop, or indeed almoſt tread upon them, and moreover all the Country, and all High-wayes are encloſed with dry ſtone walls of the height of a man, and the loweſt as high as a mans girdle, under favour of which they made account to encloſe all their Harquebuzeers, and the Horſe in their Rear, ſo that we could not poſſibly go to fight them, without expoſing our ſelves to the mercy of their ſhot.

Captain *Moreau's* anſwer.

The Spy's report.

All theſe things conſider'd, as alſo the ſituation of the place, and the number of men, made us maturely to deliberate of the condition we were in, and with the beſt diſcretion we had to provide againſt the odds againſt us, and to ſupply the weakneſs of our Forces with the beſt reſolutions founded upon the beſt rules of War. Upon which conſultation it was in the end agreed, that Monſieur *d'Eſcars* ſhould ſend a Gens-d'arme of his, an intelligent perſon, to ſound the Paſs of the *Dordogne* leading to *Figeac*, wherein if the Foard ſhould prove to be good, we ſhould then encamp our ſelves there, and cauſe our

proviſions

proviſions to be brought in to us from the ſaid *Figeac*, for that there we ſhould be out of the ſtones, where the Cavalry could not come to fight, and that finding the Foards ſuch as we believ'd they were, we might at any time paſs over, either to fight the firſt that ſhould attempt the Foard from the other ſide, or the laſt that were to paſs, we being no more than a little league from one another. With this reſolution we diſpatcht away the ſaid Gens-d'arms to go ſound the Foard, and the Commiſſaries to make ready the proviſions, concluding to depart the day following, and not before, becauſe we would give the Commiſſaries time to prepare the proviſions, and the Gentlemen leaſure to ſound the Foard.

A ſecond command from the King.

The next day about ten of the clock in the morning there arriv'd the Brother of Monſieur *de Villagnie* (who had been no more than ſix or ſeven dayes at moſt in poſting too and again from Court) bringing a Letter from the King, wherein his Majeſty commanded us, that whether we had already fought, or were upon the point of fighting, immediately upon ſight thereof, leaving all things in order, or diſorder as to the affairs of the place, we ſhould march away to Monſieur *de Montpenſier*. We very well underſtood by the ſtile, that theſe Letters were of Monſieur *de Monſales* his contriving; foraſmuch as he had told us at his coming to call us away, that the King and Queen did not care though *Guienne* was loſt, provided we fought with the Prince of *Condé*; for he being once defeated, all the reſt would be recover'd of courſe: at which time I remember there were ſome who in my preſence repreacht him, that he talk'd at his eaſe; for although his houſe ſhould be burnt, he was very well aſſur'd the King and Queen would give him three times as much as he could poſſibly loſe, and that hitherto it had never been known, that ever the King had conferr'd ſo many benefits upon all the Captains of *Guienne*, put them all together, as upon him alone: and this was the thing that made us believe he had ſent this Letter ready drawn to the King, that his Majeſty might write to us after that manner. For in the Cabinets of Princes ſuch tricks have been uſually playd, and ſuch extraordinary favours granted, with much leſs difficulty than men of our trade can obtein the leaſt juſtice. The above-named Captains who were preſent at the Conſultation are able to teſtifie what a diſpute there was amongſt us, before we began to march, as ſeeing the apparent loſs and ruine of the Country, ſhould the Prince tranſfer the Scean of the War into *Guienne*, as we did confidently believe he would, ſeeing theſe people refuſe to advance any further, and alſo knowing Monſieur *d'Acier* to be of that opinion; and that the Queen of *Navarre* being with the Prince would eternally ſolicite him ſo to do, if but to ſecure her own eſtate: for having once *Guienne* at her devotion, ſhe might very well aſſure the State of her Son, and moreover pretend to a great deal more.

But after all the diſputes that have been concerning that affair, I call all the Captains to witneſs, whether I did not propoſe to obey the Kings pleaſure, and to march away to Monſieur *de Montpenſier* in what part ſoever he might be; telling them withal, *that indeed by reaſon of my indiſpoſition I could not engage my ſelf in field ſervice in the beginning of a turbulent winter, as being altogether unfeleſs in an Army*: but that they might boldly proceed, without fearing their houſes ſhould be burnt: for that with the Gentlemen and the Common people who would be left in the Country, I did not doubt to ſecure them, or at leaſt to cut out ſo much work for the Enemy, that they ſhould pay dear for what they got. There was then a debate about marching the Infantry, all the Captains ſaying, that it was to ſend them to the ſlaughter they being no way able to match the Enemies Foot, and were therefore generally of opinion, that I ought to place them in Garriſon towards *St. Foy*, *Libourne*, and *Bergerac* along the River *Dordogne*, and that in the mean time they ſhould ſee which way the Enemy would take; who ſhould they march into *Xaintonge*, the Chevalier my Son might afterwards go thorough *Limoſin*, and joyn himſelf with the King.

Reſolution.

Thus then I return'd towards *Cahors*, and to *Caſtelnau de Monrartier*, expecting news of the Enemies march, where at the ſaid *Caſtelnau* I was ſurpriz'd with a Diſſentery, that put my Phyſitian almoſt to the end of his leſſon, and me of my life: and ſeeing there are ſome, who to do me a good office, have ſaid, that I might have fought the Enemy if I would; and others, that ſeeing I would not fight them, I ought ſpeedily to have ſent away the Forces to Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, I have here to a ſyllable ſet down the truth of the ſtory, from the beginning to the end, and all upon the teſtimony of the Captains who were preſent, excepting thoſe who are ſince dead; and I think they are all, ſaving Monſieur *du Maſſes*, yet alive: ſo that if there was a fault any where, it ought to be charg'd upon the Governors, who firſt of all ſuffer'd them to aſſemble in their Governments, and afterwards to paſs the Rivers without offering to oppoſe them; and truly as to them, if any one have a mind to accuſe them, that they did not do well, I think they may do it

with

with colour enough. But they muſt evermore lay the blame upon me, who would never depend upon the favour of any but the King and Queen alone; and becauſe I had no Idol that I ador'd at Court, (which I never had, nor never will have) to defend me from the charities of thoſe vertuous Court-worms. It has not been my cuſtom to avoid fighting, I have been too much bred to that from my childhood; neither was I ever in place where we were near the Enemy, that I vvas not evermore of opinion vve ought to fight; and if I commanded in chief have ever fought, though almoſt alwayes the weaker; and had I at this time had my own will, I had tried a better or a worſe, and would have brought away a leg or a wing, either from Front or Rear; by which means we might have given Monſieur *de Montpenſier* time to have come and have joyn'd with us: but theſe Letters of *Monſales* his invention muſt carry it againſt what we ſaw with our own eyes was beſt to be done. To hear theſe men talk who are pleaſed to accuſe me, a man would ſay I ought to kill all before me with my nails, and take *Rochelle* and *Montauban* with my teeth: but I am no ſuch fool as to throw ſtones againſt the wind, and in a diſadvantagious Country with three thouſand to fight with twenty thouſand men, and by my overthrow to draw after me the ruine of the Country. But I ſhall leave this diſcourſe, as not willing to enter into excuſes, for I was not in fault in the leaſt, and ſhall not learn my Trade of thoſe Musk-Cats that prate by the fire-ſide, far enough from blows, and the while we are engag'd in action, give the King (about whoſe perſon they have the honor to be) unprofitable counſels. But it is the buſineſs of a Lieutenant of the King, to take his own way, and do as he himſelf beſt ſees cauſe: for it is not alwayes neceſſary to do as the King commands, he is far off, and relies upon your conduct: it is therefore your part, if you have any diſcretion at all, to judg what is beſt to be done. No man living can deny but that had I fought a Battel, I had manifeſtly expos'd the Province of *Guienne* to ruine, for I muſt have fought againſt the odds of ten to one; and had I done as the King, at the importunity of the Sieur *de Monſales*, commanded me, I had left all the Country at the Enemies diſpoſe, as I refer to any indifferent perſon to judg.

I then return'd back to *Agen*, where I recover'd a little health, and upon that recovery immediately reſolv'd to go ſeek out Monſieur *de Montpenſier*; which determination I ſignified accordingly to Monſieur *de Terride*, and to Monſieur *de Gondrin*, who was come back from *Gourdon* by reaſon of a ſickneſs that had there ſeiz'd him; and we had enough to do to perſwade him to return, for ſick as he was he would have gone along with his Company, in caſe they were to go with me. We appointed to meet at *Ville-neuf d'Agenois*, to which place I brought ten Enſigns of Foot conducted by the Knight my Son, leaving the other two Tertias of his Regiment to be commanded by the aforenamed Captains, when, as we were all joyn'd together ready to march, I receiv'd a Letter from Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, wherein he ſent me word, that all affairs ſet apart I ſhould forthwith put my ſelf into *Bourdeaux*, if I was not already there; for he had intelligence that the Enemy had a deſign upon that City, and was afraid I could hardly come time enough to ſave it. At the ſame time alſo there came to me one of the Uſhers of the Court of Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, by whom the Court deſir'd me to make haſte to their ſuccour, and that they gave the City for loſt, if I did not put my ſelf immediately into it. I was ſtrangely aſtoniſht whence theſe enterprizes ſhould proceed, and was conſtrain'd to ſend to Meſſieurs *de Terride* and *de Gondrin* to *Caſtillon*, to gather together the ſaid Companies of Horſe and Foot that came along with us, and there ſtay to expect my further order, for I hop'd ſoon to provide againſt the preſent danger, and taking fifteen or twenty Gentlemen only along with me, went away in all diligence, cauſing our great horſes and arms to follow after. Being come betwixt *Marmanda*, and *la Reolle*, I there met with Monſieur *de Lignerolles* returning from *Spain*, and Monſieur *de Lanſac* the younger, who both of them entreated me to make all the haſte I could, for that they doubted the next day (being Wedneſday) the City would be taken, which they had left ſo ſtrangely divided, that they did not confide in one another. The ſaid Sieur *de Lanſac* had receiv'd two Letters, by which it was evident enough that there was ſome conſpiracy in the City it ſelf. I ſcarce ſtayd to embrace them, but went away to lie all night at *Langon*, and the next day by noon came to *Bourdeaux*, having firſt ſent away the Uſher poſt before, to give the Parliament notice of my coming, to the end, that if there was really a deſign in hand that might hold them a little in ſuſpence: I was there conſtrain'd to ſtay five or ſix dayes. The next morning I enter'd into the Court, where I made them a ſpeech the beſt I could to aſſure them, and put them out of all doubt; which the Parliament took exceeding kindly from me, and return'd me their thanks. After dinner I went to the Town-houſe, where I made another to the Jurats, in concluſion whereof I gave them order the next day to put all the City into armes; which was accordingly done, and I found them to

Diviſions in *Bourdeaux*.

amount to two thouſand and four or five hundred men, well arm'd. I found alſo that the two Companies of Monſieur *de Tilladet* (who as yet was Governor) were there, and three others. The next day I again went to the Court of Parliament, where I gave them an account of the Forces I had found in the City, remonſtrating to them the little occaſion they had to apprehend any danger, and the good diſpoſition I had obſerv'd, as well in the Citizens as the Soldiers, exhorting them to do their endeavour in the defence of their City: after which having made them all hold up their hands to live and die together in the defence of their City, and that if they ſhould diſcover any one who ſhould go about to betray it they would all fall upon him, they all ſwore to me ſo to do, which greatly rejoyc'd the whole Aſſembly, to whom I further remonſtrated, "That themſelves alſo "ought to take up arms, if occaſion ſhould ſo require, and remember that the moſt vali- "ant Captains the *Romans* had were men of Letters, who had they not been qualified "with learning would have been lookt upon as unworthy of great commands, and that "their knowledge ought by no means to hinder them from the uſe of arms, and from "fighting, but rather encourage them to do like thoſe antient *Romans*, being men as well "as they, who had no more than two arms, and one heart, as they had. Gentlemen, "ſaid I, I ſee by your countenances, that you are not men that will ſuffer your ſelves to "be beaten, thoſe who have gray beards and heads ſhall be for the Counſel, but a good "number that I ſee here are fit to trail a pike, and how much think you will it encou- "rage the people, when they ſhall ſee thoſe who have power over their lives and eſtates "take arms for their defence? Not a man will dare to mutter, and your Enemies will "tremble when they ſhall hear, that the Parliament it ſelf is taking arms to ſuppreſs them, "by which they will underſtand you are in earneſt; and moreover all the young men "whom I have ſeen enter this place, and who are more fit for a Corſlet than a Gown, "will then do the ſame. To this end I entreated them to ſhut up the Palace for eight dayes, that in thoſe eight dayes time every one of them might be aquainted with the arms he intended to make uſe of in time of need, and that they might divide themſelves into two and two, to ſtand at the Gates with their arms, that in ſo doing the whole City would take exemple; and on the other ſide ſhould there be any Treaſon in the ſaid City, this good order would be a means to put a ſtop to their proceeding, and put them out of hopes of executing their deſign; wherefore ſeeing ſo great a good was to be expected from this prudent order in affairs, as the preſervation of their City, their lives and fortunes, they ought to ſpare nothing to that end. After which I told them for the concluſion of all: *Gentlemen, conſider I beſeech you what I have ſaid to you, and I make you here a tender of my own life, and the lives of theſe Gentlemen my friends to do you ſervice, and to eſtabliſh you in the peace and ſecurity you your ſelves deſire.* The Preſident *Roſſignac*, who at that time had the Chair (for Monſieur *de Legabaſton* was retir'd, his ſervice not being agreeable to this King) made anſwer in the behalf of the whole Court, giving me very many thanks for the Remonſtrance I had made to them, for which they would for ever be my ſervants, and telling me withall, *that there was not a man amongſt them young or old who would not take arms for his Majeſties ſervice in the defence of the City.* In earneſt the King owes a great deal to this Society, as alſo to that of *Tholouze*, for if either the one or the other had fail'd *Guienne* had had much to ſuffer; foraſmuch as the loſs of one of theſe two Cities carries a long train after it, to wit the ruine of the whole Province. In four dayes time I had clear'd all the jealouſie and apprehenſion that was before in the City.

The Sieur *de Monluc's* Speech to the Parliament of *Bourdeaux.*

Commendation of the two Parliaments of *Tholouze* and *Bourdeaux.*

You Gentlemen that are Governors, it is a fine thing to know the humour and complexion of the Nation over which you command, and one thing I will ſay for this people, that if their Governor have once gain'd a reputation among them, and can ſo pertinently deliver himſelf, as to demonſtrate to them any kind of probability in the thing he would perſwade, he ſhall not only engage the Gentry, the Soldiery, and the Magiſtrates themſelves, but alſo the Monks, Prieſts, Labourers, and even the very women to fight. For they are a Nation that want no courage, but a good Chief, that knows how to command; and you ought to believe, that ſeeing the Antients made ſo much uſe of Orations before all their Battels, and found ſo great a benefit to accrue thereby, that we in theſe times ſhould not lay aſide that kind of encouragement. They found it of ſo conſiderable advantage, that they have not thought fit to omit the ſeveral Orations in their Hiſtories and Records, and we likewiſe ought to believe that in uſing the ſame means, and in following their exemple, we ſhall find as great advantage by it as they did, and I look upon it as a great and neceſſary quality in a Captain to ſpeak well. I was not brought up to this, and yet have ever been ſo happy as in Soldierlike terms to expreſs what I had to ſay tollerably well, though with a vehemency a little reliſhing of the Country from whence I came. I would therefore adviſe all perſons of condition, who have the means to do it,

and

and deſign to advance their Children by Arms, the rather to beſtow ſome Learning upon them, for if they be call'd to Commands, they will often ſtand in need of it, and will find it of infinite uſe to them; and I believe a man who has read much, and retein'd what he has read, is much more capable of executing great and noble Enterprizes than another. Had I made the beſt out of my little reading, it had been much better for mē; and yet I have naturally enough to perſwade the Soldiers to fight.

The fifth day then I return'd, and being that Monſieur *de Merville*, Grand Seneſchal of *Guienne*, by reaſon of a late ſickneſs, was not able to go carry his Company to the Army, we came together as far as *St. Foy*, where I receiv'd Letters from Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, wherein he ſent me order, that I ſhould lie about the *Dordogne*, and above all things have an eye to *Bourdeaux* and *Libourne*, for that he was not yet able to gueſs, whether the Enemy would fall back again into *Guienne*, or continue on their march. Which was the reaſon that I ſtayd about *St. Foy*, and Monſieur *de Terride* at *Caſtillonnes*, expecting what the Enemy would do; and alſo further orders from Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, being certain that in two or three dayes march we ſhould at any time be able to joyn with him from thence. Soon after we heard that he was gone in all haſte towards *Poictiers*, to meet the Monſieur Brother to the King, and that the Enemy marcht along the River *Loire* towards *la Charité*, there to meet and joyn with the Duke of *Deuxponts*: ſo that ſeeing it impoſſible to overtake the Army, that we might eaſe the Country along the Banks of the *Dordogne*, I left two Enſigns of Foot only at *Caſtillonnes*, and three at *St. Foy*, and ſent away the Sieur *de Sainctorens* with his Company of Gens-d'arms into *Libourne*, and the Sieur *de Leberon* remain'd at *St. Foy*, having three Companies with him, with whom I left order that in caſe the Enemy ſhould approach *Guienne*, he with the ſaid three Foot Companies ſhould go put himſelf into *Libourne*. The remainder of our Forces the Chevalier my Son kept together about *Quercy* and *Agenois*, and we others retir'd every one to his own Quarter. This was all that was done hitherto, from the beginning of theſe troubles in theſe parts of *Guienne*.

So ſoon as the Monſieur came up to the Army he ſpun out the time for a certain ſpace about *Poictiers*, and along the River *Loire*. In the mean time nothing ſtirr'd in our parts; for the Vicomtes kept about *Caſtres*, *Puy-Laurens*, *Millau*, *St. Antonin*, and *Montauban*, making only ſome ſlight inroads to pilfer and ſteal, which I did not think conſiderable enough, that therefore I ſhould ſet an Army on foot, for the little harm they were able to do; and beſides I was willing to ſave money, for no other end but only to ſend it to the Monſieur, which made me averſe to all kind of unneceſſary expence. The Captains of the Gens d'armes, and ſome Captains of foot belonging to the Royal Army came, or elſe ſent their inferiour Officers to raiſe men in our parts to fill up their Companies, and others only to refreſh themſelves, and immediately to return; when after a little ſpace I receiv'd Letters from the Monſieur, wherein he commanded me to go into *Roüergue* to fight the Vicomtes, if poſſibly I could. Whereupon I ſent away for my Nephew *de Leberon* at *St. Foy* with his three Companies; and although I was certain before hand that I ſhould do no good, immediately began to march. That which made me doubt my expedition would ſignifie very little, was that I knew ſo ſoon as ever the Vicomtes ſhould hear I had taken the field, they would certainly retire into the holds and lurking holes they held by the right of War, where they were ſo wiſe as to ſave themſelves upon every rumour of an enemy; and the leaſt place that was diſpos'd to reſiſt me had been ſufficient to ſtop my progreſs, and for any hopes to find them in the field I had none: So that I knew I ſhould do nothing but eat upon the Publick, and devour the people, ſhould I ſtay long about Towns and Caſtles, to bolt them out of their Burrows; eſpecially conſidering that I could take no Artillery along with me, which I could not do for want of money to defray the charge: neither indeed did I raiſe much, becauſe I would have it all go to the Monſieurs Camp; for there it was that the main Game was to be play'd, and therefore it was reaſon that the main proviſion ſhould be reſerv'd for that uſe, all the reſt of the War being nothing but petty skirmiſhes in compariſon of what was done, and was expected to be done there. As I was preparing for my expedition there arrived Monſieur *de Pilles*, and with him the Sieurs *de Bonneval*, *de Monens*, and a great number of other Gentlemen, who were come from the Enemies Camp, either to levy men, or in reference to the deſign they had upon *Libourne*; which nevertheleſs they fail'd in; after which the ſaid *de Pilles* put himſelf into *St. Foy*, which he made his place of Rendezvouz, forſmuch as I had drawn from thence my Nephew *de Leberon* with the three Companies, to take them along with me into *Roüergue*.

So ſoon as I came to *Cahors* I ſent my ſaid Nephew before with five Enſigns of Foot, and part of the Company of Gens-d'armes belonging to Monſieur *de Gramont*, which

Captain *Manſan* Quarter-maſter to the ſaid Company commanded, and made him depart in all haſte to ſurprize ſome of the Enemy that lay about *Ville-Franche de Rouergue*, who accordingly made ſo good haſte, that they marcht eight long leagues, and came to the place by one of the Clock in the night, thinking an hour before day in the morning to ſurprize them: but they were no ſooner in the Town but that the Enemy had immediate intelligence ſent them, and were all retir'd into their Forts. Neither is it to be thought ſtrange; for I wonder that either the Monſieur himſelf, or any other who commanded the Kings Armies, did any thing of moment, by reaſon the Ordonnance and Edict his Majeſty had made, that no one was to demand any thing of the Hugonots, provided they abſtain'd from arms, and liv'd peaceably in their own houſes. From whence proceeded the ruine of the King, of his Armies, and all his Affairs, and of the People alſo: for thoſe furniſht out money, and were the occaſion that the women who had their husbands in the Prince of *Condé*'s Army, by their means and intelligence could at all times furniſh their Husbands or Sons with money, and ſo ſerv'd for ſpies to the Enemy, that they needed not be at the charge of maintaining intelligence, nor trouble themſelves to know what we did, thoſe people giving them continual notice when and where any of our men were at any time to be ſurpriz'd and taken, and dividing the ſpoil when it was accordingly effected; which made me evermore maintain before the King, that that Edict alone was the cauſe his Majeſty was not victorious, and that this new Religion was not totally rooted out. It had been a hundred times better, that they had all been with the Prince, than at home in their own houſes; for being with him in his Army, they could have done no great matters that would have been of any ſignificant advantage to them, your Town-bred people being men of no great performance in War, but on the contrary would ſoon have famiſht his Camp; and then we might have proſecuted the War without being ſpied, or without their being advertiſed of our deſigns; neither could they have been able to get money, or any other neceſſaries; nay we ſhould have made our advantage of their Eſtates, by which means they muſt of neceſſity either have retir'd with the pardon the King was pleas'd to grant them, or have been ſtarv'd for want of bread. I am ſure that in this Province of *Guienne* there would not one of them have been left alive, unleſs they had abjur'd this new Religion, as they did in the firſt Troubles; for I knew very well how to handle them, and ſeeing I had found the way to do it ſo cheap, as with two yards of Match in the firſt troubles, I ſhould not have been much to ſeek in theſe laſt. But by means of this vertuous Edict no one durſt ſpeak to them, but we were oblig'd to endure them amongſt us. It is not therefore (as I ſaid) to be wondred at, if they have perform'd ſo many notable exploits, conſidering that at all hours they were continually advertis'd of what we did, and deſign'd to do. 'Tis very well known that an Army can do no great matters without good Spies; for it is upon their report that a Council of War is to determine what they have to do; but we had none amongſt thoſe people, for there was not a Catholick, let him be otherwiſe as brave as brave could be, that durſt venture his perſon amongſt them, it being to throw away himſelf, no man eſcaping that fell into their hands; thorough which defect we could know nothing of their affairs, and they were enform'd of all ours. O poor King how have you been gull'd and abus'd, and are yet daily impos'd upon in the Edicts that you have, and do publiſh in theſe mens favour? I will not deny but that in ſome occaſions you have not been ſo well ſerv'd by your Soldiers and Captains as you ought to have been: but whoever will look narrowly into it, will find that the Edicts and Ordonnances you have been made to ſign, have been more the cauſe of your Majeſties and our misfortunes, than any defect in your Soldiers or Governors. Believe me (Sir) believe me, with this clemency and moderation you will never reclaim theſe people. The beſt man amongſt them would be glad to kiſs you dead, and yet you forbid us doing them any harm. It is better then to be of their party than of yours; for being in their houſes, let what reports will be abroad they ſhall be ſecure at home. Sir, Sir, there are ſome about you, who corrupted by theſe people, perſwade you to ſign theſe Edicts in their favour. Severity makes them tremble. At the time when without the Ceremony of Tryal, or Indictment I brancht them upon every Tree in the high-ways, and truſs'd them up wherever I found them, not a man of them durſt quitch. Conſider then, Sir, I beſeech you of what importance theſe fine Edicts are to your Majeſties affairs; and yet they have moreover made you ſign an Ordonnance to ſend Commiſſioners throughout the whole Kingdom, to compel us to make reſtitution to the Hugonots of all whatever we have taken from them, and not to cauſe them to reſtore that they have pilfer'd and purloin'd from us. Which, under correction Sir, is a Law imprudently made, and without conſideration of the miſchiefs will enſue; or elſe by clandeſtine malice contriv'd to make you hated by us who are faithful to you, who acknowledge you for our lawful Sove-

raign,

The inconveniences inſuing the Edict in favour of the Hugonots who liv'd peaceably at home.

Overſights in the King.

raign, and have ever maintain'd your cauſe, to the end that when another War ſhall hereafter break out, you may not find one Catholick who will take up arms in your quarrel. But had your Majeſty and the Queen call'd to mind what I propounded to your Majeſties before your Council at *Tholouze*, you would never have conſented to ſend Commiſſioners to cauſe reſtitution to the Hugonots, till firſt you had ſent others to do us right alſo, for the plunders and rapines they have made upon your Catholick Subjects. They have a great excuſe. The Commiſſioners ſay, that we do not complain as the Hugonots do. How ſhould we complain, for in the firſt place they ſay, that thoſe of theirs who were in arms only, plunderd us who were in arms alſo; but that we plunder'd thoſe who never ſtir'd from their own houſes. A pretty pretence, when there was not one Hugonot who went into arms, that did not firſt ſecure his goods in the Houſes of thoſe who ſtayd at home. And on the other ſide by the peace the King has granted them, he has given them an Indemnity for whatſoever they have done, not only againſt himſelf, but againſt us alſo, who have born arms for his Majeſties ſervice. Seeing then that his Majeſty has been ſo gracious to them as to pardon them all, is it not reaſonable that the ſame Indemnity ſhould extend to us alſo? Notwithſtanding it is quite contrary. What they have acted againſt us is approv'd, and what we have done againſt them cenſur'd and condemn'd, yea, and moreover we are deliver'd up into the hands of juſtice. To counſel the King then to make a Law for the one, and not for the other, I do ſay, and will affirm it whilſt I live, that it was barbarouſly done, and that it is the moſt unjuſt Law that ever Prince in the world was adviſ'd to make,

All this was diſputed at *Tholouze*, and the Commiſſioners, and Commiſſions, Ordonnances, and Edicts were all revok'd, and his Majeſty pardon'd all in general, as knowing very well that thoſe Commiſſioners would do no other good, but ruine both the one and the other, to beget a perpetual hatred amongſt us, which would prompt us eternally to diſtruſt, and invade one another, from whence a new War would infallibly proceed. His Majeſty found the benefit of this prudent Act, for the Peace has continued five years ſince. I know not whom to accuſe for the cauſe that it is again renew'd; but I know very well, that I am no way guilty of it. Of whom ſhall a man demand ſatisfaction for the houſes of Monſieur *de Sarlabous*, Monſieur *de Sainctlorens*, the Captains *Perron*, *Campagnes*, *Lartigue*, and an infinite number of others; all which have been burnt to the ground, whilſt they were abroad in the Kings ſervice, and their Wives forc'd to retire into the houſes of their kindred and friends; and to this day neither they, nor their Husbands have a houſe to put their heads in of their own; and when ſatisfaction is demanded, they ſay the men are beggars, and worth nothing. They ſay true, for the rich men never ſtirr'd from their houſes, and ſo preſerv'd them; and yet we muſt be call'd to an account, and not they, becauſe thoſe who committed the outrage are beggars, and have nothing: but if his Majeſty would have approv'd our doings, thoſe who continue of their Religion ſhould another time have taken heed how any of their Party had done any injury to any of ours: But I return to my Subject. Complaints of the Catholicks.

I diſpatcht away another Courrier to Monſieur *de Leberon*, and to Monſieur *de Gramont's* Company, that they ſhould return in as great diligence as they went, eſpecially if they deſir'd to be preſent at the fight. The Courrier found that they were riſen and departed from their Quarters an hour before day, thinking yet to find the Enemy, and not meeting with them for the aforenamed reaſons, burnt all the Boats in which they had paſſed the River, wherein they did a great miſchief to the Country. So ſoon as ever they receiv'd my letters, they turn'd immediately back, and made more haſte in their return, than when they went; for they came before *St. Foy* as ſoon as we; ſo that had Monſieur *de Savignac* and his companions made half the haſte they did, we had trapt Captain *Pilles*, and not a man of them had eſcap'd. Monſieur *de Chemeraut* ſaw all the diſpatches I writ. I came with the five Companies that remain'd with the Knight my Son, my own Company, and ſome forty or fifty Gentlemen that rode under my Cornet, in two dayes to *Monſlanquin*, where I receiv'd an anſwer from Meſſieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde* dated at *Moiſſac*, wherein they adverti's'd me of the difficulty they had found in paſſing the Rivers, and the ill wayes the Infantry had met withal in their march, and that they could not abandon their Foot, telling me withal, that I ought not to engage the Enemy till we had all our Forces of Horſe and Foot together; but that they would make all the haſte they poſſibly could. Immediately after my arrival at *Monſlanquin*, which might be about two of the clock in the afternoon, I ſent away three Meſſengers, one to Monſieur *de Lauzun*, entreating him to ſend me word night and day where Monſieur *de Pilles* and his Forces were; for that I was reſolv'd to go and attaque him. I ſent another to Monſieur *de Sainctlorens*, that he ſhould not fail to be with me by Sun-riſe at a Village call'd *Monbahus*, belonging

belonging to Monſieur *de Lauzun*, and in the laſt place I ſent away the Sieur *de Las* the Kings Advocate at *Agen*, to haſten away the Sieurs *de Bellegarde* and *de Terride*, who were yet three leagues behind, and could not perſwade their Foot to march till break of day; and being come to *Ville-neufve*, which was after one of the clock in the afternoon, could by no means prevail to go any further, by reaſon of the extraordinary foulneſs of the wayes, wherein though there was I confeſs ſome excuſe, and that they had reaſon on their ſide, I did not nevertheleſs take it for current pay; for methought every one ought to march as I would have them. After all theſe diſpatches, having baited our horſes, and the five Foot Enſigns, I marcht directly towards the Village where I had appointed Monſieur *de Sainctlorens* to meet me, and by the way found Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, and Captain *Montluc* my Son lodg'd in four or five houſes they had met with there, where I told them they would do well to bait their horſes (for they had made a very long march in the night to overtake me) and that I would go bait at the forementioned Village. I thought I ſhould there find Monſieur *de Sainctlorens*, and that they might follow after, and therefore commanded Monſieur *de Madaillan* my Lieutenant, that he ſhould ſtay and bait my Company with them, and after follow me to the Village: to which I went, but at my coming thither heard no news either of Monſieur *de Sainctlorens*, or of Monſieur *de Lauzun*; for the Meſſengers I had ſent to them, and who had been recommended to me by the Conſuls of *Monflanquin* for the moſt truſty fellows they had in their Town, did not go away with my Letters by night as they had promiſed, ſo that it was paſt Noon before the ſaid Sieurs *de Sainctlorens* and *de Lauzun* receiv'd my Letters, as they told me after; and to mend the matter, ſo ſoon as ever we were alighted, thinking to bait, we had an Alarm that came fremwards *Miremont*, which made us remount to horſe, and advance a good quarter of a league upon the Road towards the ſaid *Miremont*, from whence the Alarm came, wherein I committed a great folly in advancing ſo far with ſo few men with me, I having no more than five and forty Gentlemen only in the Party, for my own Foot Company was not yet come up. I could not there learn any certain news, where either Monſieur *de Pilles*, or any of his Forces were, only I was told by the honeſt people that he was on the other ſide the River *Lot* towards *St. Venſa* and *Aymett*, *Marmanda* and *Toneins*, and that they were all Horſe. After I had ſtaid about two hours upon the Road, Meſſieurs *de Fontenilles*, and *de Madaillan*, and the young *Montluc* my Son came up to me, where I gave them order that Monſieur *de Madaillan* ſhould go with my Company before, that Monſieur *de Fontenilles* and Captain *Montluc* ſhould follow after at a convenient diſtance to be ready to ſecond him, and that I with my Gentlemen would ſuſtein them; and that after this manner they ſhould march till they came within half a league of *Miremont*, where they ſhould ſend out Scouts to enquire where the Enemy was, which ſhould they happen to be in *Miremont*, that then they ſhould give the word back from Party to Party, for I would immediately put my ſelf upon the Trot to come up to them, which they accordingly did. Now I had caus'd my Foot to march without beat of Drum to avoid being diſcover'd, who after that ſilent manner arriv'd at *Monbahus*, where my Son finding me departed thence, marcht after, and Monſieur *de Madaillan* being advanc'd within half a league of *Miremont* made a halt according to the order he had receiv'd, and ſent out to diſcover, where it was told him, that the Enemy were all on the other ſide of the *Lot*, and that there was not any one at *Miremont*, of which he gave notice to Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, deſiring him to acquaint me with it, that he might know what I would further command him to do. Monſieur *de Fontenilles* accordingly diſpatcht away an Archer to me, by whom hearing there was no Enemy on this ſide the *Lot*, I ſent back word, that Monſieur *de Madaillan* ſhould further advance as far as *Miremont*, to enform himſelf more certainly of the place where the Enemy was, to the end that the next morning Meſſieurs *de Terride*, *de Bellegarde*, and I being united together might go to attaque them, and that in the mean time I would fall back to *Monbahus*, where we had left our Baggage to bait and refreſh my men. I accordingly did ſo, having firſt plac'd my Son and his five Companies in five or ſix houſes near unto the place from whence I retreated, ſending an account of all to Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, to the end that ſhould they receive an unexpected charge from the Enemy, they might know where our Foot lay. So ſoon as I alighted from my horſe, and before I entred into my Lodging, I diſpatcht away to Meſſieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde*, entreating them not to fail to be with the Cavalry at *Monbahus* by midnight; for that Monſieur *de Pilles* had nothing but Horſe, of which there were not above three hundred that were good, the reſt to the number of fifteen or ſixteen hundred, being all mounted upon pitiful Jades that were worth nothing. The Meſſenger was with them within an hour and a half after day-light, for it is no more than two leagues from *Monbahus* to *Villeneufve*, by whom they return'd me anſwer, and aſſur'd me that by break of day

The Sieur *de Montluc's* diligence to fight with Monſieur *de Pilles*.

day they would not fail to be with me. But I muſt return to Meſſieurs *de Fontenilles* and *de Madaillan*, and Captain *Montluc*, and muſt here in the firſt place ſet down Monſieur *de Pilles* his deſign. Immediately upon my arrival at *Monflanquin*, which might be about two of the clock in the afternoon, the Hugonots of the ſaid *Monflanquin* advertis'd Monſieur *de Pilles*, who was newly departed from *Cahors*, that the next day I was determin'd to draw nearer to him, expecting in the mean time Meſſieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde* to come up to me, which notwithſtanding they could not do yet theſe two dayes, and that I had not above fifty or threeſcore good Horſe with me in all. Upon this intelligence the ſaid Sieur *de Pilles* diſpatcht away all night to ſix Cornets he had about *Marmanda* and *Thoneins*, that they ſhould not fail to be the next day (which was the ſame that I arriv'd at *St. Paſtour*) at a place the name whereof I have forgot; and that he would come and bring the reſt of his Forces to joyn with them, before I could be rallied with Meſſieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde*. They who had ſent him this intelligence believ'd that I would ſtay the next day at *Monflanquin*, or at leaſt if I departed thence, I would not march above a league or two at moſt. Monſieur *de Pilles* had appointed his General Rendezvouz at a convenient diſtance from their Quarters, and immediately the ſix Cornets departed one after the other, by reaſon they were quarter'd in ſeveral places, and the Rendezvouz for thoſe ſix was appointed to be at *Miremont*, there to refreſh themſelves till midnight only, and after to go to the other Rendezvouz to Monſieur *de Pilles*.

In the mean time Monſieur *de Madaillan* went directly to *Miremont*, when being come within view of the entrance into the Village where there was no wall, he was aware of a great number of white Caſſacks going to and fro in the great ſtreet: whereupon he immediately diſpatcht away to Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, and my Son Captain *Montluc*, that they ſhould with all ſpeed advance, for that he was ſo engag'd he muſt of neceſſity fight, and that they ſhould give me ſpeedy notice of it alſo. It is a good league from *Miremont* to *Monbahus*, and the Sieur *de Fontenilles* ſent me word with all imaginable diligence. There were at *Miremont* two Cornets, who were firſt come, and already alighted, and their horſes in the Stables, and the other two which were yet on horſeback were but juſt arriv'd, and ſeeking for accommodation to bait and refreſh themſelves. Monſieur *de Madaillan*, who ſaw himſelf diſcover'd, charg'd theſe two Corners that were on horſeback, and beat them out of the Village in rout and confuſion, ſo that they fled with might and main towards *la Sauvetat*, the other two that were already lodg'd, hereupon run to their horſes, and juſt as they were mounting, Monſieur *de Fontenilles* and Captain *Montluc* arriv'd, and charg'd them, and they fled as many as eſcap'd towards *Aymet*. In leſs than half a quarter of an hour arriv'd the other two Cornets, who ſeeing their fellows defeated fac'd about towards *Ponens* from whence they came. It was ill luck; for had not Monſieur *de Madaillan* ſent me word that he could hear no news of the Enemy, I had ſtill marcht on in the ſame order we began, and had not turn'd back again to bait. I came up at the ſame time that the laſt two Cornets did arrive, where I thought to have had as good a prize of them, as the reſt of our people had had of the other four; but when I came up to our Foot, an Archer came to tell me they had fought, and purſued the Enemy half a league, and that ſome priſoners they had taken aſſur'd them, that *Pilles* and all his Forces were at *St. Benſa* and *Aymet*, not above a league and a half from thence: wherefore they were retreating towards me, not being ſtrong enough to withſtand the Enemies Forces ſhould they come upon them. This is the truth of what paſſed in this Engagement. They brought me two Cornets, but in running away they had torn off the Colours.

Four Cornets of Horſe of *de Pilles* defeated.

Could we thus keep ſpies amongſt them, as they do amongſt us of ſuch as the King has given liberty to live quietly in their own houſes, our affairs would proſper better than they do; and if I had been adverti'z'd by ſome friends of ours, as they were by theirs of Monſieur *de Pilles* his retreat, I had eaſily defeated him; for Monſieur *de Sainctorens* had been joyn'd with me, who was coming very well accompanied to ſeek me out the very ſame way the Enemy fled, when ſeeing night coming upon him he drew into *Monſegur*, to expect further intelligence which way I was gone, and in purſuing them by night I had means to ſend a man or two to him to give him an account of all that had paſſ'd. We lay upon our Guard, and kept very ſtrict watch, ſuſpecting leſt the ſaid *de Pilles* ſhould come upon us for his revenge: but he was quite otherwiſe diſpoſ'd, for he marcht all the night as faſt as ever he could directly to *St. Foy*, where he arriv'd, as we were enform'd by break of day, though it be the worſt way imaginable, for the Country is marvelouſly dirty, and the night was ſo dark, that men could not diſcern a yard from one another. Thus we ſee how the affairs of War do oft miſcarry for want of good intelligence, for Monſieur *de Sainctorens* his anſwer came not to our hands till the next day,

The Retreat of Monſieur *de Pilles*.

nor

nor that of Monſieur *de Lauzun*; and the Meſſengers they ſent to me had like to have fall'n in amongſt the Enemy, which put them into ſuch a fright, that they hid themſelves till the day appear'd. In the morning by Sun-riſe Meſſieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde* came up to us, who, when they heard of the Engagement had paſs'd, were ready to tear their own fleſh, curſing the Foot to all the Devils of Hell, and the hour that ever they came from about *Tholouze*; for they might eaſily have been at *Monhahit* as ſoon as we, had it not been for the Foot, the ſtaying for them being the only reaſon they came up ſo late, and the belief they had we would not offer to fight till we were firſt joyn'd all together, had made them careful not to leave the Foot behind them, and I heard Monſieur *de Bellegarde* ſay a notable thing upon this occaſion, *That he now perceiv'd it was not alwayes good to proceed with too much diſcretion in matters of warre.* He ſaid very true; for who ever will alwayes confine himſelf to the ordinary Rules of war, oft-times loſes more than he gets.

A ſaying of Monſieur *de Bellegarde.*

We marcht ſtraight to *Miremont*, and by the way met with one of Monſieur *de Madaillan*'s Archers, who came to bring us news of the diſorder of Monſieur *de Pilles* his people, that the news of their defeat had reacht as far as his head Quarter, that thereupon the ſaid Monſieur *de Pilles*, and the remainder of his Forces had taken their way directly to *St. Foy*; that twelve Soldiers Monſieur *de Madaillan* kept in his houſe near unto *la Sauvetat*, had kill'd two and twenty of them at the Gates of the ſaid houſe being mounted upon pittiful Jades: that the Inhabitants of *la Sauvetat* had alſo ſallied out upon them, and had kill'd three or fourſcore, and taken their horſes; and had Monſieur *de Sainctorens* ſtaid a quarter of an hour only in one place by which he paſs'd, the moſt of them had fall'n into his hands; which alaſs he knew not till the next day no more than I, and had then his ſhare of vexation as well as the reſt of us. But a man cannot prophecy things, which makes the *Italian* ſay *Fa me indivino Ti daro denari.*

We were conſtrain'd to lodg at *la Sauvetat*, *St. Venſa*, and *Aymet*, from whence the Enemy wese departed, by reaſon there were no Quarters to be had from *la Sauvetat* till one comes to *St. Foy*, and left Monſieur *de Sanignac* with his two Enſigns at *Miremont*, becauſe there were no Quarters for him beyond it, for the Cavalry took up all; and at the ſaid *Miremont* there were above twenty men found hid in the houſes, whom they kill'd every Mothers Son, and got ſome fifteen or ſixteen horſes; for none of us ever ſtayd to alight, but paſſed on forwards. The next morning very early we marcht directly for *St. Foy*, and I dare be bold to ſay, that of a long time I had not ſeen ſuch a Cavalry, for the number, as thoſe we had with us; and when we came within ſight of *St. Foy*, Meſſieurs *de Fontenilles*, *de Madaillan*, and Captain *Montluc* with his ſix companies put themſelves before, and marcht directly towards the Town. Monſieur *de Terride* with his own Company, and that of Monſieur *de Negrepelice* marcht after to ſuſtain them; Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, and I ſuſtein'd Monſieur *de Terride*; and there Monſieur *de Gramonts* Company came up to us, and Monſieur *de Leleron* with his five Enſigns. I think the beſt Curtel in all our Troops could not have made more haſte than they had done, for they were no more than two dayes only in coming betwixt *Ville-Franche de Roüergue* to *St. Foy*. Monſieur *de Lauzun*, and the Vicount his Son were come up to us in the morning with ſome Gentlemen only, for I think their Companies were in the Camp, and both of them aſſur'd us that Monſieur *de Pilles* had eighteen hundred Horſe, three or four hundred of which were well mounted, and in very good equipage and order, the reſt were Harquebuzeers on Horſe-back, and very ill hors'd. The Chevalier then alighted, and taking an hundred Harquebuzeers, put himſelf right before the Town, the reſt followed him, and Meſſieurs *de Fontenilles de Madaillan*, and Captain *Montluc* after; when ſo ſoon as they approacht the Gate, fifteen or twenty Harquebuzeers ſallied out to skirmiſh. The Knight preſſed ſtill forwards notwithſtanding, and thoſe of the Enemy retir'd, and ſhut themſelves again within the Town. Monſieur *de Pilles* had all night long been paſſing his men over the *Dordogne* in great hurry and diſorder, and himſelf at Sun-riſe paſſing over alſo had left theſe fifteen or twenty Harquebuzeers in the Town to amuze us, and a great Boat, and a leſſer to bring them over alſo, for there were no more but theſe left behind, who ſo ſoon as they were retreated into the Town, ran preſently to the Boats, and paſſed over in an inſtant; ſo that at the ſame time the Chevalier came to the Bank of the River, (having paſſed thorough the Town, where he ſaw no body but women) they landed on the other ſide.

Monſieur *de Pilles* his Forces.

Why the Sieur *de Montluc* is ſo particular, and has writ an account at length of this Action.

This is the truth of all that paſſed upon this occaſion, wherein I have been neceſſitated to give ſo preciſe and particular an account of this action as may perhaps ſeem tedious to the Reader; foraſmuch as I have been told that ſome reported to the King, the Queen, and the Monſieur, that it only ſtuck at me we did not fight with *Pilles*: but whoever will have

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the patience to read this Narration will ſee the truth of all as it paſſed, by the teſtimony of all the Captains who were preſent upon the place, of which two only namely Meſſieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde* are dead, and by that it will appear whether I was in fault or no: neither in truth can I juſtly tax, or lay the blame upon any one, but only the ill wayes that Monſieur *de Savignacs* Company met withal: for as to the ſaid Sieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde*, they govern'd themſelves more by the rule of War, than that they were hindred by any want of good will they had to the cauſe, or any want of courage and deſire they had to be at the fight. Monſieur *de Chemeraut* who had brought me letters from the Monſieur was privy to all my diſpatches; for he would make one, and to that end entreated me to furniſh him with horſe and arms, which I did, and of fifteen dayes never left me. I am confident that he will always bear me witneſs, that every Title I have writ of this Action is litterally true, and that he was as glad of the occaſion of being there as any one of the Army whatever, hoping to have carried the Monſieur better news than he did. Such as are men of judgment in matters of War have often found by experience how hard a thing it is to faſten a Battel upon a man that has no mind to fight, eſpecially an old Soldier, and a circumſpect Commander, as the Sieur *de Pilles* was, who I think was by much the beſt, none excepted the Hugonots had. He knew he ſhould gain nothing by us but blows, which made him that he would not long abide in thoſe parts.

Monſieur *de Terride* ſent the King's Lieutenant into *Bearn*.

Two dayes after we came into *St. Foy*, Monſieur *de Terridde* received a Commiſſion his Majeſty ſent him to go into *Bearn*, and departed from me. A Command wherewith he was highly pleaſed, as I alſo was out of the affection I bore unto him, and moreover I had an opinion that affairs would better ſucceed. Monſieur *de Bellegarde* left me alſo carrying away his own Company, and Monſieur *de Savignac*'s ten Enſigns along with him, as Monſieur *de Terride* carried away his, and that of Monſieur *de Negrepelice*. Monſieur *de Sainctorens* and I remain'd behind. The Knight my Son went with his ten Enſigns ſtraight into *Limouſin*, to joyn with the Monſieurs Army, and five dayes after the Monſieur won the Battel of *Jarnac*, in which the Prince of *Condé* was ſlain. Many have thought that that his death has prolong'd our Wars; but I for my part am of opinion that had he liv'd we ſhould have ſeen our affairs in a far worſe condition: For a Prince of the Blood as he was, having already ſo great a Party of the Hugonots, would have had much more credit and authority amongſt them than the Admiral. This unfortunate Prince lov'd his Country, and had compaſſion for the people, I was long converſant with him, which had like to have been my ruine, I ever found him an affable and a generous Prince: but he loſt his life in Battel, maintaining a quarrel that was unjuſt in the ſight of God and man. It was great pitty, for had he been elſewhere employed, he might have been ſerviceable to the Kingdom. The unadviſed Peace that ſome perſwaded King *Henry* to make has been the cauſe of all theſe miſchiefs we have ſeen: for to have ſo many Princes of the blood, and ſo many others of the ſame Nation, and to keep them unemployed in ſome forreign War, is very ill adviſ'd. We muſt either fight with others, or fall together by the ears amongſt our ſelves. Could we always continue in peace, ſo that every one would intend his own tillage, as the *Romans* did in their vacations from war, I do confeſs it would be very well: but that cannot be. And therefore, Sir, I do ſay and affirm, that it is a very vain opinion, and fruitleſs, to think of making peace at home, if at the ſame time you do not meditate a War abroad. You are not to renew the War of the *Holy Land*, for we are not ſo devout now adayes as our Religious Anceſtors were in thoſe better times; it were better to do as the King of *Spain* does, and ſend your men into the new diſcover'd worlds, and ſo to ſeparate thoſe unruly Princes, ſtill ſending the young ones to be brought up at the School of *Malta*; for if they do not buſtle every one will ſit ſtill. But if your Majeſty have a mind to quarrel your Neighbours, you may renew your claim to the Dutchy of *Millan*, that of right appertains to you by deſcent. For it is not to be found in any Records that the King of *Spain* has any right at all to it, which by the Females you have. The King of *Spain* holds it by no other Title but by right of Conqueſt, and the power of the Sword. Your Majeſty will alſo find that a Duke of *Anjou* deſcended from the Houſe of *France*, and of your own proper Race, was once King of *Naples*, which the King of *Spain* has alſo in his poſſeſſion. The King your Grandfather would never lay down this claim, but ſeiz'd of the Territories of Monſieur *de Savoy*, although his Uncle, to have a ſecure paſſage whereby to enter into the Dutchy of *Millan*. Your Royal Father took upon him the protection of the Duke of *Parma*, and the *Siennois* to no other end, but in order to a Paſs for the recovery of *Naples*. You, Sir, are deſcended from theſe Heroick Princes, and you have their right and title; if God therefore ſend you peace at home, you may ſend a Tempeſt into the King of *Spains* Dominions, and ſhall have a better account of it than you are aware of; for the King of *Spain* is a Prince more addicted to

The Battel of *Jarnac*, and the death of the Prince of *Condé*.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s advice to the King.

Negotiations than to War: he is not like his Father, in five or ſix years he will be old, and you in the flower of your age. He will leave his Children very young, and ſince the Father was not generous in his youth, it is not to be expected he ſhould be ſo in his old Age. Beſides if you know how to manage the Princes of *Italy*, you will find them all at your devotion, even the Duke of *Florence* himſelf, for ſomething that I know, and ſome reaſons that I could give, as having felt his pulſe whilſt I was the Kings Lieutenant in *Tuſcany*. The Duke himſelf I am confident will not ſay the contrary, nor deny but that he is more *French* than *Spaniſh*. *England* will not hinder you, for that has a Woman at the Helm, and *Scotland* a Child. To be ſhort nothing ought to deterre you: but I leave this diſcourſe to another time. The death of the Prince of *Condé* was the occaſion of my entring into it, for I am a Frenchman, and lament the death of thoſe brave Princes ſlain by our own hands, who might elſewhere be ſerviceable to us, and help to enlarge the *French* Dominions.

A command to diſmantle *Bergerac*.

But to return to my Subject, I remain'd five or ſix weeks at the ſaid *St. Foy*, having yet with me ſix Enſigns of Foot, commanded by my Nephew *de Leberon*. Of theſe I ſent four together with my ſaid Nephew himſelf to *Bergerac* to diſmantle the Town, as the King and the Monſieur had commanded me, but it was ill executed. Some dayes after the Monſieur drew near, and came to *Montmoreau*, where followed by a noble Train of Gentlemen of very good quality, I went to kiſs his hand; and where his Highneſs receiv'd me with very great demonſtrations of favour, commanding me not to depart from him, of which God knows if I was glad. I therefore ſent preſently home for Wagons, Tents, and money, as alſo did all the reſt of the Gentlemen that came along with me, making account we ſhould no more depart from the Army, as alſo there was not in all *Guienne* a man that durſt ſo much as mutter, nor a place that ſtood for the Hugonots but *Montauban* only. The Monſieur departed from *Montmoreau*, and went to *Villebois*.

Falſe intelligence ſent to the Monſieur.

He had not been above five or ſix dayes there, all which time we ſpent in conſultation about the means to carry on the War, when there came a Gentlmen ſent poſt from Monſieur *de Montferran*, Governor of *Bourdeaux*, to my ſaid Lord the Monſieur, to give him notice that a great part of the Admirals Army, both Foot and Horſe were come into *Medoc*, and that two foot Companies he had planted there had been conſtrained to quit the Paſs, and to eſcape away by night. The Monſieur was not over-haſty to believe this news; for we diſcourſed about the Paſs, where I repreſented to him the vaſt breadth of the River at that place, which requir'd a whole Tide, and an infinite number of Boats to paſs it: for an Army carried a mighty Train along with it: and that on the other ſide, it was not very likely that the Admiral who was a Soldier would engage himſelf in the *Landes*, a barren Country, and beyond Rivers, he could not well expect ever to repaſs. The night following there came a Courrier with like intelligence from the Court of Parliament, and the ſaid Monſieur *de Montferran*, in yet much greater heat than the former, and making the number of the Enemy much greater than before. It is true that he alſo writ to my Lord the Monſieur, that he was juſt taking Horſe himſelf to go and diſcover them. And accordingly, as I have heard, he did go, but he had no horſe with him ſaving ſome few Harquebuzeers on horſeback only, and when he came within half a league of the Paſs, thoſe he had ſent before to diſcover, came back, and brought him word, that already a great number of the Horſe were got over, and that the Foot began to follow after; ſo that being ſo ſlenderly accompanied, the ſaid Sieur *de Montferran* was neceſſitated to retire; and on the other ſide the people all fled towards *Bourdeaux*. The ſaid Sieur *de Montferran* diſpatcht away another Courrier to the Monſieur, aſſuring him that the intelligence was moſt certainly true, which was the reaſon that his Highneſs ſent me back to my great misfortune, for ſince that time I have never had any thing but trouble and vexation, whereas had I ſtill continued about his perſon, all the miſchief that has ſince befall'n me had never come to paſs, for I had either died in doing him ſome brave piece of ſervice, or had never been wounded, as I am, to live in a perpetual languiſhing condition, without poſſibility of ever being cur'd. All which misfortune befel me for want of five and twenty good horſe only, which had Monſieur *de Montferran* had with him he had himſelf diſcover'd the Enemy, for he wanted no courage, and had then diſcover'd that they were no other than three or four-ſcore *Bearnois*, and ſome others belonging to the Queen of *Navarre*, who were going over *Bearn* to help to defend the Country, whereof the one half were defeated by the way about *Mont de Marſan*. His Highneſs may pleaſe to remember, that ſtanding by his Bed-ſide I told him, *that upon my life and honour it was impoſſible this intelligence could any way be true, for I knew the Country, and it could be nothing but ſome ſmall party going over into* Bearn, *or* Chaleſſe, *for a great Party could*

could not, nor durſt not adventure to paſs for they muſt paſs over as it were in file. Whereupon his Highneſs ſaid to me theſe very words, *I perceive very well, my good man, that the deſire you have to be with me makes you to ſay this: but believe me in what part ſoever you ſhall be, I will ever love you. The reaſon of war may perhaps draw me into* Guienne, *and I ſhould be glad to ſpend my Prentice-age in ſo good a School as yours.* Whereupon I took my leave of his Highneſs. Behold of what importance it is to diſcover an Enemy very well, before a man takes the Alarm. The Monſieurs words to the Sieur *de Montluc.*

Captains, my friends and companions, you muſt rather hazard your ſelves to be taken, and diſcover the truth, than rely upon the report of inferiour fellows, for their fear makes ſo ſtrange an impreſſion upon them, that they take Buſhes for Squadrons, and will ſwear it: you may truſt to them if you will. 'Tis juſt the ſame as when they ſee a hundred Crowns they think them to be a thouſand: ſend alwayes ſome bold Soldier, ſome fellow that has not his heart in his Breeches, and let him venture his Carcaſs to bring you a true account: but if you will do better, go your ſelves; I have alwayes done ſo, and found an advantage by it.

So ſoon as I came to *St. Foy* I was advertis'd of the truth of the buſineſs, and ſent my ſaid Lord the Monſieur an immediate account of it, very angry at the ſaid Sieur *de Montferran*, and being there was nothing at preſent to do, I ſtill continued at *St. Foy*, to be near my ſaid Lord the Monſieur, to the end that when he ſhould pleaſe to ſend for me, I might in two or three dayes be with him. I have heard ſince that one of the principal perſons about his Highneſs ſhould tell him, that he had done well to rid his hands of me; for that I was croſs-grain'd and wilful, and would evermore command in all places where-ever I came. His Highneſs himſelf told me the ſtory at the Siege of *Rochelle*. I have never been ſo obſtinate, but that I would alwayes ſubmit to reaſon; but to ſpeak the truth, I have ever found my own counſel better than that of any other. It is reaſonable then that thoſe Monſieurs, who are only pretty fellows at running the Ring, ſhould learn of thoſe who have ſtudied under the greateſt Doctors of *Europe*: but they will ſtill be prating, no body muſt controul them, and they will govern all.

Having nothing to do, but lying idle at *St. Foy*, I went thence to *Agen*, where Monſieur *de Montferran* ſent me word, that the Sieur *de la Roche-Chalais*, and Captain *Chanteyrac* were in *la Roche*, with a hundred or ſixſcore Hugonot Soldiers, that over-ran all the Country, committing innumerable outrages, inſomuch that no one could paſs from *Xaintonge* to *Bourdeaux*, and that if I would go to *la Roche*, we ſhould be enow to do the work; he ſent me word likewiſe that Monſieur *de la Vauguion* was about *Montpont*, and *Muſſidan* with Monſieur *de Sarlabus* his Regiment, and three Companies of Gens-d'arms, to whom if I would ſend to invite him, he would willingly be of the party. Upon this intelligence I went immediately to *Bourdeaux*; and by an expreſs Meſſenger a Gentleman gave Monſieur *de la Vauguyon* private notice of the deſigne, who preſently return'd me anſwer, that he would willingly joyn in the Enterprize, and that I ſhould therefore ſend him word what day I would have him to march, and appoint him the Rendezvous, to which he ſhould come. I therefore ſent to entreat him to be at *Libourne* the third day after (which was upon a Saturday) in the morning, where Monſieur *de Montferran* and I would meet him, to determine upon that we had to do, which he accordingly obſerv'd, and I alſo. The ſaid Sieur *de Montferran* ſtaid to take order about the Artillery, for we were to carry it by water as far as *Coutras*. We were in diſpute which way to go to work, for Monſieur *de la Noüe* was about *St. Alvare*, a Territory belonging to the Sieur *de Jarnac*, and lay betwixt the two Rivers with twelve Enſigns of Foot, and four or five hundred Horſe, who being an old Soldier, and a valiant man as any that ever was in *France*, would never ſuffer *la Roche* to be loſt, without attempting to relieve it, to do which he had only the River of *St. Alvere* to paſs, which in many places was to be foarded by the Horſe, and which the Foot alſo would boat over in four hours time; and as to the River that was under *la Roche*, they had the Bridge of *Pareou* in their own poſſeſſion, Town and all, and had a Garriſon in it; wherefore we muſt either reſolve to attaque both the one and the other; or not to make any attempt at all. In the end we concluded to attaque *la Roche*, and to fight Monſieur *de la Noüe* in caſe he ſhould offer to relieve it, all of us who were preſent at the deliberation taking an oath not to diſcover the deſigne. Monſieur *de Montferran* then ſtayed with Commiſſary *Fredeville* to ſee the two pieces of Canon embark'd, and I departed the Saturday morning very early, and came to *Libourne*, where I found Monſieur *de la Vauguyon*, who was come thither upon the Friday night. Commendation of Monſieur *de la Noüe*.

Now whilſt we were buſie at *Bourdeaux* about this Enterprize upon *la Roche*, I plotted another of as great importance as that of *la Roche*, which was this. A Hugonot Captain had ſeiz'd upon the Caſtle of *Levignac* appertaining to Monſieur *la Marquis de Trans*,

and had three or fourſcore Soldiers within it, had there encloſed the Streets of the Bourg, which is a large one, with Rampiers of earth, and in the night all retir'd into the Caſtle: which was the very place where *Pilles* had ſurpriz'd *la Mothe Monganzy* the elder, kill'd him, and defeated almoſt all his whole Company. Monſieur *de Madaillan* had come along with me to *Bourdeaux*, my Company lying at *Cleyrac* and *Thonens*, and was preſent at the deliberation about the Enterprize of *la Roche*, whom I made to return in all diligence, writing to Monſieur *de Leberon*, that they two ſhould joyn together with four Companies of Foot, and make ſo long a march, that in one night they ſhould ſhut them in, at what price ſoever ſhould take the Caſtle, and put them all to the ſword; and that from thence in one night more they ſhould preſent themſelves before the Caſtle of *Bridoire*, apperteing to Monſieur *de la Mothe Gondrin*, where there were fourſcore or a hundred Hugonots more, commanded by one *Labaume*, which was the place into which *Geoffre* that notorious Thief, who has committed ſo many villainies, uſed to retire himſelf. By the things this Villain has done, he gave pooof of a great heart and courage, and manifeſted himſelf to be a man of execution. I gave them charge that they ſhould begird and beſiege the Caſtle ſo cloſe, that nothing could eſcape away: for that ſo ſoon as I had done at *la Roche*, I would turn with the Canon ſuddenly to them, but that in caſe Monſieur *de la Nöüe* ſhould come to fight us, they muſt then leave all, and march day and night to come up to the Battel.

Theſe were the inſtructions I gave to Meſſieurs *de Leberon*, and *de Madaillan*, who accordingly did carry the Caſtle. The place was ſtrong enough to reſiſt any force of hand, ſo that they could that way do no good, and the Enemy defended themſelves very well, as it ſtood them upon; for they knew they were to expect no quarter, by reaſon of the many inſolencies and great cruelties they had committed all about *Levignac*. Monſieur *de Lanzun* therefore lent them a Culverine, with which they made a hole thorough the wall wide enough for two men to paſs, which they had no ſooner done, but they immediately fell on to the Aſſault, and ſtorming at once by the breach, and giving a Scalado by Ladders at the ſame time to the *Baſſe-Court*, they carried the place. There was but three priſoners ſav'd, all the reſt were cut in pieces, and the night following thoſe who had ſeiz'd the Caſtle of *Taillecabat* belonging to Monſieur *de Mereville*, Grand Seneſchal of *Guienne*, hearing how thoſe of *Levignac* had been handled, ſtole away in the dark, and our people marcht before the Caſtle of *Bridoire*, where they found that thoſe fellows alſo were upon the point of going to ſhift for themſelves, and clapt cloſe Siege to them. But by misfortune, and by reaſon of the haſte they were in, our people having either forgot, or not been able to carry along proviſion wherewith to refreſh the Soldiers, the Foot began in the night to diſperſe themſelves to go ſeek out for victual, and the Horſe retir'd into a certain Village to bait their horſes till midnight; ſo that few being left before the Caſtle, thoſe within ſeeing their opportunity made a deſperate Sally in the night, and got away. Our people mounted to horſe to purſue them, but ſo ſoon as ever they were out they ſeparated like a Covey of flown Partridges, and by ſeveral paths retir'd every man to his own houſe. The night was exceeding dark, which ſo much favour'd their flight, that not above three or four of them were ſlain. God knows when I heard it whether I was not ready to tear the hair off my head, and writ them word, that they very well manifeſted they had not retein'd what I had ſo often taught them.

Levignac taken by aſſault.

Now as to our Enterprize upon *la Roche-Chalaiſe*, Monſieur *de Montferran* upon Sunday night came with the Artillery to *Contras*, and I came thither alſo. Monſieur *de la Vauguyon* was to take his way directly to *Parcon*, where the Bridge was, to try if he could take the Town upon his firſt arrival, and make himſelf Maſter of the Bridge, which if he ſhould do, he was then to ſend over ſome Horſe, who were to ſcoure the Country towards *St. Alvere*, to enquire after Monſieur *de la Noüe*, and to learn if he made any ſhew or preparation of coming towards us. Now from *la Roche* to the ſaid *Parcon* it was no more than two leagues, ſo that we made account once in two hours to meet together again, the wayes betwixt them being very good. When Monſieur *de Vauguyon* and I parted, upon the ſame Saturday he went to make his people immediately advance, marching night and day, and I came upon Sunday morning very early to *Contras*, where I found Monſieur *de Gironde* the Govêrnor of *Fronſac*, who was alſo of the Enterpriſe and Council that I had held about it at *Bourdeaux*. Having there made ready as many Carriages as we ſtood in need of, Monſieur *de Montferran* being come up upon Sunday in the Evening, I let him reſt but three hours only, and ſent him away all night that he might be before day at *la Roche* to ſhut them up, which he accordingly did, and Monſieur *de Gironde* and I ſtayed to ſee the Cattle yok'd to the Artillery, which ſo ſoon as ever I had done, and made them ſet forwards, I there left the ſaid Sieur *de Gironde* with *Fredeville*, and about a hundred

Enterprize of *la Roche-Chalais.*

Pioneers

Pioneers the ſaid Sieur *de Gironde* had lent me to take care for the reſt. In the mean time, and about midnight I departed thence, and by break of day came within a quarter of a league of *la Roche*, where I found Monſieur *de la Vauguyon*, who was got thither by midnight, and had ſent fifteen or ſixteen of his Horſe before the Caſtle. Thoſe Horſe ſoon came back to the place where we were, and told us that they had found the Enemies Horſe without, and had charg'd them, of which *Chanteyrac* refus'd to ſhut himſelf within the Caſtle, but going along the Wall of the Baſe-Court recover'd the Paſs at the Mill, where putting himſelf into a Boat, under favour of ten or twelve Soldiers that made good the Mill, he paſſed the River, making his horſes follow by the Bridles. Monſieur *de la Roche* did not take the ſame way, but with ſix or ſeven Horſe return'd into the Caſtle, when ſeeing thoſe Avant Courreurs of Monſieur *de la Vauguyon* gone away, and that *Chanteyrac* had forſaken him, he thought to ſally out, and make his eſcape; in order whereunto the moſt of them were already come down into the Baſe-Court, but Monſieur *de Montferran* came up juſt in the nick, and charg'd them, forcing them to retire into the Caſtle. In doing which he gain'd the Baſe-Court, and put a great many men into it: which being done he went to attaque the Mills, which made a very ſtout reſiſtance, but in the end he took them, and put all thoſe within to the ſword. He ſent me preſent word of all juſt at the time when Monſieur *de la Vauguyon* and I were at Breakfaſt, whereupon the ſaid Sieur *de la Vauguyon* immediately went, and put himſelf in the head of his men to march directly to the Town, he and I concluding together, that he ſhould ſend me three Companies of Monſieur *de Sarlabous* his Regiment to aſſiſt me at the aſſault of the Caſtle; and ſo he went to his Enterprize of *Parcou*, and I marcht before *la Roche*, having already notice that the Artillery was already within half a league of us, which could not however arrive at *la Roche* till noon, by reaſon of the ill way they had met withall. Monſieur *de la Vauguyon* entred the Town, for the Enemy were all retir'd into the Mills upon the Bridg; his men forc'd and gain'd the Bridg, and ſo all was wonne, and in the night I made my approaches, and planted my Canon in Battery. At break of day Monſieur *de la Roche* deſir'd to parley with Monſiur *de Montferran*, who being he was his Kinſman, and a young Gentleman, would not let him go in again, but detein'd him, and the others when they ſaw the Artillery ready to play began to cry out, *that they would ſurrender*, who ſeeing no one give ear to them, they cried out again, *that they would ſurrender to our diſcretion*. The Governor of *Fronſac*, and even the Hugonots themſelves who were of *Coutras*, and were come along with us, cried out, *that we ſhould by no means recieve them to mercy, for that they were Libertines, and men of no Religion, eſpecially one of them call'd* Bruſquin *who had kill'd above fourſcore men with his own hands, the moſt of them Labourers and Country-men.* It then came to the queſtion of marching out, whereupon the ſaid Sieur *de la Roche* entreated of me a certain Lacquay of his, his Valet de Chambre, and his Cook, which I granted him, and we cull'd them out from the reſt. Monſieur *de Montferran* put himſelf into the Caſtle with ten or twelve men to preſerve it from being rifled, and the men that came out of it I recommended to the Soldiers diſpoſe, who were handled according to the life they had lead, for not one of them eſcap'd, excepting thoſe I have mentioned before.

The Caſtle of *la Roche-Chalais* ſurrenders to diſcretion.

That very *Bruſquin* the Hugonots ſo exclaim'd againſt to have him kill'd, caught hold of my leg, for I was on horſe-back, having five or ſix upon him, and held me in ſuch ſort, that I had enough to do to diſingage my ſelf from him, and narrowly eſcap'd being hurt my ſelf. They found in his pocket a Liſt of a hundred and ſeventeen men that he had murthered, he having there writ them down, ſuch a one *Prieſt*, ſuch a one *Labourer*, ſuch a one *Monk*, ſuch a one *Merchant*, ſetting down after that manner of what Trade or calling every one was: which was no ſooner read, but that the Soldiers return'd to him, and gave him above two hundred cuts and thruſts, although he was already dead. Monſieur *de la Vauguyon* came in juſt upon the execution, where one of them endeavouring to fly away gave him and his horſe ſo rude a ſhock, as almoſt turn'd him out of the way, but he was ſo cloſe purſued, that he went not far. I was enform'd that theſe people were newly return'd from *St. Aulaye*, and that they had ſpoken with Monſieur *de Jarnac*, who had told them, that Monſieur *de la Noüe* was retiring towards *la Roche-Chalais*; which was the reaſon that we concluded Monſieur *de la Vauguyon* ſhould return to the place from whence he came, and that Monſieur *de Montferran* and I would go carry the Artillery directly to *Bridoiere*: but before we parted I told them, *that although Monſieur* de la Roche *did properly belong to me, and of right was my particular priſoner, I being head of the Enterprize; I was nevertheleſs content that we ſhould all three ſhare in his Ranſome, which we did*, ſo that his Ranſome being ſet at ſix thouſand Crowns, the Dividend came to two thouſand Crowns a piece.

Great and bloody cruelty of a Hugonot Soldier.

Being

Being come to *Libourne* I ſent the Artillery up the River, which went day and night, for we had a great many men to draw the rope of the Boat, which was no ſooner come to *Caſtillon*, belonging to the Marquis *de Villars*, but that there came a Meſſenger ſent from Monſieur *de Madaillan* to tell me, that the Enemy of *Bridoire* were eſcap'd away, and fled; at which I was as much troubled as at any news almoſt could have been brought me, for my purpoſe was to have dealt no better with them, than I had done with the reſt, and ſo we return'd the Artillery down the River directly to *Bourdeaux*, and leaving Captain *Mabrun* with three Companies to guard it, Monſieur *de Montferran* and I went before to the City. The next day after I came thither I went to the Palace to take my leave of the Court of Parliament, being reſolv'd to return to my old Quarters, that I might be nearer to the Monſieur, in caſe he ſhould be pleas'd to ſend for me. There Monſieur *la* Preſident *Roſſignac* in a ſhort ſpeech return'd me thanks in the behalf of the whole Aſſembly for the ſervice I had done, foraſmuch as by this little war he ſaid we had ſo ſecur'd the Rodes towards *Xaintonge*, that every one might now ſafely come and go betwixt *France* and *Bourdeaux*. That I had alſo ſecur'd them on that ſide towards the *Dordogne*, having reduc'd the Caſtle of *Bridoire*, and on that ſide towards the *Garonne*, by having taken *Levignac*, *Taillecabat*, and *Pardaillac*, by reaſon that before neither proviſions nor men could come by thoſe wayes to *Bourdeaux*, or by any other, ſaving out of *Guſcony*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* offers to attaque *Blaye*.

Theſe were the ſucceſſes of theſe Enterprizes perform'd in five or ſix dayes, without putting the King to the expence of a Teſton, and the Parliament leſs; and had theſe Meſſieurs of the City of *Bourdeaux* kept their words with me, I would have laid my head, that I had turn'd *Blay* topſy turvy: neither would I have askt any more than eight dayes time to do it in, provided I might have had the Baron *de la Garde* along with me to have attaqu'd them by ſea, and would have engag'd to have paid them back the thirty thouſand Francs I demanded of them wherewith to pay the Foot, and to defray the charge of the Artillery and Pioneers if I did not carry the place. Nay ſeeing they would not reliſh that motion, I offer'd to lend them twelve thouſand Francs for a year without intereſt, and Monſieur *de Va'ence* my Brother would lend them two thouſand more: in ſhort the Court of Parliament was very hot upon the Enterprize; but when they ſaw it was requir'd that every one ſhould lay to his helping hand there was no more talk of the buſineſs. Theſe men of the Long Robe are a dry hide-bound ſort of people, and ſtill pop us in the mouth with their Priviledges. I will maintain, and that by the teſtimony of the beſt and honeſteſt men of *Bourdeaux*, that they were the cauſe this Enterprize was not executed: for when the Citizens ſaw they would part with no money, they would part with none neither, ſaying that the Court of Parliament had as much or more wealth than half the City beſides, and twice they made me come to them, aſſuring me that ſo ſoon as ever they ſhould ſee my face all things ſhould be done; but when I came I ſtill found them put me off with ſo many delayes, that I was forc'd to return as wiſe as I came. I think they had a mind to have had me done it at my own expence, and that the advantage and the profit ſhould only have accru'd to them; and in truth by the offers I made, any one might plainly ſee I was willing to advance ſomething of my own; for I defray'd all the Gentlemen that did me the honor to go along with me at my own charge, without putting the City to the expence of a Hen. This in truth was the reaſon why the Enterprize upon *Blay* was not put into execution. I am very ſure there was nothing in *Guienne* could have hindred me from effecting my deſign. At the time when *Des Rois* beſieg'd it I had taken an exact ſurvey of the place, and it is no ſuch choak-pear as they make it. Beſides at that time the *Hugonots* ſcarce ſhew'd their heads, and *Guienne* was quiet enough: for all thoſe who were able to bear arms went into the main body to the Admiral, who after the death of the Prince of *Condé* caus'd himſelf to be declar'd Head of the Faction, the Prince ſerving him only for a ſhadow. It was that nevertheleſs that ſo much upheld the ſaid Admiral and his Party, for a Prince of the Blood can do much, and the Son of the ſaid Prince of *Condé*, though he was very young, was a great ſupport to him alſo; for without them and their authority he had never been able to have maintain'd the War ſo long.

The Admiral declar'd Head of the Hugonots,

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE COMMENTARIES OF *Meßire Blaize de Montluc*, MARESCHAL of FRANCE.

The Seventh Book.

SEeing I have taken in hand to leave to posterity an account of my life, and to give a true relation whether good or bad, of all that ever I have done in so many years that I have born arms for the Kings my Masters; I am unwilling to omit any thing of action how little and inconsiderable soever; and although the last little Victories I gave an account of were neither the Conquests of *Naples*, nor *Millan*; I have not however thought it fit to leave them wholly out, for (inconsiderable as they are) such may read them, as they may be useful to, and Captains and Soldiers may begin their Prenticeage with such little feats of arms as those; it being by such that they first take Lesson: and even those who have the Government of Provinces committed to their charge, may by what I have perform'd take exemple of what was well, if there be any such thing, and avoid the evil.

Why the Author writes these particularities.

I had so clipt the wings of the Hugonots that they were capable of doing no great matters in *Guienne*, nor of attempting any other than very slight Enterprizes; neither consequently was I in any capacity of performing any notable exploits; both because there was not much of that nature in the Province left to do, and also by reason I had on the other side, sent away most of the Forces to the Monsieurs Army, and did reserve all the money for his use. I have moreover another reason why I am thus particular in my writing; which is to the end, that if the King shall vouchsafe the pains to read my Book (and I think he reads some worse) his Majesty may then see how much they have spoken against the truth, who have said that I had now no other care, nor meditated on any other thing but how to live quietly and at ease in my own house. God knows these people understood me very ill. Had I had the means I desir'd, and that some might have supply'd me withall, and that I might have had my own swing, without being curb'd by those pernicious Edicts, I should have prevented the Hugonots from reigning in *Guienne*, and perhaps have rooted out the whole Race.

But to pursue the thread of my discourse, and give a true account of what has been the ruine of this poor Province, I shall proceed to tell you, that some time after the execution of these Enterprizes, the Monsieur sent me a Letter containing these words.

The Monsieurs letter to the Sieur de *Montluc*.

Monsieur *de Montluc*, *Monsieur the Mareschal* d'Anville *has been here, and is going into his Government to put some designs he has there into execution; if therefore he shall stand in need of any thing in your Government, let me entreat you to assist him the best you can.* This letter was deliver'd to me at *St. Foy*, and with it there came another to Monsieur *de Sainctorens*, wherein he was commanded to come and bring his Company along with him to the Army; which was because his Highness had given Monsieur *de Fontenilles* leave to return home to refresh himself, and to recruit his Company, his said Highness sending

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ing me word not long after, that I ſhould keep Monſieur *de Fontenilles* with me, without ſuffering them to ſtir out of the Country; and that I ſhould have a ſpecial regard to *Bourdeaux*, aſſiſting Monſieur *de Terride* with what I could in order to his Conqueſt of *Bearn*; and that as to himſelf he was going down into *Poitou*. This was heavy news to me, although I was very glad of the coming of the Mareſchal *d'Anville*, and may I periſh if I was not really as glad of it, as if almoſt the Monſieur himſelf had come, for I fancied that the Hugonots in *Languedoc* and *Guienne* would not be able to ſtand two moneths before us.

The Mareſchal *d'Anville* coms to proſecute the War in *Guien.*

The ſaid Mareſchal ſtaid ſome dayes by the way, and being arriv'd in *Avergne*, diſpatcht a Courrier to me to give me notice he was come, and to tell me that he was glad of his Commiſſion to come to make war in thoſe parts, as well for the ſatisfaction he ſhould have in ſeeing me, as out of the hope he had we ſhould do ſomething to the purpoſe in theſe Countries of *Languedoc* and *Guienne*, and that he was going through *Albigeois* directly to *Tholouze*. I ſent him back his Meſſenger in all haſte, deſiring him by no means to go that way, but that he would come to *Rhodes* and into *Quercy*, and that I would come to meet him at *Cahors*; for the Count *de Montgomery* was arriv'd about *Caſtres*, where he was drawing a Party together, ſo that he could not paſs that way but he muſt be in danger of falling into the midſt of the Enemy. I had no anſwer from him till he came to *Tholouze*, from whence he diſpatcht a Courrier to me to advertize me of his arrival, ſending me word that he had paſt in the very beard of the Enemy; but that none of them had preſented themſelves to oppoſe his way. I was very glad to hear of his ſafe arrival, and in his letter he entreated me that we might meet and ſee one another, to the end that being together we might take a good reſolution to do the King ſome ſignal piece of ſerviee, and that he would do nothing without my advice. I had at that time a defluxion fall'n upon one of my paps, ſo that I was conſtrain'd to have it launc'd in two places, and to put in two tents, which made my breaſt ſo ſoar that I was hardly able to endure my ſhirt; but the fury of the dolor being a little aſſwag'd, and the Fever occaſion'd by it a little over, I put my ſelf upon my way, though I was able to ride no more than three leagues a day at the moſt, and that with intolerable pain.

Such as ſhall pleaſe to read my life may take notice with how many ſorts of maladies I have been afflicted, and yet notwithſtanding I have never been idle or reſty to the commands of my Maſters, or negligent in my charge. 'Tis unbecoming a Soldier to lye grunting a Bed for a little ſickneſs. Now you muſt know that neither the King nor the Queen had writ to me that I was to obey the Mareſchal, neither did he in his own Letter take upon him to command me, nevertheleſs out of reſpect of the friendſhip I bore unto him, and the affection that of my own voluntary inclination I had vow'd to him all the dayes of my life, I went of my own accord to offer my obedience to him, and to make him a tender of all the ſervice lay in my power in reference to his own particular perſon. I found him in a little feveriſh diſtemper, and ſtai'd two dayes with him at *Tholouze*, and there I was at that time better accompanied than he; for I had no leſs than threeſcore or threeſcore and ten Gentlemen in my Train. We concluded together that I ſhould return to *Agen*, there to aſſemble the Eſtates of the Province to ſee how many men the Country was able to furniſh out, and maintain for the proſecution of the War. I aſſur'd him that *Guienne* would furniſh money to pay a thouſand or twelve hundred Harquebuzeers; alwayes provided that when he ſhould have won a Town in *Languedoc*, he would come to attaque annother in *Guienne*, which I alſo engaged to them in the Mareſchal's behalf that he ſhould do; *but I reckon'd without mine Hoſt*. I immediately however ſet afoot the Companies of a thouſand Harquebuzeers, and made choice of the beſt Captains that were then in the Country to command them. The Eſtates gave the charge of receiving the money to *de Naux*, one of the Houſe of *Nort* of *Agen*, and we concluded to be ready the firſt of *Auguſt* to take the field.

Conſiderations upon the coming of the Count *de Montgommery.*

Two or three moneths were paſſed over in theſe tranſactions, during which Monſieur *de Terride* was ſtill at the Leaguer he had laid before *Navarreins*, and for my part I gave the Town for taken; for we had ſtill news that no more proviſion was enter'd into it, and that they began to ſuffer. On the other ſide I conſider'd, that all the Forces the Count *de Mont-gommery* had brought with him were but threeſcore and ten Horſe, and that he had no other Forces but only thoſe of the Vicomptes, which I did not much apprehend, foraſmuch as with a very few men I had kept them in ſuch aw, that they had not dar'd to ſtir. In *Quercy* Monſieur *de la Chappelle Lozieres* made head againſt them, in *Rovergue* Monſieur *de Cornuſſon* and his Sons, and Monſieur *de Ste Venſa* did the ſame, as alſo Monſieur *de Bellegarde* on that ſide towards *Tholouze*; in brief they were held ſo ſhort as nothing more. I then conſider'd that we had ſeveral Companies of Gens-d'arms in the Country; ſo that I never imagin'd *Montgommery* could gather together

ther a power ſufficient to relieve *Navarreins*; for he muſt of neceſſity croſs the River at *Verdun*, where in two dayes I ſhould be upon the Paſs to oppoſe him: and I had ſo good Spies, that I was very ſure to be immediately adverti'z'd ſhould he come to *Montauban*, or offer to paſs where he did, which was at *St. Gaudens*. I again conſider'd that in that Quarter there were ſeven or eight Companies of Gens-d'arms, which were thoſe of the two *Bellegardes*, *d'Arne*, *de Gramont*, *de Sarlebous*, that of the Count *de Candalle*, and of Monſieur *de Lanzun*, and the ten Companies of Monſieur *de Savignac*; ſo that all the Earth could never have made it ſink into my head that the Count *de Montgommery* ſhould come to relieve *Bearn*. Thus do men ſometimes deceive themſeves with reaſons; for I made account his coming into thoſe parts had been only to defend thoſe places they poſſeſſed in the Provinces of *Languedoc* and *Guienne*, and alſo I heard the Vicompts refus'd to obey one another, which made me rather think he came to moderate that affair, than for any thing of *Bearn*, and in truth there was greater likelihood in it; but the Hugonots have ever had that quality to conceal their deſigns better than we. They are a people that very rarely diſcover their counſels, and that's the reaſon why their Enterprizes ſeldom fail of taking effect. The Count *de Montgommery* alſo herein manifeſted himſelf to be a circumſpect and prudent Captain. It was he who was the occaſion of the greateſt miſhap that theſe five hundred years has befall'n this poor Kingdom, for he kill'd King *Henry* my good Maſter in the flower of his age, running againſt him in Liſts; and this man was the ruine of *Guienne*, by ſetting the Hugonots again on foot, as ſhall be declar'd in its due place.

You who are the Kings Lieutenants upon whoſe care the whole Province does rely, conſider the overſight that I have committed, and not I alone, but ſome far better than I, upon this coming of the Count *de Montgommery*: look better about you when you ſhall happen to be in the like occaſion, and ever ſuſpect the worſt, that you may provide better againſt ſuch inconveniencies than we did. The Mareſchal *d'Anville* very well knows, that when we were together at *Tholouze*, we were generally of opinion that the Count was not come for the end that he afterwards diſcovered. We had very good arguments to excuſe this error, eſpecially I, as the following diſcourſe will make appear to ſuch as have a mind to be further ſatisfied in that particular: but this man, although a ſtranger, and in a Country where he had never been before, made it ſeen that he had very good friends there, and perhaps amongſt us our ſelves; the Hugonots have ever been more cautelous and ſubtile than we; I muſt confeſs that of all the overſights have ever been committed in all our wars, this was the greateſt; I know it has been variouſly deſcanted upon, and that the Queen of *Navarre* ſet people on to raiſe ſtrange reports: but I know alſo that I was not in fault; and I am ſure Monſieur *d'Anville* is ſo good a ſervant to the Crown, that he can ſay as much for himſelf as I.

A fault in the *French* Gentry.

At my departure from *Tholouze* I had ſome private conference with two of the principal Capitouls of the City, where I gave them many things in charge to deliver to the body of their Corporation concerning the carrying on of the War. Theſe men were very well diſpos'd, but that is not all; and I muſt here by the way inſert a thing that I have ever ſaid, and ſhall do ſo long as I live, that the Gentry are very much to blame ſo much to diſdain City-Employments, principally of Capital Cities, ſuch as *Tholouze* and *Bourdeaux*. I am ſure when I was a boy I have heard that both Gentlemen and Lords of very great birth and quality accepted of the charge of Capitouls at *Tholouze*, and of Jurats at *Bourdeaux*; but eſpecially at *Tholouze*; whereas now refuſing theſe offices, or ſuffering them to be conferr'd upon others, the Citizens have got the power into their hands, ſo that when we come we muſt cap and cringe to them. It was ill adviſed of thoſe who firſt were the cauſe. Would to God that (as they do in *Spain*) we had made our conſtant abode in the good Towns, we had then both had more riches and more authority. We have the keys of the Field, and they of the Towns, and in the mean time we muſt paſs thorough their hands, and for the leaſt affair trot up and down with great trouble from City to City to beg their favour and eſteem. But to return to my two Capitouls, had they been men who had rightly underſtood the inſtructions I gave them, they might have given me ſeaſonable notice. Neither is it in this thing only that I have obſerv'd this fault, but in ſeveral other things alſo, and if the Catholick Gentlemen would introduce this cuſtom of taking City Employments upon them, they would find advantage by it, and would in a ſhort time ſee all things in a much better poſture. But let us make an end of the buſineſs in hand.

I had intelligence from that ſide towards *Tholouze*, that the ſaid Count reinforc'd himſelf both with Horſe and Foot and that he made his Levies about *Caſtreſs*, and at *Gaillac*, but that did nothing alter my former opinion of his deſign (I confeſs that God

depriv'd us of our underſtanding) till that within eight or ten dayes before he took the Field. Monſieur *de St. Germain* coming to give me a viſit at *Agen* about ſome private buſineſs betwixt us, told and aſſur'd me, that the preparation *Montgommery* was making was to go over into *Bearn*. I diſputed the contrary with him, telling him that the ſaid *Montgommery* very well knew, that the Mareſchal *d'anvilles* Forces were almoſt ready, and that in eight or ten dayes time I ſhould alſo be ready to march, hoping in twelve dayes to be with him. To which the ſaid Sieur de *St. Germain* made anſwer, that let me never more repute him a good Servant of the Kings, if the Count *de Montgommery* did not go over into *Bearn*; and that he would croſs the River at *Verdun*, or elſe higher towards the Sourſe. The confident aſſurance he gave me made me think to advertize Monſieur *de Terride*, which by an expreſs Courrier I did, and having well weigh'd and conſider'd all things with my ſelf, began to apprehend there might be ſome apparence in the thing. In the mean time I entreated the ſaid Sieur *de St. Germain* to go to *Tholouze* to acquaint the Mareſchal with it; to which he return'd me anſwer, that he could not imagine but that the Mareſchal muſt needs know of it, conſidering that *Montgommeries* Levies were making within ſeven or eight leagues of *Tholouze*: but I was ſo importunate with him to go, that in the end he conſented, though he was at that time very much troubled with the ſtone, which yet continues with him; which made me write to the Mareſchal (not naming the ſaid Sieur *de St. Germain* otherwiſe than that a Gentleman and a Knight of the Order, whom he very well knew, and who was a very loyal Subject of the Kings) was coming towards him, to acquaint him with ſomething that concern'd his Majeſties ſervice, beſeeching him that he would pleaſe to give credit to what he had to deliver to him. The ſaid Sieur *de St. Germain* was not come to *Tholouze* when my Meſſenger came away, for the Mareſchal writ me word back that the Knight of the Order who I ſaid was coming to ſpeak with him, was not yet arriv'd, but that if he came he would give ear to what he had to ſay, and would ſignifie his opinion to me concerning what he ſhould deliver to him. Four or five dayes after Monſieur *de St. Germain* writ me word, that he had been with the Mareſchal, who it ſeem'd had intelligence from other hands then his, to which he conceiv'd he gave greater credit then to him: but that I ſhould remember what he told me, and ſhould in a ſhort time ſee it come to paſs. I gave continual notice of all to Monſieur *de St. Giron* who was at *Maſ de Verdun*, and Governor of the place, brother to the Sieur *de la Garde*, and who at this time is a Knight of the Order, and one of his Majeſties Houſehold, that he ſhould look well about him, and that in caſe the Enemy ſhould offer to paſs the River, he ſhould ſend me preſent word, and in a day and a half I would not fail to be with him. To which he return'd me anſwer, that he would give me three daies warning, and that thoſe of *Grenade*, and *du Mas de Verdun* had command to aſſiſt one another to guard the Foards and Ferries, which command had been given them at the ſaid *Mas de Verdun* at the time when the ſaid Mareſchal was there. Now I had deliver'd the charge of the Country of *Comenge*, as far as the *Pyrrhenean* Mountains to Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, to whom I had given as ample Commiſſion to Command in thoſe parts as if I my ſelf was there, he having ever behav'd himſelf gallantly and well, upon all occaſions beaten and repell'd the Enemy, with Monſieur *de Savignac's* People, his own Company, and the Gentlemen of *Comenge*, amongſt whom he had a very great reputation, and was well ſerv'd by the Gentry, they knowing him to be a very brave Gentleman and an old Captain.

Monſieur *de Terride* deſpiſes his Enemy.

I receiv'd an anſwer from Monſieur *de Terride*, wherein he ſent me word that he had no great apprehenſion of the Count *de Montgommery* or of his Forces, and that he was able to fight him. The Meſſenger that I had ſent to him was a Soldier, who told me by the by, that Monſieur *de Terride* had not ſo many men as he thought he ſhould have had, and moreover he heard the Captains and Soldiers ſay that the Enemy ſcarce ever made a ſally but that our people were beaten. And it was not above three dayes at the moſt before I receiv'd a Letter from Monſieur *de Fontenilles* containing theſe words.

I ſend you enclоſed a Letter I receiv'd from my Lieutenant Monſieur de Noe, *by which you will ſee that the Count* de Montgommery *is already upon the* Save, *and that he takes the way toward* St. Gaudens, *where he makes account with his Army to paſs the* Garonne.

The ſaid Sieur *de Noe's* Letter was this:

Monſieur,

The Count *de Montgommery* goes over into *Bearn*.

I Give you nitice that the Count de Montgommery *has paſt the* Save, *and the* Riege, *and dines to day at the houſe of the Vicount* de Caumont *my Brother-in-Law. In all theſe parts not a man preſents himſelf to diſpute with him his paſſage over the* Garonne. *I pray give Monſieur* de Montluc *ſpeedy notice of it.*

I

I was never in my life ſo ſurpriz'd at any thing as at this unexpected news, and began to think with my ſelf, that this was ſome miſadventure that was deſtin'd againſt us, knowing, as I did, the Mareſchal *d'Anville*, Meſſieurs *de Joyeuſe* and *de Bellegarde*, who were hard by him, and ſeveral other Captains who wanted neither courage, experience, nor affection; wherefore we were to conclude that God would lay a misfortune upon Monſieur *de Terride*. I had the Company of Monſieur *de Gondrin* at *Montſegur en Bezadois*, the one half of my own at *Nerac*, and the other at *Monſlanquin*, and that of Monſieur *de Fontenilles* at *Moiſſac*; which *de Fontenilles* ran in all haſte to the ſaid *Moiſſac*, being very certain that I would ſpeedily ſend for him. I immediately then writ four diſpatches, one to Monſieur *de Terride*, wherein I entreated him to riſe from before *Navarreins*, and to retire towards *Orthez* and *St. Sever*, for that the Enemy was upon him, entreating him in ſo doing to call to mind the diligence we had ſeveral times uſed when we were together in *Piedmont*; that I feared the Mareſchal's Forces were not yet ready ſuddenly to relieve him, and did alſo fear that the Enemy would be upon him before my Letter could come to his hands; that therefore he ought not to engage himſelf to a precipitous Retreat, and much leſs in a Battel, conſidering that his men were haraſs'd out with labour and watching, and that the Enemy came freſh and in good plight to attaque him. I ſent another to Monſieur *de Fontenilles* to bid him march, another to the Baron *de Gondrin* at *Montſegur*, and another to my Lieutenant Monſieur *de Madaillan*, that I was going before towards *l'Iſſe en Jordan*, if the Enemy had not yet paſſed the River; but in caſe they ſhould already be paſſed over, I would then take the way of *Aire*, and that he ſhould follow after me day and night. It was almoſt night when I received the news, and in the morning by break of day, ſo ſoon as I had ſent away my Meſſengers I departed and went to *Lectoure*; from whence I ſent another diſpatch to Monſieur le Mareſchal to give him notice that I was coming directly to him with five Enſigns of Foot: but that notwithſtanding ſhould the Enemy already have paſſed the River, I was of opinion we were to follow after them, and that then if I ſhould find they were marcht toward *Bearn*, I for my part would take my way directly to *Aire*, beſeeching him not to ſtay for any one, for that ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould be out of the Gates of *Tholouze* every one would follow after him, ſo well was I acquainted with the nature of the Gentlemen of that Country. I had tried them oft enough, and am very confident it would have fall'n out ſo: for many a time have I ſet out with thirty men only, and the next day have had all the Gentlemen of the Country about me. I ſtay'd but that day at *Lectoure*, and as God ſhall help me, when I departed from *Agen*, I had but one old Gentlmen with me call'd Monſieur *de Lizac*, and my own Servants; but the next morning I had above thirty came in to me, with whom I marcht that night to *Cauze*, and the next day went no further than to *Nogarol* to ſtay for the Companies of Gens-d'arms and five Enſigns of Foot I had near unto me, and they were commanded by Captain *Caſtella*, by reaſon that I had ſent my Nephew *de Leberon* to *Libourne*; the King having writ to me to put my ſelf into it, his Majeſty having had intelligence that the Enemy had a deſign upon that place. Which Command I receiv'd at the time when I ſent the advertizement to Monſieur *de Terride*, and would not my ſelf go to the ſaid *Libourne*, that I might be near the Mareſchal to go relieve the ſaid Sieur *de Terride*; or fight *Montgommery* by the way. Being come to *Aire* we found that we were above ſixſcore Gentlemen, and the five Foot Companies came thither as ſoon as we. In the morning my whole Company came in on the one ſide, and by the way of the *Landes* at the ſame time came the Baron *de Gondrin*, who the day before had marched nine leagues, and my Company ſeven, and at night came Monſieur *de Fontenilles*. As I was mounting to horſe to depart from *Nogarol*, the Meſſenger I had ſent to the Mareſchal from *Lectoure* return'd and brought me his anſwer, which was, that ſince *Montgommery* was already paſſed the *Garonne*, he conceiv'd it would be to no purpoſe to follow him, and that he had given Monſieur *de Terride* notice from the time that the Count had firſt made towards the Rivers, to look to himſelf, for that the ſaid *Montgommery* was coming to attaque him; who had return'd him anſwer, that he was ſtrong enough to fight *Montgommery*, and that he would not leave the Siege, which was the ſame anſwer the ſaid Sieur *de Terride* had ſent to me. The ſaid Mareſchal ſent me further word that he was going to batter a Caſtle near unto *Lavaur* called *Frigeac*, till the Foot who were coming out of *Languedoc* commanded by the Sieur *de St. Geran de la Guiche* ſhould come up to him.

The Sieur *de Montluc* gives Monſieur *de Terride* notice of his coming.

So ſoon as ever I alighted at *Aire* I diſpatcht away Captain *Manſan* (who had been Quarter-maſter to Monſieur *Gramont*'s Company, and was lately come into mine) to the ſaid Mareſchal by whom I begg'd of him, that ſetting all other Enterprizes apart, he would pleaſe to apply himſelf to the grand Concern; for having once fought *Montgommery* he would have no more to do either in *Languedoc* or *Guienne*, being that all the Forces of two

The Sieur *de Montluc* ſends to the Mareſchal *d'Anville*.

* A River ſo called.

Provinces were united with the ſaid Count, which being once defeated there would not be any one left to make head againſt us. I had at my coming to *Nogarol* ſent away a diſpatch to Monſieur *de Terride*, entreating him, that if he was not already retir'd he would ſpeedily retire, and diſincumber himſelf of his Artillery; and if he ſaw himſelf hard laid to, rather to throw them into the * *Gave*, than engage in a Battel; for that I had ſent to the Mareſchal from *Lectoure*, hoping he would ſuddenly come away; and that though he ſhould loſe his Canon, ſo ſoon as we ſhould be drawn together we ſhould preſently recover it. In the mean time it ran in my head, that although *Montgommery* had a very conſiderable and ſprightly Army, he would hardly notwithſtanding adventure to attaque Monſieur *de Terride*, ſeeing we were coming up towards him: but I think he had intelligence that neither the Mareſchal nor I would enter the Country, and that we were not ready to joyn, which made him purſue his determination. The ſame night that I came to *Aire* after I had ſent away Captain *Mauſan* came Captain *Montant* from Monſieur *de Terride*, by whom he ſent me word that he was retir'd to *Orthez*, entreating me with all ſpeed to come up to him; whereupon I immediately ſent back the ſaid Captain *Montant* to tell him, that I would not ſtir from *Aire*, or at leaſt would advance no further than *St. Sever*, untill the Mareſchal ſhould firſt come, for I had but three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and five Enſigns of Foot; and that Captain *Montant* had told me, that in eighteen Enſigns of Foot which he had with him there was not eighteen hundred men; and on the other ſide, ſhould I come to *Orthez*, and that we ſhould be forc'd to fight, and ſhould loſe the Battel, the King might juſtly cut off my head for not ſtaying for the Mareſchal, and the ſaid Mareſchal himſelf might juſtly ſay, that I had precipitated the Battel that he might not be there, to engroſs to my ſelf the reputation of a Victory; that therefore I would be cautious of entring into ſuch a diſpute either with his Majeſty, or the Mareſchal: but that I entreated him to retire to *St. Sever*, leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in *Orthez*, and till the Mareſchal ſhould come I would be drawing towards him. That heretofore I had given him timely advertizement of the Count's coming, which he had diſpis'd, and that now he would have me repair that ſo great an overſight at the hazard of my own honor, which I could by no means do. The ſaid Captain *Montant* rid all night directly to *Orthez*, telling him all that I had given him in charge, to which he return'd me anſwer, that he could not ſtir from *Orthez*, and that ſhould he go out of the Country of *Bearn* the *Bearnois* would take heart at it; entreating me therefore to come up to him, with which meſſage he would again have return'd the ſaid Captain *Montant*, who would by no means accept of the Commiſſion, but frankly told him, that he was confident I would not enter into *Bearn*; and had given him ſo many reaſons for that reſolution, that not a man about me would offer to adviſe me to it, and accordingly I ſent him word by his Meſſenger that I would do no other but what I had told him by Captain *Montant*.

The Sieur *de Terride* retires to *Orthez*.

I communicated all the Letters I writ whether to the Mareſchal or Monſieur *de Terride*, to Monſieur *d'Aire* Brother to Monſieur *de Candalle*, and to all the Knights of the Order, and evermore conſulted their advice; for the occaſion requir'd it. The Lieutenant of *Caſtel-Sarrazin*, who was with Monſieur *de Terride*, has ſince told me, that he kept all the Letters I had writ to the ſaid Sieur *de Terride*, and that would he have been perſwaded by any of his Captains, he had retir'd to *St. Sever* according to my advice: but he choſe rather to be govern'd by three or four Gentlemen of *Bearn* he had about him, than any of his own Officers and Servants. Monſieur *de Bellegarde* was within ſix leagues of *Aire* towards *Bigorre*, to whom I diſpatcht away a Meſſenger, entreating him to come the next day to *Prolan*, a Houſe belonging to the Baron *de Campagne*, and to bring Captain *Arne*, and the Baron *de Arbous*, Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Gramont*, along with him, I having earneſt buſineſs to communicate unto him, which accordingly they all three did. He had with him four Companies of Gens-d'arms, namely his own, and thoſe of Meſſieurs *de Gramont*, *d'Arne*, and *de Sarlebous*; and there I laid down before them all that I writ to Monſieur *de Terride*, with the anſwers he had return'd me back, and that he tempted me to come to *Orthez*, telling them withal the foregoing reaſons why I conceiv'd I ought not to do it; which they all approv'd of, ſaying, that the Mareſchal would have juſt cauſe to take it exceedingly ill if I ſhould not ſtay for him; although they well enough underſtood by ſeveral Letters he had writ to them, that he had a mind to make war in *Languedoc*, and not in *Guienne*; for all thoſe of his Council, and even they of *Tholouze*, (as they had been enform'd) adviſ'd him ſo to do, and that upon that condition they would ſupply him with money for the expence of the war, perſwading him to expend it in *Languedoc*, and not in *Guienne*; which was a thing eaſie enough to be believ'd, for *every one ſtrives to draw the water to his own Mill*. Monſieur *de Bellegarde* then told us, that he would

would write to the Mareſchal, and tell him that he ought to march towards us, and after the Enemy: but that nevertheleſs he believ'd he would not do it, for the forenamed reaſons, and alſo becauſe thoſe who were for his transferring the Scene of the war into *Languedoc*, would be ſure to poſſeſs him, that the reaſon why we invited him to come to us, was for the fear we were in of loſing our own Houſes. We concluded however that he ſhould ſend a Gentleman to him to beſeech him to come, and I promis'd Monſieur *de Bellegarde* to acquaint him with what anſwer Captain *Mauſan* ſhould bring me back; who was but three dayes in going and coming, and afterwards went to Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, carrying him the Mareſchal's anſwer to my Letter; which was to this effect.

Monſieur de Montluc,

I Have receiv'd yours, by which I perceive that Monſieur de Terride *is retir'd to* Orthez, *who being now out of danger I ſhou'd do no great feats in* Bearn, *and am very unwilling to ſquander away my time: for in theſe parts I am confident I ſhall ſoon recover what is loſt of my Government; at your inſtance nevertheleſs I am content to come with my Army as far as* l'Iſle de Jordan, *there to ſtay ſome few dayes to ſee if any occaſion ſhall offer it ſelf of fighting* Montgommery *in the Field; which in caſe I fail of, I am reſolv'd to purſue my beginning, which is hopeful; for I have taken* Figeac *where Captain* Mauſan *has found me, and to morrow morning I will march directly to the Iſle, where in two dayes I hope to arrive.*

Theſe were the contents of the Letter which pleas'd us all exceedingly well, and immediately upon the receipt thereof I went to *St. Sever* with all the horſe and foot I had; and from thence ſo ſoon as ever I came thither diſpatcht away Captain *Montaut*, who from *Orthez* was but newly alighted there (for from *St. Sevir* to the ſaid *Orthez* is no more than four leagues and a half only) back to Monſieur *de Terride*, entreating him that he "would come in the morning to *Agetmau*, that we might conferre together an hour to re- "ſolve upon what we had to do. I made no manner of queſtion but he would come, "which made me ſend to Monſieur *de Gramont*'s people to provide us ſomething for dinner, "for *Agetmau* is his in right of his Daughter-in-Law d'*Andois* Counteſs of *Guichen*, and "gave the Letter the Mareſchal had ſent me by Captain *Mauſan* to the ſaid Captain "*Montaut*, to ſhew him. I made this aſſignation purpoſely to remonſtrate to him, that "the Mareſchal would hardly be drawn ſo far as into *Bearn*, by reaſon he was im- "portun'd by all the Eſtates of *Languedoc*, and all the Lords of that Countrey to make "war in *Languedoc*, and not in *Guienne*, which he muſt in the end be neceſſitated to do, or "they would give him no money; that therefore he ought to retire to *St. Sever*, leaving "a few men in the Caſtle of *Orthez*, and that when we ſhould be all together we ſhould "make up the body of an Army, entreating the Mareſchal to leave us Monſieur *de Belle-* "*garde* with the four Companies of Gens-d'arms, which I hoped he would eaſily grant "us, he having enow beſides to be Maſter of the Field, and that in five or ſix dayes I "doubted not but we ſhould have a thouſand Foot, or more to thoſe we already had: "for Monſieur *de Bellegarde* had two Companies with him, and that Captain *Mauſan* "ſhould go into *Bigorre*, from whence he hand his Brother would bring a conſiderable "number of men, and that the Count *de Lahatut* would do the ſame. This was what I had premeditated to ſay to him, not doubting but by thoſe arguments to overcome his Council that hindred him from retiring; and beſides I believ'd the Mareſchal would be very glad of this reſolution, by which means he would be at full liberty to purſue his own deſigns. Yet did I not do this of my own head only, but communicated all to the Knights of the Order, and the Captains who were with me. Now when I in the morning expected he ſhould come to *Agetmau* (it being but two leagues only from *Orthez*) to conclude of ſuch things as ſhould be moſt proper for his ſafety and honor, he ſent me word that he could not come to *Agetmau*, his Council not conceiving it fit for him to go out of his Government, becauſe *Agetmau* was not in *Bearn*, but that I ſhould come to him. See here the vanity of this world! a man weak, beaten, and upon the matter defeated, ſtands upon his punctillio's, and moreover with a man who came only to ſave his life, and who in regard to his own quality might challenge ſome reſpect.

Diſpute betwixt the Sieurs *de Montluc* and *de Terride*.

For God's ſake (fellow Captains) leave this pride behind your Beds-head, when neceſſity ſhall preſs upon you; for it is to be devoyd of all ſenſe and underſtanding, ſeeing that a man does miſerably and ridiculouſly loſe himſelf. Had he been of greater quality than I, he ought notwithſtanding to have accepted my invitation, and to have come ſo far to confer and conſult with me about an affair whereupon his own ſafety and that of his Army wholly depended. His evil Angel govern'd him. He neither knew before nor after which way to

go

go about either to eſcape, or defend himſelf. Yet was it not thorough any default of courage, for he had ever manifeſted himſelf to be brave enough; but God deprives us of our judgments when he is diſpos'd to chaſtize us.

To return to our Embaſſies. I ſent him word roundly, "That I would not budg a foot, "and that I would not engage my ſelf in a place where I ſhould be enforc'd to fight till "I ſhould firſt ſee his Forces and mine together, to know if they were ſufficient to match "the Enemy: that I had ſeen too many caught in the Trap for that; *that I would not "buy a Pig in a Poak*, but would ſee both without and within, that I was come thither to "relieve him without any command from any perſon living; that it ſeem'd he ſtood upon "his punctillio's of honor, but that it was not time to inſiſt upon ſuch niceties; and that "he appear'd to me like a man who is in neceſſity, and yet thinks he does the perſon too "much honor to borrow money of him of whom he deſires it. All this I writ to him in my anger, when I ſaw I could not make him come to a place where I had a mind to tell him by word of mouth what had been concluded, as well by Monſieur *de Belleg arde* and the Captains near unto him, as by thoſe that I had with me: and when they ſaw that I was reſolv'd not to go, they ſent to me Meſſieurs *d'Audaux*, and *de Damaſan* to perſwade me to it.

The queſtion was not whether I ought to carry the five Enſigns of Foot, and my three Companies of Gens-d'arms into *Orthez*, for they not had 3 daies proviſion for themſelves: but I muſt go as one neighbour goes to another's houſe when he makes a viſit. I do not uſe to go after that manner in a time of War, eſpecially when the Enemy is ſo near. The ſaid Sieurs *d'Audaux* and *de Damaſan* ſpar'd for no arguments to induce me to it, and I was not to ſeek for reaſons (and ſuch as were much more evident than theirs, as any child might diſcern) to excuſe my ſelf. In the end, ſeeing I would not go, they told me, either that Monſieur *de Gramont* had a picque to ſome of their Council, or elſe that they had a quarrel to him (I know not which it was, for I did not commit it to memory, forasmuch as it was not their animoſities that had brought me thither) and that therefore *Agetmau* was by no means a proper place for our meeting. Whereupon we concluded that the next day about Noon we ſhould meet at a Gentlemans Houſe, which was not in Monſieur *de Gramont*'s Territories, though I told them withal, *That all animoſities ought to ceaſe where a Lieutenant of the Kings is in place.*

In the cloſe of the Evening then they all mounted to horſe to return to *Orthez*, when at their going away Monſieur *de Madaillan* entreated leave of me to go along with him, and to ſtay two dayes there to try if he could not in that time find an opportunity to do ſomething with fourty Cuiraſſiers of my Company, whom I accordingly permitted to go, and ſo they departed altogether. About eleven of the clock at night as they were got a little beyond *Agetmau*, they met with a Merchant of *Orthez* of their acquaintance who was running away, and told them that they were all defeated, and that Monſieur *de Terride* and ſome Captains with him were eſcap'd into the Caſtle; which nevertheleſs they did not believe; for our people were eighteen Enſigns of Foot, and the Enemy were no more than two and twenty; which made it ſeem impoſſible, conſidering that ours had the advantage of the Town. For this therefore they did not forbear to go forward, and a quarter of a league further met with Captain *Fleurdelis*, who had alſo eſcap'd away, and told them the ſame thing that the Merchant had done before. Whereupon they made a halt to rally ſuch as ſhould be flying away from the defeat. The Merchant held on his way, and coming to *St. Sever*, found me in bed. His news was ſo unexpected, and ſo ſtrange, that I could by no means give any credit to it, not being able to imagine that two and twenty Enſigns could take eighteen in a Town that was none of the weakeſt; but Captain *Fleurdelis* coming within a quarter of an hour after, and confirming the ſame, I was conſtrain'd to believe it, not without making above three times the ſign of the Croſs.

Monſieur *de Terride* ſurpriz'd.

I have thought fit to give an account at large of the truth how all things paſſed in this buſineſs, by reaſon that all the Kingdom cried out, that if Monſieur le Mareſchal *d'Anville* and *Montluc* had perform'd their duties *Montgommery* had been defeated, and the Princes after the rout at *Moncontour* would not have known which way to turn them, having no other refuge but to throw themſelves into the arms of the Count *de Montgommery*, who was freſh, victorious and full of Crowns (all which was laid in our diſh) and *Guienne* had not then been in mourning as it now is. And yet I think the Hugonots had not paſſed thorough *Limoſin* and *Perigort*: for we ſhould have gone out to meet them to bid them good-morrow: but the account that I have truely ſet down will diſcover who was in fault. In the mean time they who ſhall follow after us may learn that an overſight in War is irreparable. There are ſeveral perſons of honor yet living, who will teſtifie the truth of what I write, for I did not make any Diſpatches in ſecret, but in the preſence of all the

Captains

Captains and Knights of the Order who were with me. I do not write to accuſe either the Mareſchal or Monſieur *de Terride*, I ſay nothing but the truth, to manifeſt my diligence to ſuch as have ſaid, that if I would I might have reliev'd Monſieur *de Terride*. The few men I had, the daily advertiſements I gave him, and the reſolution taken amongſt us, are all evidences whether I was in fault or no. I muſt needs ſay that had he retir'd, that had he ſooner believ'd my intelligence, and would have hearkned to my advice, and not have been ſo overrul'd by his own Council, that then in eight dayes time we ſhould have been ſtrong enough to have fought *Montgommery*, and either to have driven him out of *Beārn*, or have ſhut him up in *Navarreins*, where they would not have receiv'd him neither, foraſmuch as there had not been proviſion to have nouriſht his Army four days; by which means he muſt have been neceſſitated either to fight, or to turn back to the place from whence he came, which he would have found a matter of great difficulty for him to do; for the very Peaſants would have defeated him, knowing us to be in his Rear. Monſieur *de Terride* had yet all the other Towns, and had this Enterprize of his ſucceeded the Mareſchal had not needed to have been troubled with our war, but had been left at liberty to purſue his own deſigns, provided he would have left us Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, and the four Companies of Gens-d'armes, which I believe he would have done having himſelf no need of them. It is then Monſieur *de Terride*'s Council that is to be blam'd, and not I; and that all the world may ſee how unlikely *Montgommery*'s deſign was to take effect. it is moſt certain, that he never had at the moſt above five and twenty hundred Foot, and betwixt five and ſix hundred Horſe, good and bad together; and when he went to meet the Princes, he had not above a hundred Horſe, and but very few Foot, by the teſtimony of Monſieur *de Terride*'s Enſigne and Guidon, and of Monſieur *de St. Felix*, Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Negrepeliſſe*, and Captain *St. Projets* Enſigne, who were priſoners, and went every day at liberty upon their parole up and down their Camp; and ſince the Peace I have talkt with above fifty of the Enemy who have all confirm'd the ſame; by which any one may judge if there was any reaſon to apprehend the ſaid Count, or ſuſpect the ſaid Monſieur *de Terride* (conſidering the Forces he had with him) ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſurpriz'd, eſpecially he being himſelf a good Soldier, and having good Officers about him: but they loſt their underſtanding in a time of the greateſt need. *Montgommery's Forces.*

This is the truth of the beginning and ſource of all the miſeries of *Guienne*. Had not Monſieur le Mareſchal *d'Anville* come into this Country, I am aſſur'd that moſt of the Lords and Gentlemen who went in to him would have done me the honor to have come to me, and I think we ſhould have play'd our Game a little better. It was but reaſon they ſhould pay that great reſpect to him, he being a great Lord, Son to a Conneſtable and Mareſchal of *France*, and moreover a brave Cavalier in his own perſon, rather than to me, who am a poor Gentleman, old, a Cripple, and out of favour: but notwithſtanding belov'd both by the Gentry and the People.

You Lieutenants of Provinces who ſhall come after me, if peradventure my Memoires ſhall fall into your hands, make your advantage of this overſight of Monſieur *de Terride*, to the end that you may not occaſion the ruin of your Maſters affairs. I will not blame nor accuſe him either of cowardiſe or treachery, for he was an admirable good Field-Officer: but other qualities are requir'd in a Lieutenant of a Province; upon your head-piece, your prudence and circumſpection all the reſt depend. Had he credited the advertiſements we gave him of the Count *de Montgommery*'s coming to raiſe the Siege, he had made an honorable Retreat, and had ſav'd his Canon, which had he not had leiſure to draw off, he might have thrown them into the *Gave*, which is a River full of great precipices, ſo that it would not have been in the power of *Montgommery* to retrieve them; and we ſhould have been with them in the time that ſuch a work would have requir'd. But ſetting this aſide, having been routed in his Siege, and after that being retir'd into a Town ſufficiently ſtrong, he ought to have conſidered of the means, either of retreating further, or of fortifying himſelf there; and yet the laſt fault was worſe than the firſt, which was, that their fear depriv'd them of their judgment; for he eſcap'd with a good number of Gentlemen into the Caſtle, which is a very ſtrong one, without having ever thought of putting proviſions into it wherewith to ſuſtain him; and in all theſe diſgraces to ſtand upon his punctillio's of honour, without deining to condeſcend ſo far as to come three ſteps out of his Government to confer with a friend who came meerly to do him ſervice, and to preſerve him, was a moſt inexcuſeable folly. Leave, leave theſe punctillio's in a time of neceſſity, I have never done ſo, but oftentimes with ten Horſe only have put my ſelf into the field. I am confident that had he come to ſpeak with me he had not fall'n into the misfortune, which coſt him both his honor and his life. For my part ſo oft as I have call'd this action to remembrance, I have ever look'd upon it as a meer Judgment of *The fault of Monſieur de Terride.*

God

God. For to raiſe a Siege againſt equal Forces, to conquer, and force a Town, and to take the Kings Lieutenant in a ſufficient place in three dayes time, as it were in the ſight of a Mareſchal of *France*, and a Lieutenant of the Kings, as I was, and in ſhort, in three dayes to conquer a whole Province ſeems to be a Dream. It muſt needs be confeſt that in all our Warrs there was never perform'd a more notable exploit. But who (Fellow Captains) obtein'd this glory for the Count *de Montgommery*? truly no other but his own diligence, which was ſuch as ſcarce gave leiſure to Monſieur *de Terride* to look before him, and conſider what he had to do. It is one of the beſt pieces in a Soldiers Harneſs. And what loſt Monſieur *de Terride*? the little diligence he employ'd in his moſt preſſing concern. For my part I did what lay in me to do; for to enter further into a Country, without firſt knowing from him in what poſture it ſtood, and to fight a victorious Enemy without ſufficient Forces, and with a baſled Army; I was not ſo ill advis'd as to ſhuffle all things into confuſion only to bear him company in his ruine. I had been too long poſſeſſed of the honor of having never been defeated, to hazard my reputation for the relief of a man who would throw himſelf away in deſpite of all the world.

The importance of *Montgommery's* victory.

Let no one wonder that I inſiſt ſo long upon this ſubject: for I believe that from this one fault (which many ill enform'd have indiſcreetly and unjuſtly laid to my charge) the ruine not only of *Guienne*, but moreover of the whole Kingdom ſince has been deriv'd. I am aſſur'd that the affairs of the Hugonots had otherwiſe been reduc'd to ſuch an extremity, that it had been impoſſible ever to have repair'd them again. For in the firſt place, had the Mareſchal and I follow'd him, there is no doubt but *Montgommery* had been defeated, and conſequently all *Bearn* reduc'd, which had been no contemptible thing, and I think the King would then have been better advis'd, than to have ſurrendred it upon the accommodation, having enough beſides wherewith to recompence the Queen of *Navarre* within the Kingdom, to keep her more in his obedience. For a King ought alwayes to covet that thoſe who are his Subjects, if they be great and powerful, ſhould be in the heart, and not in the extremities of his Kingdom; for then they dare not ſhew their horns: And beſides the King wanted no good title to *Bearn*, for it is ſaid that the Soveraignty of right belongs to him. I once heard Monſieur *de Lagebaſton* the firſt Preſident of *Bourdeaux* lay open that title, who ſaid he had ſeen the Evidences thereof in the Conſtablery of *Bourdeaux*; but I have nothing to do to revive that antiquated quarrel. He told us alſo that at the time when they began to fortifie *Navarreins*, the Court of Parliament ſent to King *Francis* to remonſtrate to him, how much it imported his Crown to hinder that Fortification; but the King ſent them word, that he was not offended at it; which was ill advis'd of the King; for a Prince ought as much as in him lies to hinder neighbouring Fortreſſes; and had it not been for this all the whole Province had been his. But 'tis done and paſt, and there is now no remedy; *For to a done thing the Council is already taken.* Beſides all this had *Montgommery* been defeated, the Admiral who in the interim loſt the Battel of *Moncontour* would have been at his wits end, and *not have known to what Saint to devote himſelf.* I think he would have been wiſer than to have engag'd himſelf *in Guienne*, where he would eaſily have been defeated, the relicks of his Army being in a very poor and forlorn condition, without Baggage, their horſes unſhod, and without a penny of money. And it was well for him that he came to throw himſelf into the armes of the Count *de Montgommery*, who ſet him up again, ſupplying him with money that he had gain'd at the Sack of divers Cities, inſomuch that the ſaid Admiral had the commodity of traverſing the whole Kingdom, whileſt the King amuz'd himſelf at the Siege of *St. Jean* in the heart of Winter, which was very unadviſedly done: *but God opens and ſhuts our eyes when it pleaſes him.* Let us now return to our Subject. Peradventure there may be ſome who would have been glad I ſhould have writ more at large after what manner Monſieur *de Terride* was defeated; which I would not do; for I have heard that *Of ill fleſh a man can never make good Pottage.* I leave that to thoſe who were preſent at the buſineſs, and who gave me relation of it, and to the Hiſtorians who talk of all the world, and very often unſeaſonably, and from the purpoſe, like ignorant fellows in feats of Arms as they are.

The Mareſchal *d'Anville's* anſwer to the Sieur *de Montluc.*

Theſe poſtings to and fro betwixt Monſieur *de Terride* and me continued three whole dayes, after which *Montgommery* came to attaque him. After his defeat I remain'd at *St. Sever*, until ſuch time as he was taken in the Caſtle of *Orthez*, and afterwards retir'd to *Aire*, where I ſtaid nine dayes after the taking of the ſaid Sieur *de Terride*, ſending the Mareſchal an account of all that had paſſed, and again ſolliciting him withal to come up to us. To which by way of anſwer he demanded of me to what end he ſhould come, or what his coming would ſignifie, Monſieur *de Terride* being defeated and taken. Which made me diſpatch away Monſieur *de Leberon* to remonſtrate to him, that in caſe he ſhould

paſs

paſs the River towards *Languedoc*, *Montgommery* would infallibly fall into the Kings Country, ſeeing there was no body to make head againſt him; but that if he would pleaſe yet for a few dayes to deferre his expedition, one might then ſee what *Montgommery* would do; for being puft up with ſo glorious a Victory, he would not there ſtop the progreſs of his Arms. The Mareſchal was contented ſo to do, but ſent me word withal, that he would loſe no more time than a months pay only, which the City of *Tholouze* had given his Army, but would employ the remainder in reducing the places in his Government. Now to ſay the truth from the time of Monſieur *de Terride*'s defeat, affairs were in ſo ſtrange a confuſion, that a man had much ado to divine what courſe was beſt to take, unleſs the Province of *Languedoc* would have been contented to have paid the Mareſchal's Army for the ſervice of *Guienne*, which however perhaps he would not have done, neither indeed had he any reaſon to do it. During the nine dayes that I ſtayd at *Aire*, we made a new appointment to meet at a Village, the name whereof I have forgot, and there all thoſe who were at *Proian* accordingly met, where we fell to debating of what remedies might be found out, (which was a matter of great difficulty for the aforegoing reaſons) for the preſent evil, and in the end concluded together, that I ſhould write unto the Mareſchal to tell him, that if he would be pleas'd to come ſo far as *Viques*, I would there wait upon him, to reſolve upon what he ſhould think we were beſt to do for the defence of *Guienne*. I accordingly writ, and in anſwer thereunto had word from him back again, that upon a certain day, which he nam'd, he would not fail to be there, which was two or three dayes after. I will here in the mean time give an account of what I did at *Aire* within five leagues of the Enemy, and in an open Town, having no more but the five Companies commanded by Captain *Caſtella*, and one of Vicount *de Labatut*, who was alſo come thither; which becauſe it may be of uſe to ſome one in time to come I will here ſet down, and peradventure ſome Apprentice in our Trade may learn ſomething out of it, that hereafter may be of ſome advantage to him.

The three Companies of Gens-d'arms were in a Village on this ſide the *Don* towards *Gaſcony*. I diſcover'd my deſign to Meſſieurs *de Gondrin*, *de Fontenilles*, and *de Madaillan*, telling them that I would try my fortune, and ſee if I could order it ſo as to fight *Montgommery* at my own advantage with thoſe few that we were; that to this end I would ſend away all the Gentlemens Baggage that we had with us to *Nogaarol*, ſo that nothing ſhould be left behind but our Horſes and Arms; I would then that every night they ſhould come an hour after midnight with the three Companies before *Aire*, on that ſide the River towards *Gaſcony*. I had, beſides thoſe, four Companies of Argoulets, which in all might be about three hundred Harquebuzeers, who in like manner were to come at the ſame time to *Millas* a Village on the brink of the River. Our ſix Enſigns of Foot were quarter'd at *Mas d'Aire*, which lies above *Aire* on that ſide towards the Enemy, who were every night at the ſame hour to preſent themſelves in Battalia upon the Banks of the River without the Village, and in caſe of an Alarm without Drum or Trumpet, were to retire by *Aire*, and paſs over the Bride, at which time we who were quarter'd at the ſaid *Aire* were to foard it over (for the River was foardable) and that in the mean time twenty Horſe ſhould every night go the *Patrouille* upon the three Highwayes by which the Enemy could only come to us, which Horſe ſhould have intelligence one with another, to give one another notice if they came, that ſo they might all at once retire to *Aire*, without giving any Alarm, and might come and tell our Foot, and conſecutively us; and that the ſaid twenty Horſe ſhould advance a long league, or a league and a half upon thoſe Highwayes, to the end, that we might not be conſtrain'd to draw off our men in diſorder, but might have time to have made half a league towards our place of retreat, which was to *Nogaarol*, before the Enemy could be arriv'd at *Aire*. I then calculated the length of the night, for I fear'd not their coming by day, by reaſon that I kept a Gentleman call'd Captain *Bahus* in an encloſed Village, a league and a half diſtant from *Aire* towards *Morlas*, who kept Scouts all the day upon all the wayes by which the Enemy could come to us, and had three or fourſcore Soldiers with him, with twenty or five and twenty Argoulets. I alſo repreſented to them, that when the Enemy ſhould have marcht five long leagues of that Country, chiefly the Foot, and eſpecially in the night, the Foot muſt of neceſſity ſtay to eat and drink at *Aire*; to which place alſo they could not come till almoſt day, when men are the moſt enclin'd to ſleep, eſpecially Foot who have marcht all night, ſo that they would never be able to get one Foot Soldier out of Town, and that the moſt of the Harquebuzeers on horſeback would ſtay with them, and that then by the Rule of War the Horſe would paſs on forwards after us, ſuppoſing that we retreated for fear, and that I deſign'd our Encounter to be half a league from *Aire*, which as I had computed the time, would happen to be betwixt break of day and ſunriſe: that ſo ſoon as we ſhould ſee them approach us,

we ſhould cover all our Foot with our Cavalry, and give them a ſwinging Charge, and that in ſo doing I made no doubt but we ſhould defeat them. They all approv'd of my deſign, concluding with me that we ſhould defeat and break them, for our horſes would be freſh, and theirs weary, and our Foot coming up a good round trot after us, ſeeing the victory ours, and that their Foot were yet in *Aire* ſleeping or eating, would alſo fall in upon them, who ſeeing their Cavalry defeated, and put to rout, there was no queſtion to be made, but that every one would ſhift for himſelf the beſt he could, and endeavour to eſcape without offering to fight. Thus are we to repreſent things to our ſelves when we are to undertake an Enterprize, and to hear one anothers reaſons and opinions upon the ſame.

We lay nine dayes at *Aire* in reference to this Stratagem, during which time we were every night in Battalia after this manner, expecting when the Enemy ſhould fall into our Quarters thinking to ſurprize us, but I think had we ſtayd till they had come we had been there till now. The tenth day having receiv'd an anſwer from the Mareſchal, that he would in three dayes be at *Auch*, we retir'd towards *Marſiac*, to rally with Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, to whom I gave all the men I had, and with twenty horſe only went away to *Auch*, marching nine long leagues that day (which are as much as twenty French leagues) the next morning being the time appointed by the Mareſchal for our meeting. In my life I was never ſo weary, for it was exceſſively hot, and I there found Monſieur *de Negrepelisſe*, who was come thither the day before, having heard that the Mareſchal would be there, as alſo to rally what was left of his Company, which had been with Monſieur *de Terride*. The next morning inſtead of coming himſelf the Mareſchal ſent thither Monſieur *de Joyeuſe*, and we held the Conſultation at Monſieur *de Negrepelice* his houſe, he being ill of the Gout. There Monſieur *de Joyeuſe* acquainted us with the Mareſchal's intention, which was, that he was going to repaſs the *Garonne*, and to employ his time in his own Government, conſidering the charge the Country was at of defraying the expence of the War. We controverted this determination of his, arguing that the Enemy were in *Guienne*, and that he having the charge of *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, *Langnedoc*, and *Guienne*, was equally obliged to preſerve the one as well as the other; that we were all the Kings Subjects and Servants, and that the Country was the Kings, and that therefore he ought to go there where the Enemy was, and to endeavour to repair the great overſight we had committed. In anſwer whereunto Monſieur *de Joyeuſe* laid before us, that the Country of *Languedoc* would not pay the Mareſchal's Army, unleſs they ſhould ſee that he employ'd their money in recovering the places of their own Province, and as I have already ſaid, he had reaſon. But in the mean time we who were of *Guienne* expected no other but the total ruine of it, and conſequently of all our houſes; for which conſiderations we ſhould have been very glad that the Mareſchal would have reſolv'd upon the defence of *Guienne*, and not to have return'd into *Languedoc*. In concluſion he told us that he muſt be gone, for he was to be that night with the Mareſchal at the Iſle, and that the next morning the ſaid Sieur would croſs the *Garonne* towards *Languedoc*; at which we were very much confounded, as knowing very well that *Montgommery* could not long ſubſiſt in *Bearn*, and would therefore fall into the Kings Country; whereupon I told Monſieur *de Joyeuſe*, that ſeeing I had no Forces left for the defence of *Guienne*, I had nothing left to do but to retire to *Libourne*, where the King had commanded me to be, and ſo return'd to find out Monſieur *de Bellegarde* at *Marſiac*, who was as much confounded as I, he being in no leſs fear of the ruine of his houſes than I, and the reſt of us whoſe Eſtates lay in thoſe parts. I left the Vicount *de Labatut* with his two Companies at *Marſiac*, leaving it to his own diſcretion to do as he ſaw cauſe, for Forces I had none to relieve him. Monſieur *de Bellegarde* alſo retir'd a little further towards *Comange*, expecting Orders from the Mareſchal what he was to do, and the Baron *de Gondrin* went towards *Eſe*, there with his Company to do the beſt ſervice he could. We were all like ſtrayed ſheep. I with my Foot Companies went to paſs the River *Garonne*, placing them at Port *St. Mary* and at *Aguillon*, to ſee if I could yet raiſe any more men, and iſſued out three or four Commiſſions to that effect. There only remain'd with me five and thirty Horſe of Monſieur *de Fontenilles* his Company, and fourſcore of my own, for Monſieur *de Madaillan*, who was gone to bury his Wife, had taken one part along with him: Of thoſe who were his Neighbours, his Brother who carried my Enſign was alſo gone ſick to his own houſe, and had in like manner taken along with him ſome others that liv'd there abouts, and my Guidon was gone *to Tholouze* to a Tryal he had depending in that Court, which was the reaſon that I was thus left alone. It is true that I was aſſur'd they would be back with me again in eight dayes. As for the Gentlemen of *Armagnac* they were all retir'd to their own houſes, to take order about the removing of their Goods into *Lectoure*, thinking no

Contention among the Chiefs about the War of *Guienne*.

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leſs but that the ſame ſcourge of God was amongſt us; for every one thought of ſaving his Goods, and not of defending himſelf, nor of making head againſt the Enemy, by which you may ſee the fruits of our evil intelligence amongſt our ſelves.

I had not been four dayes at *Agen* before I was advertiz'd that Monſieur *de Marchaſtel* (the ſame who at this preſent is the Lord *de Peyré*) was come to *Thoneins* with three hundred Horſe, amongſt which there might be threeſcore that were very good, the reſt were Harquebuzeers on horſeback ill mounted; with vvhich he vvas going over into *Bearn*, to joyn vvith the Count *de Montgommery*; vvhereupon I departed and vvent to *Aguillon*. Of my five Foot Companies I had ſent evvo to quarter at *Ville-neufve* to eaſe the Country; and in the other three that remain'd, and that lay at Port *St. Mary* and *Aguillon*, if there vvere a hundred men in a Company that vvas all; for every one vvas gone to his ovvn houſe, as vvell as the Horſe, and even the Captains themſelves. I had given two Commiſſions to Captain *Plex*, and Captain *Pommies*, two Gentlemen of *Condommois*, to raiſe each of them a Foot Company, to whom I ſent that they ſhould advance towards *Buzet*, for that I would try to paſs the River *Garonne*, and in caſe they ſhould hear that the Enemy offer'd to hinder my paſſage, they ſhould then give them Alarms behind. The ſaid Sieur *de Peyre* made no ſtay at *Thoneins*, but croſt the River advancing towards *Monhurt*, *Montluc*, and *Damaſan*. The ſame nighe that I arriv'd at *Aguillon*, I made ſhew as if I would paſs the River, whereupon they preſented themſelves to oppoſe me; but there was nothing done but ſome few Harquebuz ſhot fir'd athwart the River. The next morning I caus'd two Boats to fall down towards Port *St. Mary*, in the one whereof three horſes might paſs at once, and in the other evvo, and preſented my ſelf at the paſſage of Port *de Paſcau*, ſending over five and twenty Harquebuzeers in the two Boats; and when I expected they ſhould come to defend the Paſs, they did quite contrary, for they quitted *Damaſan*, *Montluc*, and *Monhurt*, and retreated towards *la Gruere*, and *le Mas-d'Agenois*, leaving me the paſſage free; ſo that I went to quarter at *Damaſan*, where I found the Captains *du Plex* and *Pommies* newly arriv'd, having but fourſcore Foot only betwixt them; for they had not had time to fill their Companies, and about fourſcore Harquebuzeers on horſeback came with them alſo. Captain *Lauba* a Kinſman of mine, who might have about threeſcore Harquebuzeers on horſeback, came thither likewiſe about four a clock in the afternoon, by which time we were all got over the River.

Succours going to joyn with *Montgommery*.

At my coming to *Damaſan* there met me two men from *Caſtel-geloux*, whom the Conſuls and Inhabitants of the Cities had ſent to me to demand relief; for that *Calonges* had been before the Town to ſummon it, to whom they had return'd anſwer, that in caſe they heard no news of me by the next morning they would deliver up the Town. It was a ſtrange thing that Cities, which were in no manner of danger of being forc'd, ſhould ſo tremble for fear. They had condition'd that none but the Captains ſhould enter, in conſideration of a certain ſum of money they were to give them; but that was but a juggle, for they were reſolv'd to make themſelves Maſters of the Town, and to leave a Garriſon there, the Captains being very well aſſur'd, that being once within, they, with the Hugonots of the place ſhould be able to maſter the Catholicks. I immediately hereupon order'd Captain *Noé*, and Captain *Bengue* the Lieutenant and Guidon of Monſieur *de Fontenilles* his Company, that they ſhould bait their horſes, and Captain *Plex* and *Pommies* to bait their Harquebuzeers on horſeback; and that in the cloſe of the Evening Monſieur *de Noé* ſhould depart with five Gens-d'arms, and the ſaid *du Plex* and *Pommies* with their Harquebuzeers on horſeback with him, taking one of the Meſſengers in their Party, and the reſt of the Light-horſe, which might be about ten; and the fourteen of my Company ſhould go with the ſaid Captain *Bengue* and Captain *Lauba* with him, and ſhould ſtay at a place appointed within a quarter of a league of the Town: where if Monſieur *de Noé* could enter in, he ſhould give notice to Captain *Bengue*, if not he ſhould retreat to him; and I with fourteen or fifteen Gentlemen who were with me, and ſome fourſcore Harquebuzeers on foot, would halt about half a quarter of a league ſhort of the ſaid Captain *Bengue*, at a Gentlemans houſe call'd Monſieur *de Ganet*, where they were to ſend me intelligence of all that paſſed. I order'd it thus, to the end that in caſe the Enemy ſhould come to hinder Captain *Noé* from entring the Town, Captain *Bengue* and he might rally together, and I alſo would ſhew my ſelf in the field to amuze the Enemy, and to make them think that we were three Parties in the field. I knew very well that they would ſoon have intelligence from thoſe who playd the good Subjects, by ſtaying at home in their own houſes, under the protection of the Kings Edict: and therefore caus'd all the three Parties to go away by night, to defeat thoſe Intelligencers of the knowledge of how few men we were. Monſieur *de Noé* came an hour after midnight to the Gates of *Caſtel-geloux*,

where there aroſe a great diſpute amongſt thoſe of the Town, whether or no they ſhould let him in; ſome ſaid I, and ſome ſaid no, inſomuch that they made him wait two long hours before they could conclude, but in the end the Catholicks ran to the Gate of the Town, and made themſelves Maſters of it, and offer'd it to him; who ſo ſoon as he was got in, advertiz'd Captain *Bengue* thereof, ſending him word to retreat to me, as it had been order'd he ſhould, which he accordingly did, and by this time it was ſun-riſe. About break of day two Hugonots, Towns-born Brats, came before *Caſtel-geloux*, to enquire if their relief was at hand, and whether they were determin'd to let the Captains enter according to their Capitulation, telling them that the ſaid Sieur *de Peyre* was with his forces within a quarter of a league of the Town, where he had made a halt, and waited in expectation of their return. When as ſome of thoſe within held them in diſcourſe, ſome Horſe ſallied out and took one of them, but the other made his eſcape, and carried news to Monſieur *de Peyre*, that his Companion was taken, and that they that took him were Gens-d'arms in yellow Caſſocks. Monſieur *de Peyre* then perceiv'd that I was got up before him, and retreated to *Mas*. Monſieur *de Fontenilles* was come in the night at the preciſe time appointed to *Buſet*, a quarter of a league from *Damaſan*, to which place I was retir'd after I had given order for them to march away by night, telling me by the way as we went, that the Mareſchal was not paſſ'd over the River *Garonne*, to go over into *Languedoc*, as Monſieur *de Joyeuſe* had aſſur'd us he would, but was marching towards *Muret* to eaſe the Country; ſo that I receiv'd that night two great ſatisfactions, the firſt and the chiefeſt, that the Mareſchal had thought better with himſelf, and was not croſs'd the River, by which means I hop'd we ſhould be able to do ſome good for the Kings ſervice, and for the defence of the Country; and the other, that I had reliev'd *Caſtel-geloux*, which was of ſingular advantage to us, as well in *Bourdelois* as in *Bazadois*. Which I thought fit to commit to writing, to ſhew that with the little power I had, I did all I was able to do, without lying idle at home, and ſuffering all things to go at random.

Captains, although theſe be no great Conqueſts, nor famous Battels, you may yet by them, as well as in other places of my Book learn what a great diligence can effect, (I am alwayes touching upon this ſtring, and I cannot too often repeat it) and that it is good to run a hazard ſometimes in a caſe of neceſſity. When I croſt the River twenty men might have hindred my paſſage, had they ſtayd in the Houſes of the Port *de Paſcau*; for I muſt of neceſſity land betwixt the two great Houſes: and if I would have ſtood to conſult about the reaſon of my paſſage, not a man with me would have been of opinion, that I ought to adventure to paſs. By which you may note that the neceſſity of war will have it ſo, that a man muſt ſometimes venture when the affair is of great importance, and not alwayes go by the reaſon of war: but I muſt alſo tell you, that if you are long in deſigning, and tedious in making preparation for the execution of your deſign, you may then loſe more in venturing, than you are likely to win: for a man that is reſolv'd to hazard muſt keep his deſign very cloſe, and his execution muſt be ſudden, that the Enemy may have no inkling of what you intend to do, till you come juſt to the puſh; for if you give him time to diſcover your intention, or to prevent your deſign, you muſt imagine he has underſtanding and judgment as you have, and will ſo well provide for you, that inſtead of ſurprizing him, you your ſelves will be ſurpriz'd, and defeated. Do not alwayes chooſe the eaſieſt way, but deceive your Enemy, making a ſhew to put your ſelves into one place, to get convenience of going into another. As to what concerns diligence, Monſieur *de Noé* ſtay'd not two hours to bait at *Damaſan*, but the night was upon him; nevertheleſs he departed at the firſt word without making any diſpute of the buſineſs. How many Captains are there who would have given their Horſe time to bait, and reſt that night, at leaſt till within an hour or two of day, conſidering that they had been all day on horſe-back at the paſſage of the River in exceſſive heat? Which had I order'd it ſo here, Monſieur *de Noé* would then have found the Enemy in the Town, as they did him, wherefore I would alwayes adviſe you to remember the Motto of *Alexander* the Great. *Leave not that till to-morrow, which you may do to day.* After a long march you ſhall repoſe at your eaſe and acquire honor. You muſt oft-times make your horſes quail under their burthen; you will get more horſes enow, but your honor once loſt is never to be regain'd. 'Tis a thing that is not to be found by the high-way, but to be acquir'd by valour, and for which you wear your ſwords by your ſides.

So ſoon as I return'd back to *Damaſan* I preſently retir'd to *Buſet*, a houſe belonging to the Signieur *de Caumont* my Kinſman, and thence immediately mounted to horſe, and with about thirty Gens-d'arms I had, and Captain *Lamba*'s Argoulets, went directly to *Pench*, belonging in part to the Queen of *Navarre*, and wherein I had alſo a propriety.

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The Sieur *de Peyre* was with all his people retir'd into *Mas*, which is a good league from *Peuch*, and when I came thither it was three a clock in the afternoon. The news was carried to him that I was marching directly to *Mas*, which was the reaſon that he immediately departed thence, and marcht all night. *Lauba* put himſelf in purſuit of him, and had he overtaken him would have brought away *either Fowl* or *Feathers*, for he is an adventurous Gentleman, and ſo were the two Captains who were with him; but he knew nothing of *de Peyre*'s retreat till the next morning at ſunriſe, and would then have follow'd the track, but that the people told him he was already as far as *Mont de Marſan*. The next morning I drew off the Sieur *de Noé* and his Cavalry from the ſaid *Caſtel-geloux*, and left the Captains *du Plex* and *Pommies* in his room, who there perfected their Companies, which were alwayes good, they having ordinarily fourſcore Harquebuzeers on horſe-back at leaſt, keeping almoſt continually together, and ofe-times going out as far as *Mont de Marſan*, where they had frequent skirmiſhes.

I then return'd back to *Agen*, where the ſame day that I arriv'd a Courrier came to me with letters from Monſieur le Mareſchal, wherein he writ me word, that he had heard both by Monſieur *de Joyeuſe* and others, that I was reſolv'd to go and put my ſelf into *Libourne*, in order to a Command the King had ſent me to that effect: but that at the time when the King writ to me to go thither, his Majeſty did not underſtand that the affairs of *Guienne* were in ſo ill a condition; that therefore he entreated me to conſider well of it; for if I ſhould abandon the open Country in ſo critical a time, neither the King nor the Monſieur would be ſatisfied with my doings. To which I writ him anſwer back, that whatever I might have ſaid, it had never been my intention to ſhut my ſelf up in *Libourne*, and that he might aſſure himſelf I was not a Chapman to be taken at the firſt word: but that I was exceeding glad that he would yet continue ſome longer time in *Guienne*, to ſee what reſolution the Enemy would take, (for ſo he had writ me word in his letter) and that if it pleaſed him, whilſt his Army had nothing elſe to do, to march towards *Noguarol*, and *le Mont de Marſan*, to try if the Enemy would take courage to come out of *Bearn* to fight us; we might peradventure do ſome thing, and that it was my opinion it would be of advantage to us, to the end that if *Montgommery* ſhould dare to enter the King's Territories, he might ſee that we were ready to fight him. He writ word back again that he was content, and that in five dayes he ſhould be at *Auch*, where he deſir'd me to meet him. I would not ſuffer the five Enſigns commanded by my Nephew *Leberon* to ſtir from *Libourne* and *St. Foy*, though the two Companies that quarter'd at *St. Foy* were placed there upon no other account but only to ſave the Proviſions of *Libourne*: but in caſe of a Siege they had Orders, that immediately upon Monſieur *de Leberons* ſending for them they ſhould retire to *Libourne*, where the Chevalier *Horloge* commanded, who was caſting up Trenches within, as if he daily expected a Siege. I took the five Enſigns that Captain *Caſtella* commanded in the abſence of the Chevalier and of my Nephew, my own Company, thoſe of Meſſieurs *de Gondrin*, and *de Fontenilles*, and ſent Poſt to Monſieur *de la Chappelle Lanzieres*, (who lay at *Cahors*, and was evermore in readineſs to bring in the Gentlemen of *Quercy*) that he ſhould march away in all diligence, and that the Mareſchal was upon his march to go directly into *Chaloſſe*; which he ſuddenly did, and brought threeſcore and ten Gentlemen under his Cornet. All thoſe of *Agenois* went along with me, not a man being left at home, excepting Captain *Pauliac* the elder, whom I made perforce to return back to *Ville-neufve*, of which he was Governor, as well to preſerve the ſaid *Ville-neufve*, as to aſſiſt *Libourne* with what he could, in caſe the Enemy ſhould come and ſit down before it. Monſieur *de Caſſaneuil* was Mareſchal de Camp to this party of ours, and lodg'd, according to his own Muſter-Roll, an hundred thirty five Gentlemen under my Cornet, and threeſcore under that of Monſieur *de la Chappelle Lanzieres* the forenamed Companies of Gens-d'arms, and ſix Cornets of Harquebuzeers on horſe back; this was the Party that I had. Under the Mareſchal's own Cornet were near upon three hundred Gentlemen (as the Mareſchal himſelf told me at *Grenade*, in the preſence of his Mareſchal de Camp Monſieur *de la Croiſſette*) what of *Comenge* and *Languedoc*. He had two and twenty Enſignes of Foot commanded by Monſieur *de St. Giron de la Guiche*, and ten of Monſieur *de Savignac*. His Companies of Gens-d'armes, and thoſe of Meſſieurs le Compte *d'Eſterac*, *de Lanzun*, *de Terride*, *de Negrepelice*, thoſe of the two *Bellegardes*, the Father and Son, *de Gramont*, thoſe of the Mareſchal *de la Foy*, *de Joyeuſe*, *d'Aubigeon*, *d'Arne*, *de Sarlabous*, which, with the three that I had, made up the number of fifteen Cornets of Gens-d'armes, and his own which we reckon'd for two, which in all made ſeventeen. We joyn'd with him at *Auch*, and marcht thence to *Noguarol*, where the ſaid Monſieur le Mareſchal ſtay'd two dayes. The Enemy had already paſſed the *Dou*, and quarter'd at *Mont de Marſan*, *Granade*, and *Cazeres*. I commanded the vaunt-Guard.

Libourn in expectation of a Siege.

The Mareſchal *d'Anville's* Forces.

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The next day after the Camp came to *Noguarol* the Mareſchal call'd a Council, where I mov'd that we ſhould march away the ſame day, hoping that we might ſurprize thoſe of *Cazeres* and *Grenade*, but the Mareſchal was by no means willing to it, it being objected by ſome, that ſo ſoon as the Enemy ſhould hear of our coming, they would immediately paſs over the River *Don* into *Bearn*, being at that time very low and fordable in many places. The Mareſchal then propounded in this Council, that ſeeing he had no great Artillery wherewith to batter Towns (having four Field-pieces onely) he conceiv'd it was to no purpoſe to go any further, but to return into his own Government, there to fall in hand with the work he had to do, and to recover the places the Enemy had there in their poſſeſſion: with ſeveral other Arguments he made uſe of to fortifie this determination. This ſcurvey tune was alwayes ringing in our ears; and although the reaſons were good enough, I could notwithſtanding by no means relliſh them, foraſmuch as I evidently foreſaw that would happen in *Guienne*, which afterwards fell out, as alſo did all the reſt who were intereſted in the welfare of that Province, as I my ſelf was; which made us grow ſo hot in diſpute, that at laſt I could not forbear to tell the Mareſchal, *That he was reſponſible to the King for* Guienne *as well as for* Languedoc, *and that if he pleaſed to conſult his Patent, he would find that he had taken upon him the Command of the four Provinces, which were* Dauphiné, Provence, *and* Guienne, *as well as* Languedoc *alone, though that was his particular Government, and that I entreated him to conſider of it.* To which he return'd me anſwer, *That all the three Provinces had reſpective Governors of their own, and therefore let every one look to his own buſineſs, as he would do to his.* I very well knew by this brisk reply, that he was nettled at what I had ſaid to him; for theſe people expect their Will ſhould be a Law, and are impatient of being contradicted; and yet what I told him was true, for he had undertaken all that; however ſeeing the Mareſchal angry, and the Council irreſolute, I withdrew, having firſt entreated Meſſieurs *de Joyeuſe* and *de Bellegarde to lay things home to him, for I ſaw very well that I had diſpleas'd him, and therefore would give him no more trouble.* Which they having promiſed me to do, I left a Gentleman with them to bring me an account of his determination. Preſently after the ſaid Sieurs ſent me word that he was reſolv'd to go to *Granade*, of which I was infinitely glad, and ſo were all the reſt, and I thereupon immediately went to him, to know if I ſhould go away in the night before, to try to ſhut up thoſe who were in *Granade*, and trap them; to which he return'd me anſwer, *That he ſhould be well pleaſed with it, and that he had already ſent away* l'Eſtang de Cornuſſon *with his four Cornets of Cavalry, to put himſelf into* Cazieres, which four were, that of the ſaid *l'Eſtang*, and thoſe of *St. Pourget*, *du Sendat*, and *Clerac*. I parted then in the beginning of the night with the Gentlemen, and my own Company of Gens-d'arms, and had it not been for the rain that fell upon us in the night (the greateſt that I think I ever ſaw) I had ſnapt fourſcore or an hundred Horſe at *Granade* that were there, and who were my Neighbours at *Thouens and Cleyrac*, which I had rather have met withal than three hundred others, and I think I ſhould have handled them ſo, that there would hardly have been any more fear of them; for that is the very Den of Rogues. But one miſchief ſeldome comes alone, for the rain beat me into *Gaube*, belonging to my Brother Monſieur *de Valence*, which continu'd above three long hours, and yet had they not eſcap'd me, had it not been that ſo ſoon as ever Monſieur *de l'Eſtang* came to *Cazieres*, he ſent away Captain *Porget*'s Enſign in the beginning of the night with twelve Gens-d'arms to ſcoure the Road as far as beyond *Granade* towards *Mont de Marſan*, who paſſing cloſe by *Granade* did not enter into it, neither did he think that any of the Enemy were there, and therefore would not diſcover himſelf, but went on above a league further towards *Mont de Marſan*, and ſeeing no ſign of an Enemy, return'd back the ſame way he came, when being before the Gates of *Granade*, he ſent in his Guide to diſcover if there was any Body in the Town, who coming to the Gate ſaw Horſe going towards the Market-place, and up and down the ſtreets, and thereupon return'd to the Enſign, telling him what he had ſeen; and that though the night was very dark, he thought they had white Caſſocks. The Enſign then alighted and went all alone to the Gate, and enter'd into it although he very well ſaw the Horſe; but he had an opinion it was I, becauſe he had heard that I was to be there by break of day, as I had been and two hours before, if the rain had not hindred me. He could not very well diſcover if they had white Caſſocks or no, and therefore ſtept four or five paces into the Town, which as he was doing, thoſe who quarter'd near unto the Gate came out to mount to horſe; the Enſign who ſaw them was ſo near, that he perceiv'd they had white Caſſocks, and had then thought to have recover'd the Gate, but he was encloſed behind, and taken, where they made him tell them all he knew, and mounting him behind one of their Troopers, carried him away a good round gallop. The Count *de Montgommery* who lay about *Montant* and *Nugron* was ſoon adver-

adverti'z'd of what the Enſign had told his people; at which he took ſuch an Alarm, that he immediately mounted to horſe, and never aligted till he came to *Orthez*, leaving his Artillery by the way, abandoned by all, ſaving ſome thirty who were bolder than the reſt, by the report of the honeſt people of the Country, and alſo by the confeſſion of thoſe who were taken priſoners. A little after ſunriſe the Mareſchal came to *Granade*; my Quarter with the Vaunt-guard was at *St. Maurice*, which appertains to Monſieur *de Barſac* of *Quercy*, and the Mareſchal would that Monſieur *de Savignac* ſhould alſo be of the Vaunt guard, with the Companies of Meſſieurs *de Gramont*, *d'Arne*, and Monſieur *de la Chappelle Lauzieres*, together with my three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and thus we came all to *Granade* within three leagues of *Mont de Marſan*. Two dayes after our arrival the Mareſchal was again talking of returning back, for that was evermore the burthen of his ſong, asking me what I would that he ſhould do in *Bearn*, ſeeing that all the Garriſons were ſurrendred, and that the King had neither Towns nor Caſtles there; that he ſhould only loſe ſo much time; that on the other ſide proviſions would fail him, and that already the Soldiers cried out of hunger, and beſides he had no Artillery to batter the Towns. He had in truth reaſon on his ſide for what concern'd Proviſions, by reaſon that our Carriages were not yet come up: and yet I had taken ſuch care, that ſo ſoon as ever he had ſent me word he would march, I immediately ſent to tax *Condommois*, *Armagnac*, *Eſterac*, *Commenge*, and *Bigorre*, ſo that in two dayes we had as much victuals as we could wiſh. In the end I perceiv'd very well that his inclination would not be apt to continue him long in this ſervice, neither were thoſe of his Council any better enclin'd than he; for my part I never was preſent at any conſultation, but only that at *Noguarol*, for I was never call'd, and I never offer'd my ſelf, becauſe I knew they had a prejudice againſt me, for ſaying we ought to make war in *Guienne* the Enemy being there; and I knew alſo that all the conſultations that ſhould be call'd without me would never do *Guienne* any good; ſo that we who were *Gaſcons* kept together by our ſelves.

Diviſion among the Chiefs.

Seeing this humour of returning to continue, I entreated the Mareſchal to give me leave to go attaque *Mont de Marſan*, hoping I ſhould carry the place; who thereupon demanded of me how I could think to take a walled Town, a good one, and not only one, but three, all encloſed with exceeding good walls, which was very true: to which nevertheleſs I made anſwer, that I had taken others that had been ſtronger, and mann'd with much better Soldiers than that was, by ſurprize (for I remembred *Piance*, which was another kind of place than *Mont de Marſan*, though that was ſtrong enough) I told him moreover that Monſieur *de Terride* had been ſnap't after the ſame manner at *Orthez*; and that therefore ſeeing our Enemies had done it, I doubted not but to do the ſame, and peradventure pay them in their own kind. At laſt after much importunity he told me he was content I ſhould try my fortune; whereupon I entreated him to let me have Monſieur *de Savignac* with his ten Enſigns along with me, which he alſo granted. I could not go the next day, which was the 13th, for it rain'd all day long, and yet I would notwithſtanding go with forty or fifty Horſe to view the Town, but could go but half a league, where in three or four houſes I found Captain *Arne*, and Monſieur *de l'Arbous*, Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Gramont*, who told me they had been there all night, (as alſo Monſieur *de la Chappelle Lauzieres*) where we diſcourſed a great while of the reſolution the Mareſchal had taken to return, and how all thoſe who adher'd to his opinion of returning to make war in *Languedoc*, and to abandon *Guienne* to the inroads of the Enemy, thought they were likely to meet with no great reſiſtance in executing their deſigns in *Languedoc*, conſidering that the Enemies Forces were in *Bearn*, from whence I believe they conceiv'd they would hardly ſtir. But we of *Guienne* knew very well that *Montgommery* could not long ſubſiſt in *Bearn*, and that of neceſſity, although he ſhould have no mind to do it, he muſt fall into the Kings Country, and upon our Houſes. I moreover very well knew, that thoſe who followed the Mareſchal's opinion, thought that in retaking the Towns of *Languedoc*, they ſhould do the King ſo conſiderable a ſervice as would obtein great honor to themſelves, and moreover put their own houſes in ſafety. I was not angry that thoſe of *Languedoc* ſhould be of this opinion, and ſhould endeavour to draw the Mareſchal into *Languedoc* for theſe conſiderations, for I have ever heard that *The Shirt is nearer than the Robe, and that Charity begins at home*, which is ſufficient for their excuſe, ſeeing there was no diſhonour in the caſe, as there was not: but I was angry at thoſe others who maintained the ſame opinion, and yet were of *Guienne*, becauſe they only did it to carry favour with the Mareſchal, and heartily wiſht the Enemy might burn their Houſes, becauſe they ſtood ſo ſtiffely for the relief of *Languedoc* where they had nothing to loſe, and ſeem'd to endeavour the ruine of their own Houſes and Families. On the other ſide I know very well that I was told ſome of thoſe of *Guienne* ſhould poſſeſs the Mareſchal; that all

The Enterpriſe of *Mont de Marſan*.

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the importunity, and all the arguments I uſed to perſwade him to make war in *Guienne*, was for no other end, but that in caſe the ſaid Mareſchal ſhould perform any brave action, the glory thereof might redound to me, and the ſucceſs be wholly attributed to my valour and conduct, as in the time of the firſt troubles, when Monſieur *de Burie* and I were together; but if I ever entertained any ſuch thought, may God never have mercy on my ſoul, or other deſign or deſire, but that he might do ſome great thing, and that I might be with him to lay to my helping hand in ſome brave Enterprize for his Majeſties ſervice, that the King might eſteem and love him for ever, and that the Mareſchal might be ſo ſenſible of the ſervice I had done him, as to take my Children into his protection, and to aſſiſt them in the obteining ſome advantages from the King; for as for my own part I was reſolv'd, if I ſhould live to ſee an end of the War to retire to my own houſe, feeling my ſelf old and decay'd both in body and mind; and beſides I bleſs God I had acquir'd honour enough, without needing to deprive another: but it is impoſſible to eradicate malice out of the mindes of men, when it has once taken root. They make us think what we never thought, and ſay what we never ſaid: but I ſhall wave this diſcourſe to return to my Enterprize upon *Mont de Marſan*.

Jealouſie betwixt the Chiefs.

The ſame night being returned to *St. Maurice*, the Mareſchal ſent to remonſtrate to me, that I ought by no means to go to *Mont de Marſan*; for ſhould I be baffled in the Enterprize, it would be a great diſrepute to his Army, that I could expect to reap no other fruit but diſgrace from the attempt, and that alſo he was reſolv'd within two dayes to return. I was ready to burſt my hoops for ſpite when I heard this language. I then ſent to him Meſſieurs le Vicompte *de Labatut*, the Chevalier *de Romegas*, Monſieur *de Savignac*, who was one of his own Officers, *d'Arblade*, and *la Mothe Gondrin* to remonſtrate to, and in my behalf to entreat him not to be angry, and to have patience yet a few days; for as for proviſions he ſaw he had more than they knew what to do withal, and beſides he needed but to paſs over the *Don* to five Hugonots houſes that were within the Kings Pale, where we ſhould find victuals ſufficient to nouriſh his Camp a month about, both the Hugonots and all the Catholicks of thoſe parts having carried all their proviſions in thither; that therefore he would onely be pleaſed to permit me to go to *Mont de Marſan*, and that in order to that Enterprize I would ask no more but two of his Field-pieces only, wherewith to batter the Centry-houſes, and little Defences that ſerv'd the Enemy for Flanckers. They return'd back, and told me, that notwithſtanding any thing they could ſay to him he was reſolute to return, but that he was content to lend me the two pieces. In the morning then ſo ſoon as every one had got ſomething into his belly, we began to march, Monſieur *de Montaſtrue* being come with the two Guns, who had in Commiſſion from the Mareſchal to tell me, that he ſhould be very glad I would alter my deſign, and return back to the Army. I think he did it that in caſe I ſhould miſcarry in the buſineſs, he might have that advantage of me, as to ſay, *I told him as much.* Nevertheleſs we ſet forward, I marching with the Cavalry, and a hundred or ſixſcore Argoulets before, and the five Enſigns after me, and after all Monſieur *de Savignac* with the two Field-pieces. I met two Letters by the way, writ to me by a Gentlewoman of the Town, in the firſt whereof ſhe deſir'd me by no means to come, for *that the Enemy had intelligence of my deſign, and that Captain* Favas *(who is of* St. Maurice*) was come thither with a hundred or ſixſcore Horſe, and another Captain with ſome Foot.* The ſecond letter met me within half a quarter of a League of the Town, wherein ſhe ſent me word, *That the Enemy had made a review, and found themſelves to be five hundred fighting men compleat, the Inhabitants of the Town compriz'd, ſo that if I went I ſhould reap nothing but certain diſgrace.* All which notwithſtanding, and that the Gentlewoman and her Husband were Catholicks, and my very good friends; yet being they were not themſelves in the City, I could not give credit to what they writ, but march'd on into the ſight of the Town which is ſeated in a Bottom. Being there I caus'd a hundred or ſixſcore Argoulets to alight to go, and gain the houſes that were near unto the Gate, bidding them withal to run on as faſt as they could, that they might prevent the Enemy from ſetting them on fire, which otherwiſe they had done, ſome of them being already ſallyed out to that intent, and having already apply'd the fire, but being by our Argoulets conſtrain'd to retire into the Town, they began to play upon them from the Walls. In the mean time whilſt we ſtayed for the coming up of our Foot and the Artillery, I went to paſs the River with a Troop of Horſe below *Mont de Marſan*, on that ſide towards *Dacqs*, and within Harquebuz ſhot of the Wall, to go diſcover the other ſide of the Town, and to view the Ditch to ſee if there were any water in it, that I might paſs over the Sieur *de Savignac*'s Enſigns, and give a Scalado on both ſides at once.

Captain *Favas.*

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The River was deep almoſt to the Sadle-skirts, and we paſſed over, when being on the further ſide, we perceiv'd four or five Horſe, who were coming to put themſelves into the place; but they turn'd ſhort, without it being in our power to take them. I thereupon drew up all my Horſe into Battalia, which being done I alighted; and cauſing Captain *Fieux* who was of *Miradeux* only to alight with me, went directly up to the Ditch of the Town. The heat was exceſſive, and my arms were exceeding heavy, ſo that I was conſtrain'd to put my ſelf into a little Ditch being able to go no further by reaſon of the weight of my Arms, and that I was to climb the Ditch, and therefore made Monſieur *de Fieux* to go on alone, who accordingly went all along by the Graffe of the Town, and in going found a woman ſquat down behind a little hedge cloſe by the Graffe, whom he made to riſe, ſtill going on, for they ſhot furiouſly at him, as they did alſo at me; for from the place where I was it was not above ten paces to the Graffe. At laſt Captain *Fieux* return'd to me, bringing the Woman along with him, who told us that there was water in the Graffe a Pike deep, as Captain *Fieux* alſo aſſur'd me according to his judgment, by what he had been able to diſcover, and the Woman told us moreover that it was very deep of mud. I then loſt all hope of doing any thing on that ſide, and knew that we were to fall on all at one place, and leaving Meſſieurs *de Fontenilles* and *de Madaillan* there, return'd with the Gentleman to repaſs the River; which as I was boarding over I thought I ſaw ſome Enſigns in the Town, and very near the Bridg, which on a ſudden I loſt ſight of, and thought they were the Enemy. I had at my ſetting out from *St. Maurice* entreated Monſieur *de Tilladet* that he would go ſpeak to the Mareſchal about what Monſieur *de Montaſtruc* had told me from him, and to aſſure him that we had good hopes of carrying the Town; and withal to try if he could perſwade him to conſent that we ſhould croſs the River, and to make him alter his reſolution of returning. The ſaid Sieur *de Tilladet* accordingly went, and immediately return'd to his own misfortune; for at his return he found me already gone to paſs the River, and ſaw me upon the paſſage, and on the other ſide ſaw our Argoulets who were alighted, ducking and playing at Bo-peep behind the Houſes, which made him come down full ſpeed to draw them from behind the Houſes, which he did, bringing them out into open view, and making them ſhoot at the Battlements, which as he was doing, and gallopping along the ſide of the Ditch to encourage them to ſhoot; as he was returning back by the ſame way he had gone by the edge of the Graffe, the Enemy pour'd ſo violent a ſtorm of ſhot upon him, that in the end one of them took him in the belly, ſo that his horſe falling at the ſame time he got away on foot, and wounded as he was, above a hundred paces out of the reach of the Harquebuz ſhot. He did not at firſt feel himſelf wounded, but was afterwards carried into a Houſe without the Town, where two daves after he died of his wound. I had ſeen nothing of all this, for I was at that time viewing the other ſide of the Town; in the mean time the Captains, *Arne*, the Baron *d'Arbous*, *l'Eſtang*, with the four Companies of Light-horſe, and Monſieur *de la Chappelle Lauzieres* were on the right hand up the River, within a Harquebuz ſhot of the Town.

Mont de Marſan diſcover'd.

The Sieur *de Tilladet* mortally wounded.

I muſt now give an account how the Town was taken. Captain *Caſtella* with the five Companies who marcht after me, ſo ſoon as he came within ſight of the Town, which is within Harquebuz ſhot, ſeeing that our Argoulets did not behave themſelves very well, (for they were evermore creeping behind the houſes) he made five or ſix Ladders which I had cauſed to be brought in a Cart, to be taken off the Carriage, and to be carried by the Soldiers, when without ſtaying for me, Monſieur *de Savignac*, the Artillery, or any other Command, he ran full drive directly up to the Wall; where though the Enemy plyed them very well with ſhot, they notwithſtanding never ſtopt nor ſtayd till they came up to the very foot of it, where being come they immediately clapt to three Ladders which were long enough to reach up to the top of the Wall, all the reſt being too ſhort, upon which the Captains without more ceremony, having Targets upon their arms, preſently began to mount, and what ſtorm of ſhot ſoever the Enemy pour'd upon them never deſiſted mounting till they were got upon the ſaid Wall, and then the Enemy fled. Our people purſued them by the ſame way they endeavoured to retire, and ran down after them, when as they thought to have recover'd the Gate of the other Town to ſhut it after them, ours were in with them, and fell in pel-mel amongſt them. The Enemy then made directly towards the Bridg, all along a great ſtreet where they had made a Barricado, which all of them could not recover, for a great many were cut off by the way. Now as they were making head at the Barricado, Monſieur *de Savignac* and his people arriv'd, who at the ſame inſtant that the laſt of ours were got up by the Ladders, ran up thither mounting by the ſame Ladders *firſt come firſt ſerv'd*, and ſo ſoon as they were got in, all ran directly towards the Bridg, where upon his arrival one of his Captains

call'd *Eſcafours* vvas ſlain, vvho vvas one of the braveſt men I ever knevv; for I had long been acquainted vvith him. In the end the Enemy abandoned the Barricado, and put themſelves into the other Tovvn by the Wicket, my five Enſigns followed them, and fail'd but very little of entring pel-mel amongſt them: but the Enemy made ſhift to clap to the Wicket, by vvhich means our five Enſigns vvere conſtrain'd to put themſelves into a little houſe cloſe adjoyning to the Gate of the City, vvhere one of the five Captains call'd *Moſſaron* vvas ſlain. The Enemy ſhot very faſt from the Tovver of the Portal, and ouis alſo from the little houſe threvv Fagots and Plancks before the Gate, and there it vvas that Captain *Moſſeron* vvas ſlain, vvhere for all the infinite number of ſtones, as well as Harquebuz ſhot that the Enemy ſhoured upon them, they forbare not to ſet fire to the Gate of the ſaid Tovvn. I had (as I have ſaid) ſeen theſe Enſigns as I vvas repaſſing the River; but I thought they had been the Enemy, vvhen vve vvere no ſooner got over, but an Harquebuzeer on horſeback came full ſpeed to tell me, that our five Enſigns vvere in the Tovvn, vvhereupon vvithout ſtaying to ſee vvhat Monſieur *de Savignac* vvould do, we ſet ſpurs to our horſes, and gallopt immediately up to the Gate: (for it was not above four hundred paces.) I there found Monſieur *de Savignac's* people, ſome vvithin, and ſome vvithout the Gate, vvho had already made a hole vvide enough to paſs one by one underneath. We then all alighted and paſſed thorough this hole; I had brought with me ſome Peaſants of *St. Maurice*, who came along with the Artillery, and falling to work upon the Gate, immediately forced it open, but we were all got in before. Our Camp-maſter Monſieur *de Caſtaneuil* did not enter with me, for I found him at the end of the Bridg, in a ſtreet on the right hand, where he told me that he had been to diſcover a houſe or two that looked into the other Town. There was not a man that durſt abide in the great ſtreet, for the Tower of the Gate commanded it, he carried me to the two Houſes which were cloſe by the water ſide, and where in one of them I mounted a pair of ſtairs into a Chamber that looked upon the River, and there cauſed ſeven or eight holes to be ſuddenly made thorough the Wall, on the other ſide of the Room that looked towards the Town, from whence the Enemy ſhot ſo faſt; which being done I deſcended again into the Street, and went into the other Houſe adjoyning to it, and of that into a low Parlour, which had a door out of it, thorough which by five or ſix ſteps there was a paſſage down to the River. The Enemy ſhot at this door with great fury, and thorough the corner of a little Window I perceiv'd that they were filling ſome Barrels they had placed upon a Breach of the Wall. Monſieur *de Savignac*, Monſieur *d'Andoſielle* his Camp-maſter, Captain *St. Aubin*, and another Captain of his (whoſe name I have forgot) were in the Parlour with me. Monſieur *de Caſſaneuil* was entred into another Houſe, where he found a Tanner a very tall man, and brought him to me, who aſſur'd me that the water was not above middle deep. I then offer'd this fellow ten Crowns, if he would lead the Soldiers the way over the River, telling him moreover that I would give him a Target of proof for his defence, which he undertook to do. I therefore deliver'd him a Target, but the Raſcal preſently threw it down, telling me that it was too heavy, and that though he was big and ſtrong, he found himſelf encumbred with it, and therefore would venture to paſs over without. Monſieur *de Montaſtruc* who was Maſter of the Ordnance was alſo preſent with me. I ſaw we muſt make haſte to paſs over; for ſhould the Enemy once have filled their Barrels, it would be a matter of great difficulty to enter by this Breach; which made me ſpeak to Monſieur *de Savignac* to call in three or four of his Enſignes; whereupon Monſieur *d'Andoſielle*, *St. Aubin*, and the other Captain ran into the Street, and fetcht in their Enſigns, for my five were in the little Houſe by the Gate, and ſo ſoon as the three Enſigns were come into the Parlour, and a great many of their Soldiers who crowded in after them, I commanded the Enſigns boldly to follow this man, who would lead them the way, telling them that they were by no means to ſtop till they came to the other ſide of the River cloſe up to the breach, ſending at the ſame time to the Harquebuzeers who were in the Chamber, that they ſhould ply their ſhot, to favour the paſſage of our men; which being done, I ſuddenly threw open the door, and put out this Tanner, together with a good Soldier, who offered himſelf to go hand in hand with him, and after theſe two the three Enſigns, and the three Captains followed after. I put out five or ſix Harquebuzeers after theſe, and my ſelf alſo, with all the Gentlemen who were with me went out after them. We were to go down the fomention'd five or ſix ſteps, and the Enemy ſhot with great fury on that ſide, but my Harquebuzeers in the Chamber held them ſo ſhort, that they durſt not ſhew their heads. Still more Soldiers ran after down the ſtairs, and I ſtood upon the brink of the River, making them believe I would paſs over with them, when Monſieur *de Montaſtruc* ſeeing me in that poſture, ran into the Street, crying out, *O Soldiers, Monſieur de Montluc himſelf is paſſing the River*; at which

which cry the Soldiers who were buſie about their plunder, and thoſe who were in the Street left all, and entred in a crowd into the Parlour, where ſuch as could not come to the ſtairs leapt down by the ſides, and without any manner of regard plung'd into the River, like as one forces in a flock of ſheep, inſomuch that the River was ſo cover'd over with men from the one ſide to the other, that there was no water to be ſeen. I ſtill ſtept in to the mid leg into the River, making a ſhew as if I meant to paſs it, as alſo did Meſſieurs *de Braſſac*, the Chevalier *de Romegas*, and the reſt of the Gentlemen who were with me. Monſieur *de Savignac* was there alſo, and it was no good wading for him, for the talleſt Soldier was up to the armpits, and I believe had he gone in it would have taken him up to the chin: for every one knows that he was not of the ſtature of a Giant: and we were in danger to have loſt a great many Soldiers who were little men: but I ſtill call'd out to them to help one another, which they did; and I do verily believe, and have reaſon to believe ſo, that had I not unbethought me to make thoſe loop-holes in the Chamber, and to have placed a good many Harquebuzeers there, as I had done, ſo that their ſhot continually rattled without intermiſſion, and that they had moreover open'd a window, through which two or three might fire at once, we had loſt above a hundred men: for from the Walls, and from the Barrels, from whence they fir'd at us, it was not above ſix paces to the Bank of the River, where our people landed. The Enſigns and Captains entred the Barrels, which ſo ſoon as I perceiv'd, I immediately ſent to thoſe in the Chamber to give over ſhooting, by reaſon they might as well kill our own people as the Enemy. To ſupply which our Harquebuzeers who followed the Enſigns ſhot at thoſe within, as well as they at them, and being come up to the Barrels, our Captains laid hold on the brims of them, which were not half full of earth, the Enemy not having had time to fill them, and preſently I ſaw them all tumbled down on our ſide, and the Enſigns and Captains leapt into the Town, whereupon the Enemy were ſuddenly put to rout, and fled directly to the Caſtle. Our people purſued and kill'd a great number of them by the way, when ſo ſoon as I ſaw them enter'd I return'd into the Street, ſo weary as in my life I never felt my ſelf in ſuch a condition, by which I very well ſaw that I was no more to think of bearing arms, for I thought above ten times that I ſhould have fainted, and fallen down in the ſtreet. There is no remedy, we cannot be twice. The Chevalier *de Romegas* and Captain *Fabian* my Son ſupported me by the arms to *Jonca*'s Houſe, where I found his Wife, who preſently made me a Bed ready and put me into it. I found that I had ſweat through my Buffe Collar, inſomuch that my very arms were wet with it; we had brought no Baggage with us, but had left it at St. *Maurice*, foraſmuch as I my ſelf had no very great hopes of bringing about my deſign, neither had I any great reaſon to hope it; wherefore my ſervants were fain to dry my Shirt that I had on, and all my other cloaths, which were almoſt in as bad a pickle, and ſo ſoon as the Chevalier *Romegas*, my Son, and the other Gentleman had left me in the hands of my Servants, they departed to go fall upon the Caſtle; when at their going away I ſaid to this brave Chevalier, *I have ſeen the time when for ſuch a days work as this I ſhould not have quitted either Cask or Corſlet, and had there been any appearance of danger, I might perhaps have paſſed over the night in this Eſtate; but there is no remedy, you young men muſt do what we old men cannot.* Having been in bed about half an hour, and all my cloaths being dry, I got up again, and fell to dreſſing my ſelf, which as I was doing there came in Monſieur *de Savignac*, Captain *Fabian*, and ſome other Gentlemen with them, to tell me that thoſe of the Caſtle would ſurrender, and to know if I would conſent, that they ſhould upon the Capitulation receive them to Quarter. Perceiving therefore that Monſieur *de Savignac* and Captain *Fabian* had a great deſire to ſave *Favas*, and to give him fair quarter, becauſe he had the reputation of a good Soldier, and a gallant man; I told them they might grant them what conditions they ſhould think fit, and that I would ſign the Capitulation; though inwardly I had a mind to make a diſpatch: which was the reaſon, that ſo ſoon as they were gone from me, I ſent a Gentleman after to ſpeak ſecretly to the Soldiers, and ſome of the Captains, that during the Parly they ſhould take their opportunity to enter in on one ſide or another, and to kill them all: for that we muſt revenge the death of the Gentlemen who had been ſo barbarouſly maſſacred at *Navarreins*, being that contrary to Article, and the publick faith they had ſtab'd the Sieur *de St. Colombe*, and ſeven or eight others, who had ſurrendred upon conditions of Quarter at *Orthez* at the time when Monſieur *de Terride* was taken. The Enemy did this execution under pretext, that they were the Queen of *Navarre*'s Subjects; but if the King offer to touch any one of her Subjects, they preſently ſay he cannot do it; all things muſt be allowed to theſe people, and nothing to us; but I hope the time will come when the Dice ſhall turn, that we may pay them in their own Coin.

The courage of the Catholicks.

The Town taken.

Monſieur *de Montluc*'s words to the Chevalier *de Romegas*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* cauſes them to be all ſlain.

I could not have committed this execution to a better hand than to this Gentleman, he being Couſin-German to the Baron *de Pordeac*, who was one of thoſe that were maſſacred; and he had no ſooner ſpoken to two or three of the Captains, and to the Soldiers, but that they preſently ran to ſeek out for Ladders, which clapping to a Canton of the Baſe-Court on the left hand by the Galleries, whilſt the others were capitulating at the Gate, they there entred and kill'd all they found within, Captain *Favas* who was making conditions for them only excepted, whom Monſieur *de Savignac* and my Son *Fabian*, ſo ſoon as they ſaw the diſorder pulled to them, which was well for him, who had otherwiſe infallibly gon to pot with the reſt. Our Horſe likewiſe who were on the right hand perceiving that our people were within the Town, gallopped a little up the River, where they found a Foard, which though it was very deep they notwithſtanding paſſed over, and ran directly to the Caſtle, on that ſide by the Religieux, where coming up juſt at the time when five and twenty or thirty threw themſelves out at the Windows, they ſav'd thoſe alſo, otherwiſe there had hardly been any one left to carry the news, but Captain *Favas* only. And thus the Town was taken; of which I immediately ſent an account to the Mareſchal, and in the morning went my ſelf to wait upon him, where he promiſed me to come up the next day with all the Army, and I preſently return'd back to *Mont de Marſan*.

Captain *Favas* ſaved.

Accordingly in the morning the Mareſchal came at the time when I was taking the beſt order I could to preſerve the Town from being further ſackt, but I could do little good in it; and as I was going out at one Gate to meet him, he enterd by the other; for I had much ado to get out, by reaſon all his Army were got into the Streets, eſpecially the Horſe, by whom I was told that he was gone directly to the place where our people had entred, where having ſeen all, and heard how all things had paſſed, he ſaid, *Here was more of fortune than reaſon.* Many there were alſo who made a ſhew of rejoycing at our ſucceſs, that in their hearts would have been glad I had receiv'd a baffle. At laſt with much a-do I was no ſooner got out, but that I was told he was already entred in; which made me return, where I was again above half an hour ſo encloſed amongſt the Carriages, that I could not poſſibly get out, but in the end I made ſhift to get to his lodging. His Mareſchal de Camp quarter'd all the Cavalry in the Villages without the Town beyond the River, the Infantry in the Suburbs, and the Gentlemen in the Town. I thought this ſucceſs would perſwade both him, and his Council alſo, to paſs the River, and enter into *Bearn*, which we had infallibly carried, and compell'd the Count either to fight, or to ſhut himſelf up in *Navarreins*; but he poſitively told me, "That "he would return to look after his own buſineſs, in his own Government, and that he "would not go to engage himſelf before Towns in *Bearn*, having no Artillery to batter "withal; and that he would not that either the King or any other ſhould reproach him, "that he had ſpent his time in other Enterprizes than his own: that he had told the "King at his departure what he intended to do, which he would alſo put in execution, "conſidering that here he was only to fight with the Walls of the Towns of *Bearn*. I then remonſtrated to him, that the Count would infallibly take one of theſe wayes, either to hazard a Battel, which I thought he would never dare to do, or to leave the Country ſo ſoon as he ſhould hear of our coming, or elſe would ſhut up himſelf in his Fortreſs; the laſt of which courſes I conceiv'd he would not willingly take, but would rather chooſe to retire: and that alſo we might eaſily have Canon from *Dacqs* and *Tholouze*, and that this being done, the Province of *Guienne* would be at peace, that of *Bearn* reduc'd, and all thoſe in *Languedoc* would tremble at the report of our arms: that if on the other ſide, ſhould we follow in the ſaid *Montgommery*'s Rear, we ſhould certainly trap him in one place or another, in caſe we ſhould determine to purſue him where ever he ſhould go to that effect. All this I repreſented to the ſaid Mareſchal: but he, half angry, and importun'd by thoſe Gentlemen about him, objected difficulty upon difficulty, and would by no means give ear to my advice. Now he had ſent the Baron *de l'Arbous* towards *Agetman* to enquire news of the Enemy, which Baron ſent him word by a Gentleman call'd *Repeyre* of Monſieur *de Gramont*'s Company, of the diſorder in which the Count *de Montgommery* had retreated into *Bearn*, and how his Artillery had for almoſt two dayes togegether been abandoned upon the road to *Orthez*; and the Mareſchal himſelf was the firſt from whom I heard it, and afterwards from others, as I ſaid before.

Monſieur *d'Anville*'s reſolution to return.

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s advice to the Mareſchal.

The day before he intended to depart in order to his return, I had notice given me that he had diſpatched away the Sieur *de Luſſan* towards the King, without ſaying a word to me; which *Luſſan* was my Enemy, becauſe I would not ſuffer him to be Governour of *Lectoure*. I thought it very ſtrange that he would ſay nothing to me of it, and preſently apprehended that he had not made choice of this perſon to report any good of me;

for

for I knew he was not very well ſatisfied with me, foraſmuch as he alwayes held his Conſultations apart, calling no one to his Counſels but Monſieur *de Joyeuſe*, Meſſieurs *de Bellegarde*, the Father and the Son, and Monſieur *de la Croiſſette* his Mareſchal de Camp.

It is not therefore to be wondred at if I took it very ill that I was not admitted to the Council, and that nothing was communicated to me, conſidering that I commanded the Vaunt-guard, and was the ſecond perſon in the Army. But it was ſo carried, and I had reaſon to be highly offended at it, very well diſcerning that theſe Conſultations were held at our expence.

When I ſaw then that the reſolution was taken to return, I went in the Evening to the Mareſchal's Lodging, where I gave him to underſtand in the gentleſt terms I could, (for after that manner I was to proceed) "That I would ſend my Son to ſurrender up the "Government to the King; for that ſeeing he went away I very well ſaw, that all the fu- "ry of the War would fall upon me, and that I had not forces to reſiſt and hinder the "Enemy from doing what he pleaſed in the King's Territories, by which means all the "honor and reputation I had acquir'd in the precedent troubles, in preſerving the Pro- "vince of *Guienne*, would be loſt and forfeited in this; that therefore I had much ra- "ther another ſhould bear the blame than I, who never had other deſign than to end my "dayes with honour, and nothing more. To which he return'd me anſwer, "That I "ought not to do it, neither ought I either to ſtomack any thing from the King, or to "be angry with my ſelf; and that I knew very well, that although the King had con- "ferr'd upon him the Command of *Guienne*, as well as the other Provinces, he did not "nevertheleſs meddle with it at all, but permitted me to govern as before, and ſhould be "very unwilling to uſurp upon my Authority. I made anſwer, That this was an effect "of his own generoſity, and good nature, but that his Patent was ſo large, as did mani- "feſtly derrogate from mine, and that whenever he would he might command as pleaſed "him, without leaving me the leaſt power at all, no more than the pooreſt *Cadet* in *Gaſ- "cony*. To which he replyed, That it was true, but that my valour and experience were "ſo conſiderable, as would ever make me ſought after and courted. From this light foun- dation it aroſe, that I quitted my Government becauſe I would not obey him; and after this manner it was reported to the King by the fore-named Captain *Luſſan*, or another that was ſent to Court preſently after him: and this was it that made the King ſo angry with me for quitting my Government, they having poſſeſt him, that it was only upon this account, which I no more thought of than of cutting my own throat: but I was born under a Planet to be evermore ſubject to calumny. I gave the Mareſchal an account to the contrary, when, as ſick as I was, I went to him to *Tholouze*, ſo ſoon as I heard he was come thither, to make him a voluntary and free tender of all obedience, and that with- out any letter or command from the King, the Queen, or the Monſieur.

The Sieur *de Montluc* offers to lay down his Government of *Guienne*.

The King diſſatisfied with the Sieur *de Montluc*.

By this it is eaſie to judg whether the difference that grew betwixt us aroſe from thence. So it was that I ſuſpected ſome foul play, foraſmuch as a certain perſon had ſent to Mon- ſieur *de Noé* Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, to come and ſpeak with him about an affair that concern'd my life. Whereupon the ſaid Sieur *de Noé* departed from *Panjas*, or elſe from *Noguarol*, poſting away in all haſt, without telling any one but Monſieur *de Fontenilles* onely; and at his return finding us in *Mont de Marſan*, told Monſieur *de Fon- tenilles* and me, that a man who never ſtir'd out of the Mareſchal's Chamber, and might hear all that was ſpoken, had ſaid to a friend of his theſe words; *Montluc does nothing but eternally vex and importune the Mareſchal, but he will one day be laid dead upon the floor with a ſtab.* Immediately hereupon this perſon came to the Houſe of him who ſent for Monſieur *de Noé*, and told it him, that he might acquaint me with it, which was the occaſion that Monſieur *de Noé* had been ſent unto to go where he did. Monſieur *de Va- lence* my Brother was at this time at *Gaure*, a place of his own within three leagues of *Mont de Marſan*, to whom I ſent twice to beg of him with joyned hands that he would come to me; but he would by no means be entreated to it, what excuſes he made I have now forgot. My deſign was to have had him diſcourſe this affair with the Mareſchal in private betwixt them two only, where I intended to have dealt ſo candidly with him, as to have nam'd the man who had ſpoke it, and that was one of his own people: but it reſted there, for I would not intruſt the ſecret to any other: and although I took no notice of it, yet it ſtuck damnably in my ſtomack, and I have ſince wondred how I could command my ſelf, by which I learnt to know, that Age deprives a man of his heat: for in my younger days the greateſt Prince upon earth could not have made me ſwallow ſuch a pill. The older we grow, the more our blood ſteals from our heart, and it appears that the nearer we ap- proach to death, the more we fear it. It may be notwithſtanding that this perſon might make this ſtory of his own head, and that the Mareſchal never thought of any ſuch thing.

The Sieur *de Montluc* threat- ned with a ſtab.

Fear the con- comitant of old age.

The

The next morning I attended him at his riſing. I had before day heard the Drums beat in the fields, by break of day they began to march, and ſo ſoon as the ſun was up I went and knokt at his Chamber door, where a Valet de Chambre came out and told me he was not yet awake, though I had been told below, that Meſſieurs *de Joyeuſe*, the younger *Bellegarde*, and *la Croiſette* were all gone in before. Nevertheleſs I waited half an hour or more at the door, and in that time knockt three or four times, but no body would ſpeak, though the Valet de Chambre, who came out to me, was gone in again, and that I had intreated him if the Mareſchal was awake to tell him that I was there. At laſt being aſhamed to wait ſo long at his door, which never a Prince in Chriſtendom would have ſuffered me to do, I was conſtrain'd to go walk in a little Garden of the Houſe, not ſo ſlenderly attended however, but that I had with me two hundred Gentlemen or more of the beſt Families of the Country, who were as ſenſible of the affront, or more than I, and ſaid a great many paſſionate things to me; which though I knew very well to be ſpoken out of the affection and reſpect they bore to me, yet as I was the oldeſt, I conceiv'd I ought to be the moſt diſcreet, and to conſider that I ſhould put many things in hazard, ſhould I come to an abſolute rupture with him. I waited above a long hour, what at his Chamber door, and in the Garden, and in the end came Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, who ſeeing the Gentlemen asked them where I was: They told him I was in the Garden thorough which he was to go to enter into the Hall; he then came to me, and asked me why I did not go into the Mareſchal's Chamber, to which I made anſwer, *That I had been there, and had knocked ſeveral times, but that no body would ſpeak.* He then told me, that Monſieur *de Joyeuſe*, his Son, and Captain *Croiſette* had been there above an hour; whereupon I told him, *That I did not underſtand why the Mareſchal ſhould make me dance attendance at his Chamber door, that I had never given him occaſion to uſe me after that manner, and that I had the honor from the King, the Queen, and the Monſieur all the while they ſtayed in* Guienne, *that their Chamber doors were never refuſed me, that I was not of a condition to be ſo treated, but that ſince their Majeſties ſervice was intereſted in it I would make no breach.* He was very much troubled at it, for he and I had been good companions and friends, and there had never been the leaſt diviſion betwixt us till death made the ſeparation. He then went and knocked at the Chamber door, which was immediately open'd to him, and as ſuddenly clapt to again upon me, at which all the Gentlemen adviſed me to return to my Lodging, and to come up no more; but I was reſolved to have patience, for which I have ſince a hundred times wondred at my ſelf. The ſaid Mareſchal ſtayed yet above a quarter of an hour before he came out, after Monſieur *de Bellegarde* went in, and at laſt he came, where I forced my ſelf to give him the good-morrow, and attended him to Maſs, where by the way I intreated him to leave me one of the Companies of Monſieur *de Savignac*'s Regiment, or two hundred Harquebuzeers, till ſuch time as I had remov'd the grain that was in the Town, that the Enemy might not make their advantage of it, therewith to victual *Navarreins*, there being by computation of Monſieur *de Cumies*, and of thoſe he had employed to examine it, twelve hundred Wagon loads of all ſorts of grain in the Town, as alſo by the account of the Providores, who had been joyn'd with his Officers to look into that affair. For this City ſerves as a Granary to all the *Landes*, and the *Baſques* Country, from whence, to the detriment of *France*, they tranſport their grain into *Spain*, and it is ſaid to be one of the beſt Corn-Markets in the Kingdom. He then mounted to horſe, and I went to wait upon him out of Town, and in ſo doing found my ſelf alone, not one of the Gentlemen that were with me once offering to mount, to paſs that Complement upon him; but whether they did it becauſe their Horſes were not ready, or that they had no great mind to go, I know not, and ſo he departed. Immediately after his departure I diſpatcht away Captain *Fabian* my Son with letters to the King, to ſurrender the Government into his Majeſties hands, but when he came to *Bourg de Dieu*, he was taken by the Enemy, and there loſt his Letters, which was the cauſe that he could not deliver his Majeſty the reaſons that mov'd me to quit my Government, which made his Majeſty exceedingly offended with me, thinking it was becauſe I would not obey the Mareſchal *d'Anville*, as Captain *Luſſan* had given him to underſtand. A thing that never entred into my thought; but I foreſaw the Tempeſt, and would therefore retire to give others leave to do better.

Mont de Marſan the Granary of *Gaſcony*.

The thing was evident enough by the report of ſeveral as well of the one as the other Religion, that had the Mareſchal paſſed the River the Count *de Montgommery* had infallibly return'd from whence he came; for to have put his Army into *Navarreins* he could not do it, by reaſon there was no proviſion, and in the other places of *Bearn* yet much leſs. For which reaſon it would neceſſarily have followed, that neceſſity and famine would have compell'd him to return headlong to the place from whence he came, and to aban-

A diſcourſe upon the retreat of the Mareſchal *d'Anville*.

don

don the Country to us; when it would have been a thing of no manner of difficulty for us to have defeated him either in front or rear, nay the very Peaſants would have diſorder'd him, who would have taken heart ſeeing us ſo near, and never have ſuffer'd him to paſs the Rivers. And if he himſelf will confeſs the truth, as others who were with him have done, he ever gave himſelf for loſt, till he heard that the Mareſchal retir'd: and to think of fighting a Battel he could never do it, conſidering the odds of Forces we had againſt him. He alwayes ſaid, *that he had two great Maſtifs at his breech, and that therefore it would be ſtrange he ſhould eſcape, but that he would ſell his skin as dear as he could.* On the other ſide, that I ſhould imagine the Mareſchal retreated out of cowardize, no man living can ſay that; for to this hour that was never reported of him; he is of two brave a Race, and has ever given proof to the contrary, and I eſteem him a great Captain, who is able to do a great deal of good, and a great deal of harm whenever he pleaſes, and although ſome have cenſur'd and aſperſt him, becauſe he was ſo near the Admiral, I, for my part, had never any ſuch opinion of him. I know not what he may do hereafter, I never knew him other than a faithful ſervant of the Kings: but he ought not to have uſed me after this manner. I had ſeen too much boyl'd and roſt in my time. It was not then fear that made him to retire, for his Forces were ſo much greater than thoſe of the Enemy, that we had defeated the Count *de Montgommery* with our Cavalry alone, and our Argoulets, which we would have diſmounted, without ever engaging our Foot in the buſineſs. For at the Battel of *Ver* Monſieur *de Duras* had thrice as many Foot as the Count *de Montgommery*, and a great many more Horſe, better men, and better Officers, and we were not ſo many Horſe by two thirds as we were here, and yet we defeated them and won the Battel. It cannot therefore be ſaid that he did it out of fear of being beaten, conſidering he had ſo little reaſon; but it was our misfortune that it was fixt in the Mareſchal's fancy, and more in that of his Council, that he ſhould ruine himſelf before the Towns of *Bearn*, and do no good, not knowing the ſterility of the Country, as we did, and that Monſieur *de Terride* had ſo devour'd all the proviſions of thoſe parts, that there could be none left for the Count *de Montgommery* had he ſtayed there. Had it pleaſed God that the Mareſchal had not been ſo bent upon returning into *Languedoc*, to purſue his own deſigns in thoſe parts, or that his Council had been of an opinion contrary to him, and that he had reſolv'd to paſs the River, it had been a happy thing, and of infinite advantage to us: and on the contrary turn'd very much to our prejudice; for he went and engag'd himſelf before *Mazeres*, where he loſt a great number of the beſt Soldiers he had, and almoſt ruin'd his Army, without being able to make any other attempt. By which means there was nothing done of any moment either in *Languedoc* or *Guienne*, but utterly undoing the people, our own Forces having in all parts done as much miſchief, as the Enemy themſelves. Neither was it poſſible to be avoided, by reaſon of the great number of Gens d'arms, Light-horſe, Argoulets, and Foot that we had, who muſt all of neceſſity live upon free quarter. Thus did all the Mareſchal's Forces, which were ſufficient both to defeat *Montgommery*, and afterwards to make head againſt the Admiral, moulder away and vaniſh without performing any thing worthy to be repeated.

The Siege of *Mazeres.*

I have ever obſerv'd, that when Almighty God is not pleaſed that matters ſhall ſucceed as men deſire, he infatuates their Councels, and turns the will of the Chief, and of his Counſellors quite contrary to what they ought to do. His name be praiſed for all, ſince it was his Divine pleaſure to have things go as they did. There is no one, after the people, that ſmarts for it but I, becauſe I incurr'd the Mareſchal's diſfavour by ſpeaking the truth. He ought in reaſon to have lov'd me more than thoſe that counſell'd him to do contrary to what I adviſ'd him; but 'tis the Law of *Bearn*, *The beaten muſt bear the blame*; for the King has approv'd, and ratified all that the Mareſchal did, and diſallowed and condemned all my doings, and indeed I declin'd towards my ſetting, and was no more ador'd like a riſing Sun, and yet I am as innocent and unblameable of that fault (if fault there was) as I had never been born into the world, of which I deſire no other teſtimony than the three Eſtates of *Guienne*, and *Languedoc* which is neighbour to it, who know how all things paſſed, and have ſmarted for the miſeries of *Guienne*, and dare moreover ſtand to the depoſitions of all the Captains, three or four excepted, who were of the Council, for thoſe were the cauſe of the evil. I am not the firſt who for well doing have been paid with this Coin, of which I have given Exemples enow in this Book, and find it a good matter to be a great Lord; for a little Companion as I am muſt alvvayes bear the burthen, and is evermore ſubject to the forementioned Lavv of *Bearn*. The ſaid Mareſchal had reaſon, I confeſs, to have a mind to employ his men and his money in *Languedoc*, and I had alſo reaſon to deſire him in *Guienne*. If he vvas not able to undertake for them both, vvhy did he cauſe *Guienne* to be inſerted in his Patent? That vvhich vve might

Law of *Bearn.*

might have done in fifteen dayes, to wit, the defeating or driving away *Montgommery* would have been of greater advantage, than the taking of three or four paltry Towns in *Languedoc*. But I have ſaid enough of this diſpute, which ruin'd the Kings affairs in thoſe parts; I ſhall therefore purſue my diſcourſe to tell you what hapned after.

The departure of the ſaid Mareſchal put our affairs into very great diſorder, and very much encourag'd our Enemies. As for my own part, in five Companies that I had there was not left two hundred men, by reaſon they were ſtoln away, with what booty they had got, every man to his own houſe. This is the inconvenience of making war with the people of the Country. They muſt go ſee Wife, they muſt go carry home their Baggage, and beſides every one has a Couſin, a Brother, or a Friend with the Enemy, to whom he has a regard, and of whom he has care. And as to the Cavalry we had, they could not ſubſiſt in leſs than five or ſix leagues of the Town, by reaſon the Enemy had devour'd one part of the proviſions of the Country, and our own people the other, and the Country of it ſelf was barren. However I ſtayed four or five dayes after the Mareſchals departure, cauſing three or four hundred Waggon loads of grain to be remov'd from thence, which I carried to *Euſe*, and other adjacent places, that the Enemy might not therewith victual their Towns in *Bearn*: but I muſt have carried away fifteen hundred load or more to have remov'd it all; and had my five Enſigns been compleat, as at my coming thither, I would have engag'd my ſelf in it, though I was certain not to be reliev'd, for I have committed as great follies in my life as that, and hitherto (bleſſed be God) never met with any miſadventure; nor did his Majeſties affairs ever ſuffer by thoſe hazards. I then retir'd towards *Agenois*, leaving the Sieur *de Monteſpan*, Son to the Baron *de Gondrin*, with his Father's Company of Gens-d'arms in *Euſe*, together with another new Company of Foot, that was then raiſing in thoſe parts, not to endure a Siege, for the Town was naught; but only a little to favour the Country, and that we might not ſeem totally to abandon it, though we knew very well that his ſtaying there would ſignifie little or nothing. I ſent Monſieur *de Fontenilles* alſo into the Country of *Bigorre*, to ſee if he could do any thing on that ſide to amuze the Enemy, but all this was no remedy for ſo great a diſeaſe. I ſhall not here take upon me to give a particular account of the defeat of Captain *Arne*, and the Baron *de l'Arbous*, for as much as I did not place them there, where they were defeated; but ſo it was, that I ſent however to Captain *Arne* to tell him, *That he was a Soldier, and muſt needs know that in the place where he was he could expect nothing but diſaſter, and that therefore I conceiv'd he would do well to retire to* Auch, *which was an encloſed Town; but he ſent me word, that he was placed there, and was therefore reſolved rather to dye than to ſtir a foot from thence.* It was not above four dayes after I had given him this advice that news was brought me of his defeat, and two dayes after that of his death, which was a great damage to the Kings ſervice, and a great loſs to his Country; for he was a fine Gentleman, and a valiant man, and one of whom we had as great an eſteem, as of any Captain whatever of *Guienne*.

The inconvenience of making war with Soldiers, Natives of the ſame Country where the Scene of war lies.

Monſieur *de Monteſpan* in *Euſe*.

Captain *Arne* ſlain.

Now ſoon after the Mareſchal being about *Mazeres*, and I in *Agenois*, the Count *de Montgommery* did like the Wolves whom hunger forces out of the Woods, and came into *Armagnac*, by little and little moving towards *Condommois*. He had cauſed three pieces of Canon to be brought, and two Culverines to batter *Euſe*; knowing very well that there was no body in it but Monſieur *de Monteſpan* with his Father's Company of Gens-d'arms, and the new-rais'd Company of Foot that I had ſent him. So ſoon therefore as the Artillery was come to *Noguarol*, that he had ſent to diſcover the Enemy, and that the Hugonot Kindred and Friends he had, had given him notice of the preparation againſt him, he ſent me word of it. I had no body to ſend to reinforce him, and leſs power of my ſelf to relieve him, neither was there any relief to be expected; for the Mareſchal was either lying before *Mazeres*, or elſe retir'd to *Tholouze*. I therefore ſent him word, *That I would not he ſhould follow the exemple of Captain* Arne, *and that it was enough we had loſt one brave and valiant Captain, and one Company of Gens-d'arms, without loſing two; that therefore he ſhould retire and take along with him all the Prieſts and Religious people of the Town, together with all the rich Catholick Merchants, and eſcape to* Lectoure. which he accordingly did; for although I had ſent to ſurrender my Goverment, I did not for all that forbear to do all that lay in my power for the ſervice of my King and Country, but raiſed five or ſix Companies about *Ville-neufve* and *Florence*, leaving one old and two new Companies at the ſaid *Florence*, and four (with that of the Governnor Monſieur *de Panjas*) at *Lectoure*, which were enow, by reaſon that all the Gentry of *Armagnac* with their Families were retir'd into that place, which made the Town ſo full that no more could lodg there: and theſe things being done I came to *Agen*, where I heartned the Inhabitants the beſt I could, and ſtayed there for ſome dayes. The Count *de Montgommery* then

then came to *Euſe*, where ſo ſoon as he was arriv'd the Hugonots of *Condom* (who had liv'd at home under protection of the Kings Edict, having evermore hypocritically profeſt not to take arms, relying upon his Majeſties Royal word, and had been uſed with greater humanity than the Catholicks themſelves) betook themſelves to arms, and went to ſeek out the Count *de Montgommery* at *Euſe*, who durſt advance no further, nor had not done, had I had but four Companies onely to put into *Condom*. But they all aſſur'd him that I had no men, nor means to raiſe any to make head againſt him, and that therefore he might ſecurely come, and ſo they allur'd him to *Condom*. Theſe were the fine fruits of the fine Edict they perſwaded the King to make, that provided the Hugonots ſtirr'd not from their Houſes, no one ſhould demand any thing of them. I have ſpoken of this ſufficiently elſewhere; though, if I would, I have a great deal more to ſay, and of greater importance, but it would do no good, for the King would take no order in it, ſince thoſe about him will have it as it is.

The Count *de Montgommery* at *Condom*.

A few dayes after we heard news of the Victory God had given the King, thorough the valour and conduct of the Monſieur, Brother to the King, and the Captains he had about him, and that the Princes and the Admiral, with the remains of the Battail of *Moncontour* were moving towards *Limoſin*; every one that came, telling us that they marcht directly to *la Charité*, which was the reaſon that I ſent for Monſieur *de Leberon* at *Libourne*, to come with four Companies he had there and at *St. Foy*, to port *St. Maries* and *Aguillon*. He had before ſent me one, which I had left at *St. Sever*, before it was loſt under Captain *Eſpiemont d' Avila*, and I had alſo ſent another to *Dacqs* under Captain *Teyſſander de Florance*, and the ſaid *Eſpiemont* was conſtrain'd to retire to *Dacqs*, after the fine piece of work the Captain of the Caſtle had made, who would have diſcharg'd himſelf upon Captain *Montaut*, and was upheld by ſome about the Mareſchal, who were related to him. But I referre it to the truth, which thoſe of the Town did no wayes conceal, and never after receive him. The City of *Agen* and the Clergy there, had ſet a foot a Company of two hundred Strangers at their own charge, commanded by one Captain *Raphaël* an Italian, who was married in the Town.

The Victory of *Moncontour*.

The ſaid Count *de Montgommery* remained ſix or ſeven weeks at *Condom*, wherein he committed an error; for had he followed his blow he had put a great many to their trumps: but who is it that is never miſtaken? The Mareſchal's Camp was at *Tholouze*, *Granade*, and thereabouts; they had no great fancy to bite one another, for they never ſo much as gave one another an Alarm. The Mareſchal had put out Monſieur *de Fontenilles* from the place to which I had ſent him, and taken from him the Command I had given him in thoſe parts, and order'd me to be about *Beaumont de Lomagne*, openly uſurping upon my Government, according to his Patent. He ſent likewiſe to the Baron *de Gondrin*, Signieur *de Monteſpan* (whoſe Father lay ſick at *Lectoure*) to come to him, giving orders every where that none ſhould obey me in the leaſt; for that I was no more the Kings Lieutenant, but that he was the man. He writ twice alſo to Monſieur *de Madaillan*, that he ſhould not fail to bring his Company to him, who both times returned him anſwer, *That the Company was mine, and none of his, and that it was not in his power to bring it to him*; and all the affronts he could put upon me, he did. This nothing concern'd me in my own particular, for what I did was in order to his Majeſties ſervice, and for the conſervation of the Country. Behold how particular animoſities occaſion a general ruine! notwithſtanding I did not for all this forbear to act, as if I had ſtill been the King's Lieutenant; and it was requiſite for the poor Country's intereſt, that I ſhould not regard the injuries he put upon me; for my deſpite might have done a great deal of miſchief. Being the Son of a Conſtable of *France*, and himſelf a Mareſchal, I did by no means diſdain to be commanded by him, had he been pleaſed to command me, and that he would have done his duty. But ſo it was, that he as much as in him lay traverſt all my deſigns for the conſervation of *Guienne*, which ſtood in much greater need than *Languedoc*. In the mean time news was brought us, that the Princes and the Admiral were in *Perigord*, and took the way of *Quercy* to retire to *Montauban*, by which I very well underſtood, that they came to take *Montgommery* along with them, to reinforce themſelves with his power, without which it would be a matter of very great difficulty for them to march thorough ſo many leagues of the Country. I have ſince a hundred and a hundred times wondred, that ſo many great and prudent Leaders, as were in the Monſieurs Army, ſhould pitch upon ſo ill a reſolution, as to fall to the beſieging of places, inſtead of purſuing the Princes, who were routed, and reduc'd to that extremity, that they had no poſſible means to ſet themſelves up again, inſomuch that had the people had Forces to purſue them, they had with great facility been all cut to pieces. 'Tis ſaid that we our ſelves who bear arms, ſpin out wars in length, and ſtretch the thong to the utmoſt, as men of

Diviſion betwixt the Mareſchal *d' Anville* and the Sieur *de Montluc*.

The Princes move towards *Montgommery*.

Soldiers uſe to ſpin out a war.

the long Robe do Suits in Law at the Palace. Let the Devil take all ſuch. I for my part had never any ſuch intention, and can ſay with truth, that never a Kings Lieutenant in *France* has made more Hugonots paſs the Knife and the Halter than I have done: which was not the way to prolong the war.

But to return to my ſubject, having heard which way the Princes took, without declaring my intention to any one, being in Monſieur *de Gondrin's* Lodging at *Lectoure*, I ſent for Monſieur *de Panjas*, the Chevalier *de Romegas*, and the Chevalier my Son, Monſieur *de Gondrin* was ſick, and there told them *That I was old, and not able to undergo the labour, in caſe we ſhould be beſieg'd; that therefore to eaſe my ſelf, I would remit the care to govern the Town, as to the Civil Regiment thereof, to Monſieur* de Panjas, *and as to what concern'd the defence of it, and what ſhould be neceſſary thereunto, I would tranſfer the Charge thereof to the ſaid Chevalier* de Romegas, *and the Chevalier my Son, who had both been engag'd in the Siege of* Malta, *the moſt furious Siege that ever was ſince Artillery was firſt known in the world; by which they muſt needs better know what belong'd to defence, and what was fit to be done, than I my ſelf; and being Companions and Brothers of the Order of St.* John's *of* Hieruſalem, *would alſo agree ſo much the better together. That herein the Chevalier my Son ſhould obey that of* Romegas, *both in regard he was the elder, and alſo by reaſon he had commanded at ſea, in three or four Naval Engagements, where my Son had been with him* (in truth he was a man of as much courage and bravery as any I ever knew) *and that in the mean time I would go to* Agen, *to take the beſt Order I could for the defence of that City.* They all approv'd of my determination, and the two Chevaliers would not make the Quarters but hand in hand together, beginning from the very inſtant to redouble the work of the Fortification, and Monſieur *de Panjas* as Governor provided them all things they requir'd. The next morning I went to *Agen*, Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother being retir'd into *Lectoure*. I had a day or two before ſent my Wife and my two Daughters to *Bordeaux*, and when I came to *Agen* Monſieur *de Caſſaneuil* to whom I had committed the Charge of *Ville-neufve* and the adjacent Country, (although I had confer'd the Government of it upon Captain *Paulhac*, the elder, yet they agreed very well together) ſent me word joyntly with Captain *Paulhac*, that the Princes were come to *Montauban*, and were reſolv'd immediately to fall upon *Ville-neufve*. Whereupon I immediately ſent *les Peroux* his Company and another, to two new Companies they had already within the place, with about a hundred Haquebuzeers belonging to the ſaid Captain *Paulhac* the Governor, and ſome thirty or fourty Gentlemen of thoſe parts, who were retir'd with them into the Town. I then return'd to *Lectoure*, where I did not ſtay above three or four dayes; for neither my age, nor my indiſpoſition would permit me to ſtay long in a place; where news was brought me, that the City of *Agen* was entred into a ſudden fear, and that every one began to truſs up their Baggage to be gone, ſo that the Town was in danger to be wholly abandoned. This news was brought me overnight, which I communicated to all the Gentlemen in the Town, telling them that I would go in the morning, which they were all contented I ſhould, provided I would return back to the ſaid *Lectoure*; for to engage my ſelf in *Agen* would, they ſaid, be the greateſt folly that was ever committed by man, it being plainly to be diſcern'd by every one, that the two Armies of the Enemy would infallibly attaque that place. I then aſſur'd them, that I would not engage my ſelf there: whereupon they asked me, if I thought it convenient that they ſhould write a Letter to the Mareſchal in the behalf of all the Gentry of *Armagnac*, to entreat him to come with his whole Army to fight *Montgommery* at *Condom*, before the Armies ſhould joyn, aſſuring him that the ſaid *Montgommery* would never engage himſelf in the Town, which was not tenable, and to be entred in ſeveral places at pleaſure, and to make him an offer every man to die with him for his Majeſties ſervice, and the reſettlement of every one in his own houſe. To which I return'd them anſwer, that I did highly approve of it, and that they could do no leſs, than to ſend a Gentleman to him to implore his aſſiſtance; who therefore made choice of Monſieur *de la Mothe Gondrin* for their Envoy. I would bait in the morning before I went, becauſe it was five long leagues from thence to *Agen*, and the worſt way in Winter in the world. Being we were at this time in fear, I had writ to Monſieur *de Montferran* of *Agen*, who liv'd out of Town, that he muſt needs make all the means he poſſibly could, to bring us four or five hundred Harquebuzeers; to which he return'd me anſwer that in eight dayes he would bring a thouſand before *Agen*; which made me, though I knew very well, that the Mareſchal took no delight in my Letters, however to write to him (for a man muſt wave a particular in a great concern) ſending Monſieur *de Montferran's* Letter encloſed within mine, and aſſuring him upon my honor to bring another thouſand to bruſh *Montgommery*, for I had a very good mind to be at him.

The Commendation of the Chevalier *de Romegas*.

The City of *Agen* in fear.

The Gentlemen of *Gaſcony* ſend an Envoy to the Mareſchal *d' Anville*.

Monſieur *de Montferran's* offer.

During

During theſe poſtings to and fro, the Princes ſojourn'd at *Montauban* and the adjoyning Country, as they had good need to do; for they had not a horſe that was able to ſet one foot before another, as ſeveral who were with them have confeſſed to me ſince, having been conſtrain'd to leave above four hundred by the wayes as they came, by reaſon they had no means to get them ſhod. And juſt as I had din'd there came another Meſſenger to me from *Agen*, who had ſet out from thence at midnight, to give me notice that the Merchants began to talk of getting their wares out of Town, but that the Sieur *de Lande* and the Conſuls would keep them from doing it, till ſuch time as they ſhould receive an anſwer to the Letter they had ſent me, and as I was taking horſe, ſome body, I cannot tell who, came and read me the Letter the Gentlemen had writ to the Mareſchal, which I did not much mind, my thoughts being wholly taken up with the concern of *Agen*: but I told them, *That I thought it was well, but that nevertheleſs they ſhould ſhew it to Monſieur* de Valence, *to ſee if there was nothing in it that might give the Mareſchal offence*; and ſo got on horſeback, making all the haſte I could to *Agen*. Being come thither I found every one in the greateſt fear imaginable; the Church men, the Counſellors, all the Preſidial Court, and the Merchants buſie, packing up to be gone. I was no ſooner alighted but that immediately the Sieurs *de la Lande*, *de Nort*, their Sons, and ſeveral others came and told me that all the whole City were at their wits end. I thereupon bad them forthwith to repair to the Town Hall, and to call thither all the Chief men of the City, the Clergy, and Magiſtracy, and to give me notice ſo ſoon as ever they were met together, for I would go ſpeak with them. They accordingly did ſo, neither did they need to uſe many entreaties, for rich and poor, every one ran to ſee me, and to hear what I would adviſe them to do. When ſo ſoon as I came into the Hall (which was ſo full that five or ſix Gentlemen I had brought along with me had much ado to crowd in) I plac'd my ſelf in the middeſt of them, to the end that every one might hear me, and ſpake to them to this effect. The Princes at *Montauban*.

Gentlemen,

"YOu have twice in one day advertiz'd me, that the greateſt part of the Inhabitants "of this City are upon the point to forſake it, and to retire themſelves to *Bordeaux*, "*Tholouze*, and other places of ſafety; and in ſhort, that your whole City was in fear. "I ſee very well that this apprehenſion has ſeiz'd you upon a conceit you have taken that "I would abandon you in ſuch a neceſſity, and that I had retir'd my ſelf to *Leſtoure*, "becauſe it is a good place: which I have reaſon to take very unkindly at your hands, "foraſmuch as you have never heard that either in *Italy*, or in any other place I have ever "done act which ought to render me ſuſpected, that fear ever made me betake my ſelf "to ſtrong places; but, on the contrary, have ever engag'd my perſon in the weakeſt and "leaſt tenable to make head againſt the Enemy. My renown is not ſo little in the "World, nor confin'd to *Guienne* alone: I am reputed for ſuch throughout all *Italy*, "and through all *France*. And now that I am going down into the Grave, can you "imagine my good friends) that I would at one clap loſe what I have with ſo much ſweat "and blood been one and fifty years, that I have born arms, in gaining? You muſt re-"reſolve upon three things; Firſt, to throw away all apprehenſion that may have ſurpriz'd "you, and tread it under foot, that it may never riſe again: Secondly, to agree amongſt "your ſelves to be all of one mind and will, and not to ſpare your Eſtates in what I ſhall "direct you, ſpeedily and diligently to provide all that ſhall be neceſſary for the defence "of your City: and thirdly, to pay an abſolute obedience to ſix or eight of your Corpo-"ration whom I ſhall chooſe for you, or that you ſhall make choice of your ſelves, to take "care as well for the fortifying, as furniſhing proviſions, and all things neceſſary for your "defence. Which three things, if you ſhall think fit to grant me, I do ſwear to you by "Almighty God, holding up my hand, That I will live and die with you; and moreover "do engage (ſuch is the hope and confidence I have in his Divine aid) that I will ſecure "your Town from the Two Armies of the Enemy: for in my life, thorough Gods aſſi-"ſtance, I have done greater miracles than this. As therefore you ſee my Countenance "full of reſolution to defend you; I deſire alſo to ſee the ſame in yours, that I may know "you will accompliſh theſe three things I requeſt at you hands. I know there will be "ſome who will grumble at the charge and expence they muſt neceſſarily be at; but let "ſuch conſider what will become of them if the Enemy make themſelves maſters of the "Town, as doubtleſs they will if you put not to you utmoſt force and endeavour to pre-"vent them. What will then become of your Goods, your Eſtates, your Houſes, and your "Wives and Children, if they fall once into their hands, who ruine all that they ſubdue? "All things will be turn'd topſie-turvy; 'tis for this you fight, and alſo and principally The Sieur *de Montluc's* Harangue to thoſe of *Agen*.

"for the honour of God, and the conſervation of your Churches, which in the firſt "Troubles were ſcratcht only by theſe people your Enemies; but if they enter now, will "be raz'd and levell'd with the foundations, as you ſee they have done at *Condom*. Since "I am with you, believe me Gentlemen, they will think on't thrice before they will come "to attaque us; and if they come, though this City be none of the ſtrongeſt, I will make "them know, that I know both how to aſſault, and to defend. Grant me then this "that I requeſt of you, which is in your power to do, and believe that I will lay down "my life for your preſervation. If you are not reſolv'd to *employ the wet and the dry*, that "is to ſay, to do what good Citizens ought to do, never engage your ſelves and me too, "but rather let ſuch as are afraid retire in good time, and let me deal it with the reſt who "are ready and willing to die for their Country.

The Inhabitants of *Agen* take heart.

The Sieurs *de Blazimond*, then, and *de la Lande* ſpeaking for all the Clergy, told me in few words, *That all the Clergy will lay down their lives and fortunes in the common defence, would ſerve me in what ever I would demand of them, and every one take arms and be as ready for action as the Soldiers themſelves.* The Lawyers promis'd the ſame; after whom the good old man *de Mort* ſpake in the behalf of the whole City, that they would do the ſame that the Clergy, and thoſe of the Long Robe had engag'd to do; nay more (for it was not fit for them to be at continual labour) but that all thoſe of the City, both Rich and Poor, Women and Children, without exempting any one, ſhould put their hands to the work. Now before I would ſuffer Meſſieurs *de Blazimond*, and *de la Lande* to ſpeak, I entreated them, that all thoſe who ſhould anſwer, would ſpeak ſo loud that every one might hear them; which they alſo did, and when all the three Orders had made an end of ſpeaking, I ſtrain'd my voice, and ſaid, *Have you all heard what theſe Gentlemen have propos'd who have ſpoken in the behalf of the whole City?* to which they cried out that they had; whereupon as I had held up my hand, I made them hold up theirs, and take the ſame Oath I had taken; which being done, I deſir'd them every one to withdraw to provide all ſorts of Inſtruments, and that I would retire to my Lodging with the principal men of the City, to make election of the eight who were to govern over them: but being it was already almoſt night they entreated me, that ſeeing they were all together, I would give them leave to make election of the eight, that I would pleaſe in the mean time, to retire to warm my ſelf, and to get my Boots off, and that the next morning they would bring me a Liſt of their Burgers names, of them to make election which eight I ſhould think fit. And ſo I withdrew to my Lodging, where after ſupper there came to me Meſſieurs *de Blazimond* and *de la Lande*, the good man *de Nort* and his Sons, with ſo great joy, as more could not be expreſt; telling me that the Merchants who had pack'd up their Merchandize, and a good many of them already loaded them in Waggons had unloaded all, and that they thought never City was overjoy'd as theirs was, and that ſo much as to the very Women and Children there was no other talk but of fighting, knowing the reſolution that I had taken to tarry amongſt them.

Companions, you who ſhall take the pains to read my life, you may take fair exemples by me. This people, who were all their wits end, and ready to over-run the City, immediately at my word only reaſſum'd ſuch courage, that I will be bold to ſay with truth, no man ever after diſcover'd the leaſt apprehenſion in them; though to ſay the truth they had no great reaſon to be ſo ſecure, the Town being of two great a circuit well to be defended, commanded moreover by a Mountain, and two Armies ready to fall upon us at once. Believe me, Companions, when I tell you, that upon your reſolution depends that of all the people, who take courage, as they ſee you do. And how great a good ſhall you do, beſides the honour you acquire to your ſelves, to ſave a poor City from the Sack? ſo many Families ſtand eternally oblig'd to you, and not only the City it ſelf, but the whole Country alſo: for the taking of the Capital City of a Province ordinarily draws after it the loſs of a whole Seneſchalſie. I, but you will ſay, a man muſt then ſhut himſelf up in a place where he can acquire honour: and where will you have that to be, in a Caſtle of *Millan?* it cannot be there; for there it is the ſtrength of the walls that defends you; but it muſt be in a place that you ſee to be of publick concern, let it be never ſo weak. *A good heart is a good Fortreſs.* I could have ſtayd at *Lectoure*, and have hearkned how the ſquares went. I had nothing to loſe at *Agen*, and could juſtly have laid all the blame upon the Mareſchal, who had ſhoulders broad enough to bear it, but this good City being taken, I ſaw all the Country was loſt. In a time of need and danger therefore ſhew that you have a heart to drive fear out of others, and in ſo doing you will alwayes appear to be what you are; and aſſure your ſelves that the Enemy ſeeing ſuch a man engag'd in a place, will think on't thrice before he will once come to

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attaque you. I have (as you may have obſerv'd before) ever had that good fortune, the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and *French Hugonots* have been afraid either to abide, or to attaque me. Get then this priviledge over you Enemy, as you will do in doing well, and giving teſtimony of a good heart, and an undaunted courage.

Three or four dayes after I writ to the Gentlemen who had the charge of *Lectoure*, and principally to the Chevalier *de Romegas*, and the Chevalier my Son, exhorting them to employ all they had learnt at the Siege of *Malta*, and to do as well as they had done there; for that their honour would be without compariſon much greater in ſerving their own Prince and Country, than in a forreign Soyl. I alſo conjur'd every one to obey them, conſidering that there was not a man in the Town that had ever been in a Siege but they two: for as for my part I was reſolv'd not to ſtir from *Agen*, but would die in the defence thereof. They were very much aſtoniſht when they read my Letter, which they communicated to one another, and immediately return'd me another back, ſubſcrib'd by the Sieurs *de Gondrin*, *de Pangas*, *de la Mothe Gondrin*, *de Romegas*, *de Maignas*, and the Chevalier my Son, wherein they writ me word, "That they did all very much wonder that I would ſo far forget my "ſelf, as to engage my perſon in ſo weak a Town as *Agen*, and ſo commanded by Moun- "tains as it was. That for certain the Artillery was ſet out from *Navarreins*, and that the five "pieces which were at *Noguarol* had not ſtirr'd from thence, but had ſtayd for the coming "of the reſt; that therefore they did beg of me to come to *Lectoure*, and that the Che- "valier *de Romegas* and my Son would go put themſelves into *Agen*, who being young "and reſolute, if they ſhould miſcarry, the loſs would not be ſo great; and that on the "other ſide, ſhould I abandon the field, all the reſt of the Country would be ruin'd and "loſt. I return'd them anſwer, That I gave them many thanks for the admonitions they "had given me, which though I did acknowledge to be rational and true; yet I knew ve- "ry well alſo that they gave them out of compaſſion and fear I ſhould loſe my ſelf; but "that I did aſſure them, before they ſhould hear I was loſt, the Enemy ſhould have payd "very dear for the taking of *Agen*. That if the Mareſchal would come to fight them, "he would have a good match of it; that I was determin'd not to budg from thence, "but let them do their duty in caſe the Enemy ſhould ſit down before them, for as for my "part I was reſolute to do mine, and never to let the Enemy enter but over my belly.

Reſolution of the Sieur *de Montluc*.

At the ſame time there arrived Monſieur *de la Bruille*, Steward of the Mareſchal *d'Anville*'s Houſehold, whom the ſaid Mareſchal ſent to me to know if Monſieur *de Montferran* was come with the thouſand Harquebuzeers, as I had ſent him word, and alſo with what Forces I on my part could aſſiſt him. I then reckon'd to him, that what from *Villemuſue*, *Lectoure*, *Agen*, and *Florence*, I could make a thouſand Harquebuzeers, and the thouſand of Monſieur *de Montferran*, ſhewing him the Letters that the ſaid Sieur *de Montferran* had ſent me from *St. Macaire*. He could not find in his heart to loſe ſo much time as to bait his horſes, before he return'd to carry back this news to the Mareſchal, when being juſt about to take horſe to return, there came a letter from Monſieur *de Montferran*, dated from *Marmande*, conteining theſe words. "Monſieur, *At this inſtant I am ſet-* *ting out with my Troops, which are a thouſand Harquebuzeers, and threeſcore Light-horſe, and ſhall this day paſs part of my men over the River at* Aguillon, *the reſt muſt ſtay till to morrow morning, but to morrow night they ſhall all be at Port* St. Marie.

The Sieur *de Monſferran* come with Succours.

The ſaid *de la Bruille* took a Copy of the Letter, ſaying to me theſe words, *I am going to carry the Mareſchal the beſt news can poſſibly be brought him, and aſſure your ſelf upon my life and honor, that ſo ſoon as ever I ſhall be return'd he will begin to march*; and ſo ran to his horſe. At the end of three dayes, the Troops being at Port *St. Marie* and *Aguillon*, I had word ſent me from *Lectoure*, that the Mareſchal was return'd from *Grenade* to *Tholouze*, out of deſpite at the Letter the Gentlemen of *Armagnac* had written to him, which I have made mention of before; and that for one clauſe that was in it, which ran thus; *That in caſe he ſhould not pleaſe to march to come to help to re-eſtabliſh them in their houſes, they ſhould be conſtrain'd to go apply themſelves to the King in their own perſons, humbly to beg aſſiſtance from him.* This was the ground of all his diſcontent, and he diſcharg'd his anger upon me, accuſing me that I had cauſed the ſaid Letter to be writ: I will not deny but that the firſt draught was read to me as I was mounting to horſe; but, ſo God help me, I could not have repeated ſix words of it, for my affection hurried me away to *Agen*, to take care that the Town ſhould not be forſaken, and took horſe that very minute it was read to me, as I have ſaid before. However I leave it to any man of underſtanding to judg if theſe words were of ſuch importance, that the ſaid Mareſchal ought reaſonably to have taken ſuch offence at them. It was at the King that he took offence, and not at us. He is the Kings Subject as well as we. O! would I have taken pet after this manner, how many times have I had occaſion given me to quit all! I have perhaps been but too paſſionate,

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not as to what concern'd my ſelf, but for the Country and the People, who have miſſed me ſince I quitted my Government. Now when Monſieur *de Montferran*, who ſtaid with me three dayes at *Agen*, his men in the mean time lying at Port *St. Marie*, heard that the Mareſchal was return'd in diſcontent to *Tholouze*, and that he would hardly be prevail'd upon to come, he told me that he would return to *Bourdeaux*, forasmuch as he did not know but that the Princes might turn their deſigns that way, hearing there was no body in it. Which he accordingly did, as there was good reaſon, by which means I was left naked, without hope of being reliev'd by any perſon whatſoever. Thus for the miſconſtruction of a word, for one inſignificant picque, the whole Country ran a dangerous fortune.

You Princes, Mareſchals, and Lieutenants of Provinces, who command Armies, never ſacrifice the publick intereſt to a private diſtaſte. The Mareſchal ought to have conſider'd, that theſe were *Gaſcons* exil'd from their own houſes, who writ in paſſion; he ought neither to have been offended at me, nor them; but to have excus'd their ſenſibility, and not for ſuch a trifle to have abandoned the Country. Our Proverb ſays, * *Qui perd le ſien, perd le ſens.* I have often askt advice of, and been my ſelf aſſiſting to thoſe that I knew had no great kindneſs for me. Never ſuffer your private picques, and particular animoſities to endanger the publick concern. I have often obſerv'd ſome, and thoſe no little ones, who could have eaten one another, agree very well for their Maſter's ſervice, talk and confer together like Brothers, and after ſome handſome ſervice, or good ſucceſs, open their hearts to one another, and become good friends. I have ſince been told by ſome who had the good fortune to be there, that moſt of the Chiefs who were at the great Battel that was obtain'd over the Turk, were mortal enemies, but that they agreed out of reſpect to the common intereſt, and after the Battel became perfect friends. Would to God the Mareſchal would have left the animoſity he had againſt me at *Tholouze* to have come and claw'd away *Montgommery*, he had acquir'd honour, and the Country a ſingular advantage by it, whereas his peeviſhneſs ruin'd all. I thought I had been the moſt cholerick fellow in the world, but he has made it appear that he is more paſſionate than I. Nevertheleſs had he been pleaſed to come, I would have ſerv'd him as freely as the meaneſt Gentleman in the Army.

* Who loſes his ſubſtance loſes his underſtanding.

Having underſtood his reſolution I ſent twice to Monſieur *de Fontenilles* to bring his Company, and come put himſelf into the Town with me; but he could very hardly obtein leave to come, though he came at laſt. I had the four Companies my Nephew *de Leberon* had brought me from *Libourn*, three at *Port St. Marie*, and another at *Aguillon*, which immediately upon the departure of Monſieur *de Montferran* by my order came in thither: and before Monſieur *de Fontenilles* arriv'd at *Agen*, a Gentleman called Monſieur *de Montazet*, came to entreat me to call away the Company that was at *Aguillon*, and that he would undertake to defend the Town with the Inhabitants only. A promiſe that although I knew he was not able to make good, and that he only did it to ſpare the proviſions of the Town. I nevertheleſs granted his requeſt, fearing he would write to Monſieur le Marquis *de Villars*, that I had made him to conſume the fruits of his Eſtate, and ſent the Company to *Ville-neufve*. Wherein I committed a very great error, for this place had kept the Rivers of *Lot* and *Garonne*; but theſe bawling fellows, who will ſpare their Maſters Houſes and Eſtates, to appear good Stewards, oftentimes loſe very conſiderable places. Therefore you, who have the honour to command, ſtop your ears againſt all complaints in ſuch caſes, and ſo preſſing neceſſities. I had done a great deal better, if upon this occaſion I had practis'd the Leſſon that I now teach you.

Now you muſt know I drave on an Enterprize with Monſieur *de Leberon*, to go give a Scalado to the Captains *Manciet* and *Chaſſaudy*, two errant Rogues who lay at *Monheurt*. The ſaid Sieur *de Leberon* was with eight or ten Harquebuzeers only at *Aguillon*, that he might the better conceal his deſign. *Viard*, Muſter-Maſter to the Mareſchals Camp, came at this time to *Agen*, who was going to Court from the Mareſchal, and though I knew very well that the ſaid Mareſchal was very much out with me, yet did I not forbear to favour and pay all reſpect to all that came from him, being it was for his Majeſties ſervice. I therefore writ to Monſieur *de Leberon*, that he ſhould ſend a Convoy with him till he was paſt *Tonneins*, whom he found at *Aguillon*, in order to the Enterprize they were the next day at night to put into execution; for I was ſending him five or ſix Boats full of Soldiers from *Agen*, and the three Companies that were at the Port were alſo to joyn in the buſineſs. But, as the fortune of war is ſometimes very odd and extravagant, ſhe well appear'd to be ſo, the day that the Muſter-Maſter *Viard* paſſed that way; for the ſaid Sieur *de Leberon* giving him a certain numberof Harquebuzeers for his Convoy, and making account that in three hours time they would be back again; whilſt he waited in expecta-

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tation of their return there arrived Meſſieurs *de la Caze*, *de la Loüe*, *de Guytinieres*, *de Moneins*, and other Captains, with 7 or 8 Cornets of Horſe, who were come from *Lauſerthe*, which is nine long leagues, and had not baited above an hour at *Haute-faye*; to be ſhort they had made a Cavalcade with the diligence of old Soldiers, and environ'd *Aguillon*. Monſieur *de Leberon* ſeeing himſelf thus trapt alone with but very few Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of the Town, was in a little perplexity what to do in his defence, when Monſieur *de Montazet* preſently came and told him, that he was not able to defend the Town, and that he would not put it to the hazard of being ruin'd and ſackt; and accordingly without any more ado made ſome conditions, which was well for the ſaid *Leberon*, for he fell into the hands of theſe four, who were all of them my very good friends, by reaſon that in former times I had done ſomething for them. I was the firſt Captain that ever ſhewed Captain *Moneins* any ſervice, and made him a Soldier; and the reſt were every one willing to acknowledge the ſeveral obligations they had to me; and ſo let him go. Theſe are Civilities amongſt Soldiers: but my ſaid Nephew play'd there the part of a Novice, not to reſerve to himſelf men enow for a time of need: he thought the Enemy was too far off to trouble him. Captains, my Companions, this was a ridiculous ſecurity of his, he ought to have conſider'd the importance of the place, ſituated upon two Rivers, and that the Enemy could not but covet ſo ſweet a morſel, the vicinity of *Cleirac* and *Toneins* conſider'd. But I play'd the fool as well as he, in drawing out the Garriſon, for fear of offending the Marquis. *Aguillon* taken.

So ſoon as ever I heard of his being taken, I drew my three Companies that were at the Port into *Agen*. Two dayes after the Princes Army came and encampt themſelves, their quarters extending from *Aguillon*, as far as within half a league of *Ville-neufue*, and up to the great Road, which leads to the ſaid *Ville-neufue*, all along the valleys which are in that place, where there are very good Villages. Now, as I have already ſaid, I had divided the City into eight parts, and over every diviſion had ſet two good Chiefs of the Town. It was a delightful thing to ſee the men and women all work, who came to it conſtantly by break of day, and never gave over till the night took them off: they were never longer than an hour at dinner, and all the head Burgers of the City were eternally ſolliciting them to ply their labour, from which no one was exempt, not even the Religious women. One night a man came to tell me, that a Troop of Reiters were come up within a quarter of a League of us, to a Village cloſe by *Moubran*, which is a Caſtle belonging to the Biſhop of *Agen*. In the morning therefore I mounted to horſe with my Company, and went cloſe up to the Village, where, becauſe two Country fellows told me, that three other Cornets of Reiters were quarter'd very near unto the firſt, I made the Argoulets that came out with me ſtay behind, aſſuring my ſelf that the Reiters would relieve their fellows, being ſo near, and that conſequently we ſhould be put to retreat in haſte, where I ſhould be in danger of loſing the ſaid Argoulets, by reaſon they were not very well mounted, and beſide there was dirt up to the Horſe Cambrils. Nevertheles ſome of the beſt mounted of them went along with Monſieur *de Madaillan*, whom I commanded to charge deſperately quite through the Bourg. He did ſo, and ſome few were kill'd in the Streets as they paſſed, whereupon the Reiters put themſelves into two or three houſes where their Officers were quarter'd. The other three Cornets who were quarter'd cloſe by, upon the Alarm were immediately on horſe back, ſo that all we could do was to carry away ſix and thirty of their horſes, and I believe had I ſuffer'd all the Argoulets to go they had not left them one: but Monſieur *de Madaillan*, ſeeing the three Cornets coming upon the Gallop to relieve their Companions, retreated to me; but they did not much purſue him, and ſo we retir'd into the Town.

Now *Viard* was ſoon back from Court, for he had both the Kings Paſs and the Princes, and went to find out the Mareſchal. The next morning after we had taken the Horſes Monſieur *de Fontenilles* arriv'd, by which means I had two Companies of Gens d'armes in the City, and three of Foot. I had from my firſt coming placed Monſieur *de Laugnac* at *Peymirol* with two Foot Companies, which were thoſe of the Garriſon of *Port. St. Marie* and *Malves*, who made very brave skirmiſhes, and though Monſieur *de Laugnac* was then ſick of the diſeaſe that ſo long has held him, he nevertheleſs kept the Soldiers night and day abroad, and was evermore making ſome attempt upon the Enemy. Our Horſe went out very often, but they ſtill found the Reiters ſo barricado'd and bolted up in the Villages, that nothing was to be got of them but blows, and they were alwayes mounted in a trice. In truth thoſe people encamp themſelves like true men of war, it is very hard to ſurprize them: they are more careful than we, eſpecially of their horſes and arms, and are beſides more terrible in war, for a man can ſee nothing but fire and ſteel; and not a Groom in their Troops but accouters and trains himſelf up to the fight, and ſo in time become

Monſieur *de Laugnac* at *Peymirol*.

Commendation of the Reiters.

become good Soldiers. I could not relieve our Cavalry with foot, by reaſon of the intolerable foulneſs of the wayes, and alſo fearing a miſchance, having ſo few men as I had in the City; which ſhould any ſiniſter accident have fall'n out, might have ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Town, as might have drawn after it the loſs of the place. I was only on the defenſive part, and yet I kept them in awe, giving them to underſtand that I did not much fear them. The Princes and the Admiral lay five weeks or more where I have ſaid, and Monſieur *de Montgommery* three or above at *Condom*, his quarters extending as far as *la Plume des Bruilles*. We did nothing on either ſide, foraſmuch as I had no men to attempt any thing withall, and they lay quiet, eating and drinking their fill, and making good cheer; for they had ſo ſuffer'd ever ſince the defeat of *Moncontour*, as nothing could poſſibly be more; ſo that I think they had more mind to reſt than to meddle with me. As for my part I night and day intended my Fortification. Being upon theſe terms, and in this poſture on both ſides, one night arriv'd Monſieur *de la Valette*, who came from the Monſieurs Camp, and by fortune happen'd to be at *Ville-neufue*, at the time when the Princes ſent a Trumpet to Monſieur *de Caſſaneuil* to ſummon the Town. The ſaid Sieur *de la Valette* himſelf order'd the anſwer, which was, *That the Town was the King's, and none of theirs; that therefore if either Trumpet or Drum ſhould again come on ſuch an errand they would kill him, and that there were too many men of honour in the Town to deliver it up.* The ſaid Sieur *de la Valette* hazarded himſelf in the night to paſs the Enemies Camp in exceeding great danger, and came to me about nine of the clock. He found me in bed; for I was very much reliev'd by Meſſieurs *de Fontenilles*, *de Madaillan*, *de Leberon*, and the other Captains, by which means I ſlept at my eaſe; all things in the mean time going on in marvailous good order, as well by night as by day. Old age muſt be excus'd. The ſaid Sieur *de la Valette* told me that I muſt preſently ſend away a Chief to command over all thoſe who were in *Ville-neufue*, or that otherwiſe the Town was about to be loſt; yet would by no means tell me the reaſon, but only that I muſt make haſte immediately to ſend away a Chief, alwayes telling me, that if I was not ſudden I ſhould be the firſt would repent it, for that it was a place of importance, and a neat Town of War. But he ſaid enough to make me get out of bed, for I would not ſlight the advice of ſo good a head-piece as his; and therefore inſtantly diſpatch't away two men to the Chevalier my Son at *Lectoure*, *that immediately upon the reading my letter he ſhould mount to horſe, and come away to me to* Agen; *thence to put himſelf into* Ville-neufue, *and that by the haſte he ſhould make I ſhould know if he were my Son.* I writ alſo to the Chevalier *de Romegas*, entreating him to perform alone what they two had joyntly undertaken before. It was day before the two Meſſengers got to *Lectoure*, whereupon the Chevalier my Son immediately took leave of all the Gentlemen that were there, and about three in the afternoon come to *Agen*. Four or five dayes before this Monſieur *de Montgommery* with all his Camp, both Horſe and Foot came to give a Camiſado to Captain *Codreils*, Lieutenant to my Son Captain *Fabian*'s Troop of Light-horſe, which I had put into *Moyrax*, with five and twenty Launces, and five and twenty Harquebuzeers. Now *Moyrax* is a little Village encloſed with walls, the higheſt part whereof might be mounted with a Ladder of twelve ſtaves, and without Flankers; where he arriv'd an hour before day. Of this deſign news was brought me to *Agen*, at a time when I had newly taken a Gliſter, which I had yet in my belly; whereupon without any more ado I put on my arms, mounted to horſe, and went to paſs the River. The Gentlemen of my two Companies paſt after one another as faſt as they could. Monſieur *de Fontenilles* came not till the next day, and thoſe that came in the night follow'd after ſuch a manner, that I found my ſelf with no more but four horſe only on the other ſide of the River towards *Gaſcony*, where *Moyrax* is ſituated, and near unto *Eſtillac*, which is mine. With theſe four horſes I galloped full-drive directly to *Moyrax*, it being a League betwixt that and the River: ſo that in truth had Monſieur *de Montgommery* ſent out ten or twelve horſe only upon the Road from *Agen*, to *Moyrax*, I had certainly been kill'd or taken: but a man muſt ſometimes play the Soldier, and tempt fortune. Your Enemy knows not what you do. And thus I arriv'd at *Moyrax*, where I found that the ſaid *Montgommery* was departed about half an hour before, and had left his ladders at the foot of the wall; where, though they had ſtayd two long hours, they never had the courage to ſet them up, which made me, though I had before no great opinion of their Foot, to think much worſe of them now; and ſo I return'd back to *Agen*; where at my return the Phyſicians were fain to give me another Gliſter to bring away the firſt, which by the pains I had taken was hindred from working, and made me ſo ill, that I two dayes kept my bed. So ſoon as the Chevalier my Son was come, I preſently ſent for Captain *Codreils*, ſending five and twenty Harquebuzeers in his room, to the end that he might go with my ſaid Son to *Ville-neufue*. At this time Monſieur *de St. Giron*, brother

The Princes ſummon *Ville-neufue.*

Ville-neufue.

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to Monſieur *de la Guiche*, Colonel of two and twenty Enſigns under the Mareſchal *d'Anguien*, had cauſed himſelf to be brought ſick to *Agen*, having been wounded at the Aſſault of *Mazeres*, either in a leg or in a thigh; and would retire himſelf to his own houſe for his cure. At one of the clock in the night I put out my Son, his Camrades, and two Guides, bidding them be ſure to be the next morning by break of day at *Ville-neufue*. Every one was exceeding glad of his coming, and I believe their diſpute was that they would not obey one another. I would have ſent my young Son Captain *Fabian* thither, but that we gave him over for a dead man, after his return from the Camp; and at this time had no manner of hope of his recovery. The Chevalier *de Montluc* at *Ville-neufue*.

Now I had hourly intelligence, that the Admiral was making a Bridg of Boats at Port *St. Marie*, and to that end had gather'd together all the Boats upon the *Lot*, and the *Garonne*, as far as *Marmanda*. I had alſo hourly intelligence that the Enemy had ſent for great Artillery into *Bearn*. All which made me haſten the Trenches and Fortifications I was making at *Agen*, believing, as there was very good reaſon, that all this preparation was intended againſt me; for *Agen* was no ſmall prize, as well for the Riches, as in reſpect to the defeating of ſo many men of condition, who had ſhut themſelves up in it for my ſake. I then call'd a Council in my Lodging, and in a little Cabinet there, where we were no more but eight or nine perſons to conſult, and contrive which way we might break this Bridg. Now there was a Free Maſon of *Tholouze* in the Town, who had made the Marquis *de Villars* ſome Mills at *Aguillon*, and this fellow upon ſome diſcourſe with ſome one or another had ſaid, that if we turn'd one of thoſe Water-mills, which lay anchored before the Town afloat, it would break the Bridg: for the River of *Garonne* was great, and very much out, and every day ſtill riſing, becauſe it almoſt continually rain'd. There was not any one man of his opinion, that a Mill could break the Bridg, foraſmuch as we had been aſſur'd, that the Admiral had cauſed Cables as thick as a mans leg to be made at *Thoneins*, and others of the like ſize to be brought from *Montauban* alſo, together with very great Chains; which was very true, for beſides the great Cables, the Bridg was lock't faſt together with great and ponderous Chains. To make ſhort of my ſtory, not one of us was of the Maſons opinion but Captain *Thodeas* our Engineer only, who ſaid, that in caſe the Mill was loaded with great ſtones he thought it might do the buſineſs; but not without being loaden; and ſo we concluded nothing. Two dayes after I had word ſent me from *Tholouze*, that the Mareſchal *d'Anville* was equipping three Boats, which were to be conducted by Captain *St. Projet*, mann'd with threeſcore men, which in eight dayes would be ready, and that the ſaid *St. Projet* within that time was to bring them down by night to break the Bridg. Concerning our deſign we had debated, that we could not load this Mill, but that the Admiral would have intelligence of it by thoſe of the Religion who liv'd in *Agen* under the protection of that accurſed Edict, (for ſo I may, and ever ſhall term it) ſo that (I know not how) we remain'd diſtracted in our deſign, without hope of any other remedy, but only in bravely defending our ſelves. A Bridge of Boats made by the Admiral.

In the mean time Muſter-Maſter *Viard* came again to *Agen*, being ſent a ſecond time from the Mareſchal to the King, and bringing along with him a Trumpet of the ſaid Mareſcal's, arriv'd on Wedneſday betwixt nine and ten a clock in the morning: where he acquainted me in private with the Mareſchal's Enterprize to break the Bridg: but that he was afraid the Admiral had intelligence of his deſign: for which reaſon he had brought one of the Mareſchals Trumpets to go with him as far as *Port St. Marie*, where if he ſhould, when he came thither, find that the Enemy had any inkling of it, he would ſend back the Trumpet to let me know ſo much, that I might ſtop the ſaid *St. Projet* from going any further; to which end, and that he might not ſlip by, I was to keep continual watch upon the River day and night. And ſo he took his leave of me, and arriv'd about two in the afternoon at *Port St. Marie*, where he ſaw three Corners of Reiters paſs over the Bridg, to come quarter on that ſide of the River towards *Gaſcony*. The Trumpet had very good leiſure to view the Bridg, and to obſerve how ſtrongly it was faſtned; to be ſure thoſe of *Clairac* and *Thoneins* had ſpar'd for no coſt nor labour, thoſe good people thinking nothing too dear that was laid out to annoy and miſchief their Neighbours, and againſt the King. About nine at night the Trumpet return'd, by whom *Viard* ſent me word, that I ſhould have a care *St. Projet* proceeded no further to execute his deſign; for the Enemy had notice of it, and had planted ſeven or eight ſmall pieces of Artillery at that end of the Bridg towards *Gaſcony*, and that the other end was guarded by a thouſand or twelve hundred Harquebuzeers: In ſhort, that I muſt by no means ſuffer him to go, for not a man of thoſe that went could poſſibly eſcape. So ſoon as the Trumpet had deliver'd his Meſſage he retir'd to his Lodging, and I, without making any more noiſe, ſent privately for three perſons of the Town to whom I had already diſcover'd my intention, The Mareſchal *d'Anville*'s deſign to break the Bridg.

which was to ſet adrift the Mill belonging to Preſident *Sevin*, by reaſon the ſaid Preſident had abandoned the Town. I will not here name the three men, becauſe the Preſident would ſue them, and the Commiſſioners, who are now in thoſe parts, would eaſily give him what damages he would deſire, as they do others againſt the Catholicks. After, having a while conferred together, we concluded that they ſhould ſend out ſix Soldiers who were Mariners, who ſhould go, and under colour of watching upon the Bank of the River, that Captain *St. Projet* did not paſs by, unlooſe the Mill. Thus then they all three departed from me, and were not ſlow in ſending out the Soldiers, neither were they idle to unlooſe the Mill; one whereof was drown'd in looſing the Chain, falling from the little Boat, as the ſtake broke to which the Chain was faſtned. This might be about eleaven of the clock at night, and I have been told ſince by ſome of the Enemy, the Mill came to the Bridge about one. Now the Enemy had placed Centinels more than half a league up the River, that they might give them the Alarm when Captain *St. Projet* ſhould paſs by, who no ſooner heard the noiſe of the Mill, but that they immediately gave the Alarm, and the Mill immediately after arriv'd at the Port. Every one upon the Alarm ran to the two ends of the Bridge, and began to let fly great volleys of Harpuebuze ſhot at the poor Mill, that ſaid not a word, but gave ſuch a ſhock that it carried away all the Bridg, Cables, Chains, and Boats, in ſuch ſort, that there was onely one remaining that was chain'd to the Wall of the Prince of *Navarre*'s Lodgings. Two of the Boats went down as far as *St. Macaire*, and I have been told, that there were ſome carried down as far as *Bourdeaux*. This brave Mill of the Preſidents ſtopt not here, but went ſtill on to break another *Hugonot* Mill below *Thoneins*, and at the laſt ſtay'd at the Iſles about *Marmanda*. The firſt who brought us any news of the Bridg being broken, were certain poor people who had been to buy ſalt at the end of the ſaid Bridg of the Hugonot Soldiers, who had taken ſeven or eight Boats laden with it; and the Enemy had kill'd ſeveral of thoſe poor people, accuſing them for the cauſe that the Bridg was broken. Some of their Soldiers who had leapt upon the Bridg upon the Alarm were carried away by the Current; but it was not till betwixt ſpring of day, and ſun-riſe, that the Guards ſent me word there were ſeven or eight of the people arriv'd, who were wont to carry Salt, and ſaid that the Bridg was broken. I then preſently went out to talk with thoſe people who had been at the Bridg with thoſe the Enemy had kill'd, and eſcap'd thorough the fields under favour of the night, who told me the whole ſtory, as alſo did others who came fromwards the Port, and ſtill one or other was coming in who confirmed the news. I then ſent out ten or a dozen Light-horſe on that ſide towards *Gaſcony*, who went as far as under *Savignac*, where they took two priſoners, who gave me yet a more perfect account than thoſe poor people had done. In the mean time I preſently cauſed a little Boat with eight Oars to be made ready, and gave the Maſter of her 25 Crowns to go carry the news to *Bordeaux*: by whom I writ a Letter to Meſſieurs *de Lanſac*, the Baron *de la Garde*, and the Biſhop of *Valence* my Brother, wherein I gave them a Narrative how all things had paſſed, entreating them to communicate it to the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats, that they might all ſhare in the good news. And good news it was; for this very much brake the Enemies deſigns, whom we might ſhrewdly have incommodated, taking them thus ſeparated as they were by the breaking of this Bridg, would the Mareſchal have been pleaſed to have laid his anger aſide. The ſaid Mareſchal's Trumpet before he went away was witneſs to the joy the whole Town was in for this ſucceſs, and ſo departed in all diligence to carry the news to his Maſter. This was executed upon Wedneſday about midnight, and upon Thurſday in the beginning of the night the Mariners ſet out from *Agen*, who when they come to *Port St. Marie*, near unto the place where the Bridg had been, they let the Boat glide down at the diſcretion of the Current, themſelves being all ſquat down in the Boat. The Enemy began to call out, but no body anſwered, which made them think it was ſome Boat that had accidentally broken looſe, and was adrift; but they were no ſooner got paſt them a Crosbow ſhot, when they all ſtart up and fell a rowing, and then began to rate and call them after their eloquent manner, plying their Oars ſo well, that they were the next morning, which was Friday, by ſun-riſe at *Bordeaux*, where the joy was was ſuch, that I think never Mariners that came from new-found-lands brought news that invited ſo great a Crowd. And yet it ſeem'd ſo incredible a thing, that almoſt all the Gentlemen doubted the intelligence, and every one ran to Monſieur *de Lanſac*'s Lodgings, and to thoſe of the Baron *de la Garde*, and Monſieur *de Valence*, to be ſatisfied of the truth, Monſieur *de Valence* immediately diſpatched away his Secretary called *Chauny* to their Majeſties to carry the news, which was quite contrary to what Commiſſary *Viard* had brought them. The ſaid *Viard*, as I was told, arriv'd in the morning, and very much troubled their Majeſties, and the Monſieur, at the account of the Bridges being brought

The Bridg broken.

to

to perfection, with the deſcription of its ſtructure and ſtrength, being ſuch as great Artillery might paſs over at pleaſure, and the Horſe three a-breaſt, as it was true, and the man did not lye to them in a tittle; and his Majeſty had good reaſon to be concern'd, for the commodity of this Bridg would have given the Enemy leiſure to have taken all before them, and to have paſſed over their Canon at pleaſure. At night *Chauney* arriv'd, who brought news that the Bridg was broken; ſo that if the one brought vexation, the other brought joy, and for a few dayes I was the beſt man in the world, and a great Soldier: but that good opinion laſted not long, for the Enemies I had at Court diſguiſed all things to the King, who was at that time at *St. Jean*; ſo that in the end, let my deſerts be what they would, I neither did, nor had ever done any thing worth taking notice of, and the King believ'd it, or I think ſeem'd to believe ſo rather, to ſatisfie their humour. This is the ſtory of the breaking of the Bridg, and the whole and exact truth of it. The Importance of the Bridg.

I am now to tell you of what advantage the breaking of this Bridg was to us, and what the Admiral had determin'd in caſe the Bridg had ſtood. It was reſolv'd and concluded upon in their Council, that they would paſs over that part of Winter till harveſt in the Quarters where their Camp then lay, and would cauſe great Artillery to be brought from *Navarreins*, wherewith to take all the Towns upon the River *Garonne*, to the very Gates of *Bordeaux*, that they would attaque *Agen*, but that they would leave that work for the laſt, becauſe they would firſt take *Caſtle-geloux*, *Bazas*, and all the other places on this ſide the *Garonne*, as far as *Bordeaux*, by which means, and by the communication of this Bridg, both the one Country and the other, which are of the richeſt of *France*, would be wholly at their convenience and command. And all this they made account to have taken in leſs than fifteen dayes, as they would really have done, for they were abſolute Maſters of the field. They intended alſo to attaque *Libourne*, aſſuring themſelves that in all the Cities they ſhould find great ſtore of proviſions, by which means nothing could be convey'd into *Bourdeaux*, neither by the *Garonne*, nor much leſs from the *Landes*, making account that ſo the City of *Bordeaux* would in three moneths be reduc't to the laſt extremes. And for my part I do not think it would have held out ſo long; for already Corn was there at ten Livers the Sack, and by-ſea nothing could get in by reaſon of *Blaye*. The City is good, and rich, and a ſtrong Town of War, but ſituate in a barren Country; ſo that whoever ſhould deprive it of the *Garonne*, and the *Dordogne*, it would preſently be reduced to famine, the Inhabitants continually living from hand to mouth. The Admirals Deſign. The ſituation of *Bordeaux*.

They had moreover determin'd to bring their Ships up the River to *Blaye*, which they had in their hands, to keep the Gallies either from coming out, or going in. The Vicomtes alſo had promiſed the Admiral to cauſe threeſcore thouſand Sacks of Corn to be brought him upon the River *Garonne*, which they meane to take out of *Comenge* and *Loumaigne*, the moſt fertile Countries of all *Guienne*; and where the greateſt ſtore of grain is, there being no leſs than five hundred Merchants, and as many Gentlemen, who keep three or four years ſtore alwayes by them in expectation of a dear year, when their Corn may go off at greater rates; ſo that they might with great eaſe have kept their word with the Admiral; and by that means were certain to bring the King to their own bow, and to make ſuch conditions as themſelves ſhould think fit: and had they once got *Bourdeaux* into their clutches, I know not but that they might have kept it as well as *Rochelle*; at leaſt having *Rochelle* and *Bordeaux* both in their poſſeſſion, they might have boaſted that they had the beſt and ſtrongeſt Angle of the Kingdom, both by Land and Sea, commanding five navigable Rivers, comprizing the *Charante*. And they had once ſettled betwixt the Rivers of *Ile*, *Dordogne*, *Lot*, and *Garonne*, the King muſt have had four Armies at leaſt to have compell'd them to fight; and I will be bold to ſay, they had the beſt Country, and two of the beſt and moſt capacious Havens of the Kingdom, which are thoſe of *Brouage* and *Bordeaux*. A Country rich in Corn.

I wonder any one ſhould be ſo indiſcreet, as to adviſe the King, that it would be his beſt way to coop up the *Hugonots* in *Guienne*. 'Tis a dangerous piece to be depriv'd of, and ſhould the King once loſe it, it would be a great while in recovering. But theſe good Counſellors do it for their own ends, and to remove the War far enough from their own doors; and yet we ſhall ſell it them very dear before they have it. In truth the King ought to make more reckoning of this Province, to hinder the Enemy from getting footing there, and not ſo to abandon the Country, ſuffering others to make merry at our miſerie, to that degree, as to ask, *If we yet have beds to lie in*. I cannot believe this word could come out of the Queens mouth, for ſhe has ever had, and yet has a great many very good ſervants there; and thoſe Meſſieurs of *France*, that jeer at our misfortunes, may have their ſhare in time, *The evil is not alwayes at one door*. Now this was the reſult of the Enemies Council; and it was very well deſign'd. My Brother Monſieur *de Valence* will bear The Importance of *Guienne*.

witneſs, that a certain perſon who was aſſiſting at their Councils (when he thought fit) gave us an account of the aforeſaid deliberation, which was great; and I believe, that had they taken a reſolution to drive out all the Catholicks, and to have call'd in all the Hugonots out of *France* into this Province, which was ſo much deſpis'd when they had once made it their own, they would have had poſſeſſions enow to have enricht them all; and moreover all the Gentry of thoſe parts would have been conſtrain'd to turn Hugonots, and to take up arms for them; by which means the King would afterwards have had much a-do to reduce, and more to reclaim them: for to have made them turn again to our Religion, would have been no eaſie task; foraſmuch as after a man is once accuſtomed to a thing, be it good, or bad, he is very unwilling to leave it: but God would not ſuffer ſo great a miſchief, both for the King and us, who are his Catholick Subjects.

The importance of breaking the Bridg.

This was the advantage that accru'd by the breaking of the Bridg, in the judgment of all both Friends and Enemies: and I will be bold to ſay, that of all the ſervices I ever did for *Guienne* this was the moſt remarkable exploit, which proceeded from no other thing, but my reſolution to go put my ſelf into *Agen*; for otherwiſe the Town had been quitted, and the Admiral had come directly thither, and not to *Port St. Marie*; nor to *Aguillon* as he was conſtrain'd to do. For a conſultation being held at *Lauſerte*, it was there concluded, that at their departure from thence, they ſhould go to quarter at *Caſtel-Sagrat*, *Montjoy*, *St. Maurin*, and *Feruſſac*, and the next day at *Agen*, making full account they ſhould meet with no reſiſtance. Which had it ſo fall'n out, the Admiral would have had elbow-room enough; and betwixt two great Rivers, not only have refreſht his Army at great eaſe, and in great ſecurity; but moreover have made the whole Country ſure to him. I know very well that it was told the Admiral by two or three perſons in his Army, that in caſe it was true that I was in *Agen*, they could never get me out but by bits, and that in my life I had committed greater follies than that. And there were who ſaid that they had ſeen me engage my ſelf in three or four places, the ſtrongeſt of which was not half ſo tenable as *Agen*, and had ſtill come off with honour. Theſe who ſaid this, might well affirm it with truth, as having been with me in thoſe places. But the Admiral ſtill maintain'd, that he was confident I had not put my ſelf into *Agen* with any intention to ſtay there, but that my determination was, ſo ſoon as I ſhould hear of his coming to paſs the *Garonne*, and go put my ſelf into *Lectoure*, ſaying, *he is too old a beaten Soldier to engage himſelf in ſo ill a place.* The others ſtill affirm'd that they would pawn their lives I would not budg from thence; which made the Admiral in the end to adhere to their opinion, and to alter his courſe directly to *Aguillon*, extending his Quarters as far as *Port. St. Marie*, where if they ſhould ſee, that upon their approach I abandoned the Town, and retreated towards *Lectoure*, as they believ'd I would, they would then advance to *Agen*. He found in the end that they who maintain'd I would not ſtir from thence were better acquainted with my temper, than either he or they, who told him I would retire to *Lectoure*; and being it was caſt in my diſh, that for three years I had done nothing to purpoſe, let every one judg by what I perform'd in theſe three years, without money, or either Horſe or Foot; had I been ſupply'd with money onely to pay the Soldier, or had the King reliev'd me with the Foot, and Gens-d'armes I deſir'd, whether or no I had not done my work. I think I ſhould have kept the Admiral from watering his horſes at the *Garonne*, , and his Reiters from drinking our *Bordeaux* wine: for the Count *de Montgommery* would never have had leiſure to have call'd them in; and I think I ſhould have dealt pretty well with him.

The Admiral's opinion.

The Bridg being broken the Admiral was four or five dayes in ſuſpence, not knowing which way to turn him, nor what courſe to take: for beſides the Count *de Montgommery*'s Camp, he had moreover the Cornets of Reiters engag'd on that ſide the River towards *Gaſcony*, which were thoſe that had paſſed the River, and were quartered at *Labardac*, and which he could not imagine which way to draw off from thence, by reaſon the *Rivolet* that runs by *Paravis*, a Monaſtery of Religious women, was ſwell'd ſo high, that not a man either on foot or horſeback durſt attempt to paſs it; and the Count *de Montgommery* was yet at *Condom*, and about *Nerac*, and *Bruch*. The Admiral then cauſed a little Bridg upon two Boats to be made, upon which five or ſix horſes could only paſs at one time, the Boats being to be hal'd by a rope after the Italian manner. So ſoon therefore as the water of the Rivolet began to abate, the Reiters began to paſs over a ſtone Bridg there is in that place, and drew near to the paſſage of the Port, where they began to ferry over upon this Bridg of Boats by ſix and ſix, or ſeven and ſeven at a time at moſt. Which they found ſo troubleſome, that with all the diligence the Paſſengers could uſe, the Boat was alwaies an hour and an half in going to and again, with which great pains and difficulty theſe three Cornets paſſed, and were two dayes in paſſing over. The Count *de Candalle*, and Monſieur

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de la Valette lay at this time with eight or ten Cornets of Horſe at *Staffort*, to the firſt of which, ſo ſoon as the Count *de Montgommery* began to move from *Condom*, to draw near the River, I writ a Letter, *That if his reſolution was to fight* Montgommery *at the Paſs, I, with my two Companies of Gens-d'armes, and five hundred Harquebuzeers, would not fail to be at the fight, not to command, but to obey him as much as the meaneſt Soldier there.* He return'd me many thanks, ſending me anſwer back, *That if it came to that, both he, and all under his Command would obey me:* but nevertheleſs ſaid nothing of my coming to joyn with them: I underſtood well enough however by the Letter, that they would have been all glad to have had me with them: but *la Croiſette* who was there, play'd the *Dominus fac totum*, and govern'd all. I therefore ſent again to tell them, *That in caſe they had no mind to have me come in perſon, I would however, if they pleaſed, ſend over the two Companies, and the five hundred Harquebuzeeers to joyn with them.* By which any one muſt diſcern, that I had not left the Mareſchal becauſe I would not obey him, ſince I offer'd to obey the Count, and Monſieur *de la Valette*, and even Captain *Croiſette* himſelf, who was in the greateſt authority amongſt them.

I ſhall not here take upon me to give an account of what they did upon this occaſion, by reaſon I was not there, neither have I much enquir'd into it, ſaving that I was told they charg'd ſome they met with at their marching out of *Bruch*, and beat them in again, and I have ſince heard that the Count *de Montgommery* was himſelf then in the Town. How true it was I am not able to ſay, but I believe they did all that lay in their power to do; for they are ſufficiently known, and reputed all for very brave Gentlemen. The Count *de Montgommery* paſſed over firſt his Horſe, and then his Foot, one after the other. I ſent threeſcore Light-horſe pickt out of my own Company, and that of Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, over the River, with three hundred Harquebuzeers, to make good their retreat, who marcht up to a little Village near unto the Ferry call'd *la Rozie*, where they kill'd fifteen or ſixteen men, and took twelve or thirteen Horſes, giving them ſo hot an Alarm, that I was ſince told, had our Horſe puſht on to the Paſs it ſelf, they had cauſed three or four hundred to be drown'd, for five or ſix drown'd themſelves upon this Alarm for haſte. And on the Admiral's ſide he could no way relieve them, for they could not repaſs above ſix or ſeven horſe at a time upon the Bridg of Boats, which made them five or ſix dayes in ferrying over. This was the plunge and quandary the Admiral was in, to draw off the Count *de Montgommery*, and three Cornets of Reiters.

Monſieur *de la Chappelle* Vice-Seneſchal, and Monſieur *de Bouzet* had ſent me word, that if I would grant a Paſs to a certain Hugonot, to whom at their entreaty I had given aſſurance to live quietly in his own houſe, he offer'd to go to *Port St. Marie*, and enquire out, and diſcover what way the Admiral intended to take, after the Count *de Montgommery* ſhould be paſſed over the River, or whether or no he had any thoughts of making another Bridg; which Paſs I accordingly ſent, and the ſame day that the Count made an end of ferrying over, this man return'd back to their houſe, telling and aſſuring them, that at the Enemies departure from *Port St. Marie*, which would be within two or three dayes after the Army ſhould be got over the River, they would march towards *Tholouze*, and go to paſs at *Montauban*, with a reſolution to burn all the houſes within four leagues round of *Tholouze*, and eſpecially thoſe of the Preſidents and Councellors; and moreover told them that he had learnt from a Captain of Horſe, they had particulary given to the ſaid Captain of Horſe in charge near unto *Tholouze* call'd *l'Epine*, to burn it. To which the forenamed perſon making anſwer, that it was one of the moſt beautiful pikes in all that Country, the Captain reply'd, *That if the Maſter of that Houſe had no other he would be houſeleſs.* The ſaid Sieur *de Bouzet* himſelf told me all that this perſon had ſaid to them; of which I immediately advertiz'd the premier Preſident, for to have acquainted the Mareſchal with it had been to no purpoſe, and I was very certain he would have given no credit to any information of mine, which made me rather chooſe to advertiſe the Preſident, ſending him word that he ought to call in Monſieur *de la Valette*, who was already return'd towards *Tholouze*, and Meſſieurs *de Negrepelice* and *de Saridaous*; and that they could not have too many good men in the City; for the Enemy talkt ſtrange things, which nevertheleſs I would not repeat, by reaſon it was but the diſcourſe of the Rabble of their Camp, to which no credit was to be given.

The Admiral's deſign againſt the *Tholouzians*.

Theſe were the contents of my Letter, I am confident the Preſident has not loſt it, and thus all the Enemies Forces departed from *Port St. Marie*, and paſſed by in the ſight of the Caſtle of *Bajaumont*, in which was Monſieur *de Durfort*, Brother to the Sieur *de Bajaumont* that now is. I ſallied out with my two Companies of Gens-d'armes, and ſaw them all march by within leſs than a Harquebuze-ſhot of me, I having no more than eight or ten Horſe in my Party, for I had left the Cavalry a little behind, but could not place them

The Retreat of the Army of the Princes.

them ſo covertly, but that the Enemy ſaw them very plain; yet not ſo much as a man came out to diſcover what we were, but held on their march, and went to quarter that night about *Pont de Caſſe*, and drawing towards *St. Maurin*, quarter'd themſelves about the ſaid *St. Maurin*, and the adjacent Villages, where they ſtay'd two or three dayes. Now being the ſaid Sieur *de Durfort* had ſeen all their Army, both Horſe and Foot paſs by, and had had leiſure at his eaſe to number them upon their march, I entreated him to take Poſt, and to go acquaint his Majeſty with the number of their Camp, who amongſt other things told me he had diſcover'd a Troop of five or ſix hundred Horſe, who paſſed by at a little further diſtance than the reſt; the moſt of which had no Boots, and could therefore be no other than Grooms and Footmen they had mounted only to make a ſhew. I did nothing that I did not firſt communicate to the Biſhop of *Agen*, in whom I did at that time confide as much, or more, than in my own Brother, eſteeming him for one of the beſt friends, and a man of as much integrity and virtue, as any Prelate in *France*. He is deſcended from the Houſe of *Fregoſa* of *Genoa*. I gave inſtructions to the ſaid Sieur *de Durfort*, and a Letter of Credence, which conſiſted of theſe heads, *That I had ſent to his Majeſty the Sieur* de Durfort, *who had had the conveniency exactly to number the Army of the Princes, to deliver a perfect account of all that he had numbred and ſeen.* After which I acquainted his Majeſty with the courſe they ſteer'd, and the reſolution they went withal, to burn all before them; of which I had alſo given notice to the priemier Preſident of *Tholouze*, to acquaint therewith all thoſe who had Houſes near unto the City, that they might withdraw their goods, and that they would do well to call in Monſieur *de Negrepelice*, if he was not already there, together with Meſſieurs *de la Valette*, and *de la Sarlabous*. In another clauſe of my Letter to the King I ſent word, that the perſon (I do not here name) of the Religion, who had been in the Enemies Camp, had brought news to the Sieurs *de la Cheppelle* and *de Bouzet*, that the Captain of Horſe with whom he had conferr'd, had told him that they had deſigns upon *Montpellier*, and *Pont St. Eſprit*, which were ſure to take effect, telling his Majeſty that I was very well acquainted with the Governor of *Montpelier*, Monſieur *de Caſtetnau*, for whom I would be reſponſible with my life, but that I knew not him of *Pont St. Eſprit*: but that if his Majeſty would pleaſe to give a caution to the ſaid Governors to have an eye to thoſe places, it would be a means to awake their diligence, and to make them provide better for their ſafety and defence. I likewiſe gave his Majeſty to underſtand, that the Biſhop of *Agen*, who was lately come from an Abbey of his in *Languedoc*, near unto *Narbonne*, had told me that all the lower *Languedoc*, from *Montpelier* to *Avignon*, were in very great anxiety, having no one in thoſe parts to command them; and had ſent to the Mareſchal to entreat him to ſend them Monſieur *de Joyeuſe*; for provided they had a Chief to head them, they ſhould be enow to defend the Country; and that therefore, if his Majeſty thought fit, he might do well to ſend to the Mareſchal, to ſet Monſieur *de Joyeuſe* go into the lower *Languedoc*, he having enow other great Captains about him; for as much as the ſaid Sieur *de Joyeuſe* would be there better accepted than any other, as the ſaid Biſhop had aſſur'd me. I moreover acquainted his Majeſty in my ſaid Letter, that if he would pleaſe to command the Monſieur to march with the one half of his Army only, we ſhould be able to fight with greater Forces than thoſe of the Princes; and let his Majeſty look upon me as the baſeſt fellow that ever bore arms, in caſe the Monſieur would come but with the one half of his Army, provided he brought his Reiters along with him, if he did not defeat the Princes, and put an end to the War: that in caſe his Majeſty ſhould not think fit the Monſieur ſhould come, let him then command the Prince *Dolphin* to march with the Army towards the Country of *Rouvergue*, with whom I would joyn, and we would find means that the Mareſchal *d'Anville* ſhould alſo joyn with us, and that then about *Tholouze*, or which way ſoever they ſhould move, we would find an opportunity to fight them at our beſt advantage.

The Sieur *de Montluc* ſends the King intelligence.

Theſe were all the heads of my inſtructions; and to ſay the truth not a man of them had ever return'd into *France*, unleſs they had hid their heads in their ſtrong holds, and we had preſerv'd the Country. Had they once been broken, or ſeparated, they would have had much ado ever to have rally'd and piec'd again. This good Biſhop of *Agen* had told me, that he gave *Narbonne* for loſt, and that Monſieur *de Rieux* the Governor was a Hugonot, that he had driven one of the principal Catholicks, to whom all the reſt of the Catholicks ever addreſs'd themſelves out of the City; at which the Inhabitants were almoſt in deſpair, inſomuch that the Catholick Citizens had writ to the Mareſchal, to beſeech him to write to Monſieur *de Rieux* to permit him to return into the Town; which ſaid Sieur *de Rieux* had ſent back many excuſes, and that he could not do it; whereupon ſeeing the Mareſchal cold in their behalf, and that he did not enough intereſt himſelf in their concern, to cauſe the Gentleman to be readmitted, the Catholicks had apply'd themſelves

ſelves to the Parliament, that the Parliament had thereupon remonſtrated the Citizens grievance to the Mareſchal, who again at their inſtance had writ to the ſaid Sieur *de Rieux*; but ſtill to no effect, which had made the people to give themſelves abſolutely for loſt. I told all this to the Sieur *de Durfort*; not that I had included it in my inſtructions, and much leſs that I gave him in Commiſſion to tell it to the King, becauſe perhaps it might not be true, but telling him, that to be more certain, he would do well to ask the Biſhop of it, and if he would give him leave from him to tell it to the King. He therefore accordingly enquir'd of the Biſhop touching that affair, who thereupon told him the whole ſtory after the very ſame manner he had related it to me, and moreover told him, that he would himſelf write to the King, which he accordingly did; but the ſaid Sieur *de Durfort* refus'd to receive the Letter till firſt he had ſeen the Contents, which he therefore ſhew'd him, and then the ſaid Sieur took it, telling me that he had ſeen what the Biſhop had writ to the King, which was word for word as he had related it to me before. This was all that was compriz'd in my inſtructions; for as to any letter of Credence, the ſaid *Durfort* carry'd no other from me but onely what was contain'd in thoſe inſtructions, he telling me freely and plainly, that he would never carry other Letter of Credit, but only Inſtructions ſign'd and ſeal'd. And upon this foundation it was, that the Mareſchal *d'Anville* writ that defamatory Letter againſt me, and had I not been withheld by the reſpect to thoſe to whom he appertains, and the Rank he held in the Kingdom, I ſhould have tried to have taught him how he gave the Lye, without being firſt well enform'd of the truth. I might juſtly have given it him, foraſmuch as the teſtimony of the King himſelf, and the Inſtructions themſelves, would have manifeſted the truth: but it is ſufficient that the King and the Queen knew the contrary to what he had coucht in his Letter, and that my conſcience is abſolutely clear. We ſhall ſee hereafter whether he or I ſhall do our Maſter the beſt ſervice. He is indeed two advantages over me, he is a great Lord and young, and I am poor and old; I am nevertheleſs a Gentleman, and a Cavalier, who have never yet ſuffer'd an injury, nor ever will do whilſt I wear a ſword. I am willing to believe, that the forenamed Biſhop at that time knew nothing of the deſign complotted againſt me; but his wicked Brother came and ſtayd with him four or five days, and during that time wrought upon him to conſent to this virtuous Conſpiracy: of which I ſhall ſay no more, for God has begun to ſhew his miraculous arm in my revenge, and I have that confidence in him, that I hope he will not ſtay it there.

Monſieur *de Durfort* ſent to the King.

Now the Princes went the ſame way that I had advertiz'd the Preſident they intended to march, and executed the reſolution of burning all the way they went. I could wiſh from my heart that my intelligence had not proov'd true; for I have been aſſur'd by ſeveral of very good credit of *Tholouze*, that the Army of the Princes endammag'd them above a million of Livers. I ſhall not here undertake to give an account of what they did in *Languedoc*, for I do not pretend to meddle with other mens actions; neither how well the Mareſchal perform'd his duty; but ſhall return to a Letter ſent me by the King, that I muſt go forthwith into *Bearn*.

His Majeſty ſent me a command, that I ſhould gather together all the Forces I was able to make, and that with all poſſible expedition; which being done, that I muſt take Artillery from *Tholouze*, *Bayonne*, and *Bordeaux*, and elſewhere where it was to be had, and go to invade the Country of *Bearn*. He writ alſo to the Capitouls of *Tholouze*, to furniſh me with Artillery and Ammunition; but not a ſyllable of any money, either to pay the Soldier, or to defray the Equipage of the Canon; and God knows whether in ſuch Enterprizes any thing ought to be wanting. An Army reſembles a Clock, if the leaſt wheel or ſpring be wanting, all the reſt goes very falſe, or ſtands ſtill. I therefore ſent *Eſpalanques* a *Bearnois* to Court, with ample inſtructions of all that was wanting, and that would be neceſſary for me to have before I could begin to march. I was conſtrain'd to do this, by reaſon that the Letters his Majeſty had ſent me about this Expedition were ſo cold, that it ſeem'd he that contriv'd them, muſt either have no great mind to have me go thither, or at leaſt if I went, ſhould be able to do nothing to purpoſe, or that he was an abſolute *Ignoramus*. However I took no notice of any thing at all to his Majeſty, but onely deſir'd him to write an Expreſs, and a preſſing Letter, and Command to the Capitouls to lend me two pieces of Canon, and one great Culverine, with requiſite Ammunition, for which I would be reſponſible to them; for the Artillery and Ammunition are properly their own. They had already ſent me word, that they had no Artillery ready, and much leſs Ammunition, by reaſon that Monſieur *de Bellegarde* had ſpent moſt of their Stock at *Carla*, and at *Puylaurens*, and that the Mareſchal *d'Anville* had the reſt at *Mazeres*. I writ alſo to his Majeſty, that he would pleaſe to command Monſieur *de Valence* to cauſe a little money to be deliver'd to me for one Muſter, or at leaſt for half a one for the

Foot

Foot to buy powder, for that of two years this War had laſted, all the Foot that I had rais'd in thoſe parts had had but two Muſters payd them, and the moſt of them but one; and alſo that he would ſend to Monſieur *de Valence* to ſend a Treaſurer along with me to defray the Artillery, and whilſt I waited in expectation of *Eſpalanques* return, I would take ſo good and ſpeedy order for the reſt, that at his coming back he ſhould find me ready to march.

The King diſſatisfied with Monſieur *de Montluc*.

Theſe were all the demands I made to the King. His anſwer was, that he did very much wonder I ſhould ſo long deferre this Expedition, that he had thought I had been already in the Country; that if I would proceed no otherwiſe than hitherto I had done in this affair, he would appoint ſome other to undertake it, and that for three years paſt I had done nothing to purpoſe. Theſe Letters were ready to break my heart, and withal put me into ſuch a paſſion, that I was once reſolv'd not to go, but to write to the King to ſend ſome other, that had formerly ſerv'd him better than I, and that might do his buſineſs, as Monſieur *de Terride* had done. Nevertheleſs I at laſt thought better on't, and determin'd not to do it, knowing very well that theſe Letters proceeded not from his Majeſties nature, neither from the Queens, nor the Monſieurs, for they had all three writ to me in the ſame ſtile: I knew very well that this came from the counſel of my Enemies at Court, and that neither the King, the Queen, nor the Monſieur ever writ ſo tart Letters as thoſe were, to the greateſt Enemies they had. I ſhewed them to none but Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother, for fear leſt by my Exemple every one ſhould be frighted from their duty; for all of them generally, of what condition ſoever, very well knew the contrary of what was laid to my charge, and that I had done very well with the little money I had left me. And then it was that I evidently perceiv'd they intended to lay all the miſcarriages that had happen'd in thoſe parts at my door; having no friends at Court to take my part, or defend me.

I now ſee that the greateſt Error I committed in my whole life, was that I would have no dependance upon any other, after the deceaſe of my old Maſter, but the King and the Queen; and find that a man in command is much more ſecure in depending upon a Monſieur, a Madam, a Cardinal, or a Mareſchal of *France*, than either upon the King, the Queen, or the Monſieur; for they will evermore diſguiſe affairs to their Majeſties, as they themſelves are enclin'd, or think fit, and ſhall certainly be believ'd by them all; for they only hear and ſee with others ears and eyes. 'Tis an ill thing, but it is impoſſible to help it, and he that has done beſt ſhall by this means be left behind: for which reaſon if I could return to my former Age, I would never care to depend upon the King or the Queen, but upon thoſe who are in greateſt favour with them: for though I ſhould behave my ſelf as ill as a man could do, they would cover and conceal my faults, ſeeing that I onely depended upon them, for 'tis their chiefeſt good, and principal honour, to have ſervants about them whom they may call their Creatures. If the King would himſelf only diſtribute his benefits, he would pair their nails: but whoever has a mind to be taken notice of, and rewarded, let him addreſs himſelf to Monſieur or Madam, for the King gives them all, and knows not others but by their report. I am ſorry I cannot return to my vigorous age, for I ſhould better know how to govern my ſelf than I have hitherto done, and ſhould no more ſo much build my hopes upon the King, as others that are about him. But I am now grown old, and cannot be young again, and muſt therefore be content to follow my old humour; for ſhould I now go about to take up another, I ſhould be to ſeek at which end to begin. 'Tis too late for me to mend, it may ſerve others though, that I leave behind me; but if the King would be truly a King, and confer no benefits but at the recommendation of his own judgment, oh, how many would be dor'd in their deſigns, and fruſtrated in their expectation!

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s Sons.

I alſo committed another overſight, in not having one of my Sons alwayes about the King; they were well enough born to be receiv'd, and well enough qualified to win their Majeſties eſteem. But God took from me my *Mark Anthony* too ſoon, and ſince Captain *Montluc*, who was ſlain at the *Maderes*, either of which would quickly have ſtopt the mouths of thoſe that durſt have cenſur'd or calumniated my Actions. Their lyes ſo far off could do me no harm; but were we within a Pikes length one of another, old as I am, I would make their hearts quake in their bellies. Neither did I keep my Sons about me to be idle, but to learn my trade; for the firſt follow'd arms, wherein he bravely ſignaliz'd himſelf, and follow'd me in all my Voyages and Expeditions; the ſecond had acquir'd ſo great a reputation in *Guienne*, that it was not my intereſt to part with him during the War; the third, ſince his return from *Malta*, has follow'd me in theſe late Wars, and the youngeſt alſo. But I ſhall leave this diſcourſe, which puts me into paſſion, to return to the Expedition of *Bearn*. Monſieur *de Valence* then went to *Bordeaux*,

to

to ſee if there was any money to be got out the Treaſury there; from wence he ſent me word, that not ſo much as a ſingle * Liard was to be had from thence; that nevertheleſs he had prevail'd ſo far as to take up fourteen thouſand Livers, which he payd into a certain Commiſſary that was appointed to attend me, and that in ten dayes time he would procure as much more, but that I was not in any wiſe to expect a penny more; and that the Receiver had been fain to borrow this. Monſieur *de Fontenilles* went alſo to *Tholouze* with my Letter of Attorney, to bind us both to reſtore, and pay back the Ammunitions in caſe the King ſhould refuſe to do it; and upon theſe terms they lent me a Canon, a Culverine, and ſome Ammunition. I then diſpatcht away Meſſieurs *de Monteſpan*, and *de Madaillan* with a hundred Horſe cull'd out of my own Company of Gens-d'armes, and that of Monſieur *de Gondrin*, directly to *Bayonne*, to Convoy the Artillery that the Vicount *d'Orthe* was to ſend me from thence; and ſent Monſieur *de Gondrin* to *Noguarol* to begin to form the Army, and with him Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, to whom I had given the Command of Mareſchal de Camp: and I my ſelf ſtayd four or five dayes behind to ſet forwards the Foot and Horſe, and to give time to the Commiſſaries of proviſions to go thorough the Provinces to execute the Orders I had given them, for the advance of victual for the Army, to which end I delay'd the time but ſix dayes only, after which I went in two dayes to *Naguarol*.

* A Liard is a braſs Coin containing 3 Deniers, the fourth part of a Sol.

So ſoon as I came thither we immediately fell to Counſel to deliberate with what places we ſhould firſt begin. In which Conſultation ſome were of advice, that it would be beſt to begin with *St. Sever*, others ſaid it would be the beſt courſe to march directly to *Pau*: but I was of opinion that I ought in the firſt place to fall upon *Rabaſteins*, and for theſe reaſons. Firſt, becauſe that beginning with that, I ſhould leave the beſt Country of *Gaſcony* open and free behind me, from thence to be ſupply'd with victual for the Army; and ſecondly, that *Rabaſteins* being the ſtrongeſt Caſtle, the Queen of *Navarre* had in her poſſeſſion, if I ſhould take it by force (which I foreſaw I muſt do, as being confident they would not eaſily ſurrender) I would put all to the ſword; aſſuring my ſelf, that that proceeding would ſtrike ſo great a terror into all the Inhabitants of *Bearn*, that no place afterwards would dare to abide a Siege, *Navarreins* only excepted. And on the other ſide, that thoſe of *Tholouze* hearing of this good beginning, would not ſpare to furniſh me with any thing I ſhould ſtand in need of, when they ſhould ſee that things ſucceeded well with me; whereas on the contrary, ſhould I begin with *St. Sever*, I ſhould engage my ſelf in the *Lands*, a Country only fruitful in ſands, where my men would periſh for want of bread, and could have no relief from *Bordeaux*, though I ſhould take the place. That therefore it was much better to begin with the ſtrongeſt firſt, and there ſuddenly to employ my Forces, than with the weakeſt, and daily to conſume my men, and waſte my time to little or no effect. This was what I propos'd, which in the end took place in the Council, and was approv'd by all. But I told them, that above all things, to ſtrike a terror into the Enemy, we muſt kill all before us which made any oppoſition, which would make the Capitouls of *Tholouze* to furniſh and ſupply us with all things neceſſary, ſeeing that it was *Good hand, good hire.*

A Conſultation touching the War of *Bearn*.

This Council was held immediately upon my coming thither, and the next morning before day I took 25 or 30 Horſe, and went in all diligence to *Dacqs*. Monſieur *de Gondrin* had ſhew'd me a Letter, that his Son Monſieur *de Monteſpan* had ſent him from *Bayonne*, wherein he ſent him word, that the Artillery was not ſo ready as we believ'd, but that the Vicount *d'Orthe* was exceedingly diligent to equip, and make them fit; wherefore ſo ſoon as I came to *Dacqs* I diſpatcht away two Gentlemen to Monſieur *de Monteſpan*, one in the heels of another, to quicken his haſte; and writ to the Vicount to entreat him to advance a day or two before, and to try if he could bring Meſſieurs *de Luxe* and *de Damezan* along with him, that we might conſult together of what we were beſt to do: which he accordingly did, bringing the ſaid Sieur de *Damazan* only in company with him, it being impoſſible for Monſieur *de Luxe* to return ſo ſoon to *Dacqs*; where I layd before the ſaid Sieur *de Damezan* what had been debated amongſt us in the Council at *Noguarol*, and my opinion, which was there alſo allowed by all to be the beſt, and particularly by Monſieur *de Damezan*; who told me, that ſhould we march directly to *St. Sever*, it would be impoſſible to get one Baſque out of the Province, by reaſon they would be neceſſitated to paſs the waters in the Enemies Country: but if I went to begin there where I intended, I ſhould no ſooner be arriv'd at *Nay*, but all the Country of the *Baſques*, and the Valleys of *Sault* and *Daſpe* would infallibly come in to me. I was very glad to find him of my opinion, but I was conſtrain'd to ſtay three dayes at *Dacqs* before the Artillery came up to me. At my departure thence I left two pieces of Canon with the Vicount *d'Orthe*, with Ammunition proportionable, with which he was to march directly

The Siege of *Rabaſteins* concluded.

to *Pau*, ſo ſoon as ever he could hear I had taken *Rabaſteins*, it being further concluded, that at the ſame time I ſhould begin to march, I ſhould ſend two Companies of Gens-d'arms to meet him with, two others of Foot that were at *Mont de Marſan*, to joyn with a thouſand he had already with him, what of his own Tenants, and thoſe of *Labour*. I left him alſo Monſieur *d'Amou* to be aſſiſting to him, with ſome other Gentlemen of the Country about *Dacqs*, which being done, I ſet forward, marching with the Artillery day and night.

Monſieur de *Montamat*, the Queen of *Navarre*'s Lieutenant in that Country, was put to a very great *Dilemma* at this preparation, and could not poſſibly divine which way I would take, whether directly to *Pau*, or to *Rabaſteins*; for as for *St. Sever*, he perceiv'd very well by my motion, that I had no thoughts of going that way: but expected I ſhould march either directly to the ſaid *Rabaſteins*, or elſe to *Pau*. I made ſo good haſte, that in two dayes and two nights, with four pieces of Canon, a great Culverine, and two Baſtards I arriv'd at *Noguarol*; where Meſſieurs *de Gondrin* and *de Sainctorens* joyning with me, we marcht directly to *Rabaſteins*, and in three dayes with the greateſt part of our Horſe and Foot came before the Town. It continually raiſ'd, inſomuch that all the Rivers were full, which was the reaſon that the Artillery could not come before *Rabaſteins* ſo ſoon as the Army; but immediately upon my arrival I took Commiſſary *Fredeville*, and the Sieur *de Leberon*, who in the morning before day had been to diſcover the place, as Captain *St. Colombe*, Monſieur *de Baſillac*, and other Gentlemen of the Country had alſo done, whom I found of contrary opinions, and in great diſpute, touching the manner of the Siege, ſome of them ſaying that we muſt firſt take the Town, and from within to batter the Caſtle; the others, and eſpecially all thoſe of *Bearn* maintain'd, that I ought to attaque the Caſtle from without, and *Fredeville* himſelf was of that opinion: but I would ſee it my ſelf; for in ſuch matters I would never truſt to any one, and a good beſieger of places ought to proceed after that manner; and to that end, taking onely the before-named *Fredeville* and *de Leberon* along with me, went my ſelf to diſcover the place, where though they ply'd me luſtily with their ſhot, they did not hinder me nevertheleſs from viewing every part at my own leiſure, till at laſt I withdrew my ſelf out of the ſtorm of Harquebuze-ſhot into a little thatcht houſe cloſe by the Caſtle; and there I made *de Fredeville* confeſs, that we were firſt to attaque the Town, and from within, the Caſtle; after which we return'd one after another running, for it was hot ſtanding ſtill, and went to conclude with Meſſieurs *de Gondrin*, *de Baſillac*, *de Savignac*, *de Sainctorens*, *de Monteſpan*, *de Maidaillan*, and Captain *Pançillac* Colonel of the Infantry, to attaque the Town.

The Sieur *de Montluc* goes to diſcover *Rabaſteins*.

The remainder of the day I employ'd in cauſing Gabions and Bavins to be made, and by break of day the next morning had the Artillery planted in Battery before the Town, which in a very few volleys made a Breach. The Enemy had no intention to keep the Town, for they had filled all the houſes with ſtraw and faggots, which ſo ſoon as they ſaw our people coming on to the Aſſault, they gave fire to in an inſtant, and ran away men, women, and children to put themſelves into the Caſtle. Our men did what they could to ſave the Town from being burnt, but they ſhot ſo furiouſly from the Caſtle, that it was impoſſible to hinder the greateſt part of it from being conſum'd to aſhes. The night following I brought the Artillery into the Town, and began to batter ſome Lodgings on the left hand, at the end of which was a Turret that cover'd the Draw-bridg and the Gate of the Caſtle; and by Evening the ſaid Buildings were opened, and the Turret beaten down to the Ground. In the morning by break of day we began to batter the great Tower where the Clock was, which whilſt we were doing our Soldiers gain'd the Gate of the Town, which was within ten paces or leſs of that of the Caſtle, and that lookt a little into their falſe-Brayes: but there was a great Terraſs a Pike height, and as much in thickneſs, made of Bavins after the manner of a Rampire that cover'd their Draw-bridg, ſo that our people could not do them ſo much harm as they did us; to remedy which inconvenience we made a Blind of ſome barrels and planks in that place, which ſomething ſecur'd our men that lay before the ſaid Portal. All day long our Artillery batter'd the face of the Tower, and in the end the ſaid Tower was opened, after which I made them ſhoot from the other Battery, which play'd into the Caſtle, till the next day, which was the third, at noon, but could ſee no iſſue of the buſineſs. At this time Monſieur *de Fontenilles* and Captain *Moret* came with the piece of Canon, and the great Culverine from *Tholouze*; but they did us no ſervice at all, for the Culverine burſt in an hundred pieces, and the Canon was crackt.

I then cauſed two pieces of Canon to be remov'd to the left hand cloſe by the Wall of the Town that pointed upon the other Face of the Caſtle upon the left; wherein my intention was, if I could, to make the Tower fall on our ſide, which if I could effect, it would

would choak up the Ditch that was full of water, and fill the falſe-Brayes on that ſide, by which means we might go on to the Aſſault over the ruine, which I made account would infallibly fill the Graffe, for the Tower was very high. All the fourth day I batter'd the face of this Tower with theſe two pieces of Canon, and in the end beat it down, ſo that nothing remain'd ſtanding, but the right ſide, and the corners. I then cauſed them to ſhoot at the firſt Corner which lookt towards the Artillery I had firſt planted on the left hand, and with two pieces that I was all night removing, at the other Corner that look't towards the Town. In ten or twelve ſhots the Coins was broken, and the Tower fall'n on our ſide, exactly in the place where I would have it: but how high, or how thick ſoever the Tower was, it did not ſo wholly fill the Graffe, but that we were to deſcend a great way into it. It is true, that the ruines had drunk up the water, and fill'd a good part of the Ditch, but not ſo that we were not yet to go very low. The fifth day at night the Sieur *de Baſillac*, and the Baron *de St. Lary*, brought me fifty or threeſcore Pioneers, for all mine were ſtoln away, and fled; and they had raiſed theſe amongſt their own Tenants, upon their own Eſtates which lay hard by. I gave theſe fellows to Monſieur *de Leberon*, and Captain *Montaut* his Brother-in-law, with thirty or fourty Soldiers that the Captains *Artigue* and *Solles* made to take upon them the office of Pioneers, their Captains themſelves aſſiſting them at the work. The ſervice they were employ'd about was to take away the Terraſs, that the Artillery might look into the Draw-bridg, and batter the ſide of it, and that the Ball might paſs all along by the Flank, and into the Courtine along the Breach within. The Enemy had alſo made a Barricado in the Chambers above, ſo that a man could not poſſibly ſee any thing on one of the two ſides. I gave the charge of removing the two pieces of Canon to the place where Monſieur *de Leberon* drew away the Terraſs to the Vicount *d'Uza*, and my ſelf went to take a little repoſe, for this was the fifth night that I had not had a whole hour of ſleep. By break of day I heard the two Canons play, but could not believe it poſſible that in that one night all the Terraſs could be remov'd, at leaſt all that was in our way. Our Artillery began to play its feats all along this Flank, and it coſt us a great many ſhot to break this Barricado, which did us infinite miſchief, for they ſhot deſperately into our Canon. I then made the Vicount *d'Uza*, Monſieur *de Leberon*, and Captain *Montaut* to go to reſt, and left Monſieur *de Baſillac* to aſſiſt the Artillery. After this we cauſed a hole to be made in the Wall of the Town cloſe by our Artillery, that we might come to it in ſecurity from without, for from within it was impoſſible without being kill'd or wounded. The fourth day of our Siege I had given to Captain *Babus* the charge of cauſing Gabions to be made, who had accordingly taken great pains, and been very diligent in the execution of his Command; but he had cauſed them to be made ſo little, that the wind of the Canon had preſently ſhaked them all to pieces, an error that a man muſt take care to avoid.

Our Cavalry all this while was quarter'd in Villages a league and a half from the Leaguer, where there was accommodation of Hay and Oats for the Horſes, with inſtruction and command to be every night all night long in the field, to prevent any relief from getting in: for the very day that we came to *Rabaſteins*, we had taken a great Packet of Letters ſent by Monſieur *de Montamat*, to the Vicount *de Caumont*, Monſieur *d'Andax*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen to the number of thirty or fourty Letters; wherein he ſollicited them if ever they deſir'd to do an opportune and ſignal ſervice for the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Prince, to come ſuccour the Country of *Bearn*; for that they were not ſtrong enough to defend the Country if they did not come in to their relief: that he had already writ to them twice or thrice, but had received no anſwer, that therefore he ſhould ſend him word when they ſhould be ready, and he would in one night make ſo long a march as to come and joyn with them, immediately to march altogether into *Bearn*; or that otherwiſe he muſt be conſtrain'd to abandon the open Country, wanting Forces to make head againſt us; and that he ſaw he had not now to do with Monſieur *de Terride*. The reading of which Letters made us to pitch upon the following reſolution.

Monſieur *de Montamat's* Letters taken.

Firſt, To ſend to the Baron *de Larbous*, that he ſhould bring Monſieur *de Gramont's* Company of Gens-d'arms from the higher *Comenge*, to come and joyn with us, that in ſo doing, he ſhould make a halt thereabouts where the relief was of neceſſity to paſs, and that night and day he ſhould keep his Horſe upon the Avenues, to give us continual advertiſement of the Enemies motion; and that he ſhould not offer to hinder their paſſage, but let them paſs by, and only put himſelf in their Rear. I then diſpatcht away Captain *Manſſan*, a Gentleman of my own Company, to go to the Valleys by which the Enemy was to paſs, giving him order with the * Bas-ſain to raiſe all the people of the Valleys and Villages, and joyn himſelf to the Baron *de Larbous* to fall into their Rear. Thus much for the Recruits we expected to come in to us; now on our ſide, our Cavalry was every

* A rude kind of Alarm given to a whole Country, by ringing and tinking of Pots, Kettles, and Baſons.

night on horſeback, and we had Scouts out continually as far as *Nay*, for Monſieur *de Montamat* was of neceſſity to paſs over the Bridg of the ſaid *Nay* to go meet his relief, and in caſe we had not taken the Caſtle before the ſaid *Montamat* and his Succours ſhould unite, Monſieur *de Gondrin* with twenty Light-horſe, and four Enſigns of Foot, was to ſtay with the Artillery, and I with the reſt of the Camp, when the news of their approach was brought to us, was to march day and night to go and fight them. This was the Order we had concluded on; had any Forces come to relieve them, making account that in caſe we defeated their Succours, the whole Country of *Bearn* was our own. Which I have here ſet down, and enform'd my reader withal, that others may take exemple by it, when they ſhall be engaged upon the like occaſion; the young Captains I mean, for the old Soldiers know well enough they are to proceed after this manner. My deliberation moreover was, the Caſtle being taken, to diſpatch away a Gentleman who ſhould poſt it day and night to the King, to carry his Majeſty news of the ſucceſs, to the end that he might ſend ſome Gentleman to the Mareſchal *d'Anville*, who was about *Montpelier*, following the trace of the Enemy, (where I have not heard of any great harm he did) to bid him write to thoſe of *Tholouze* to ſend me eight pieces of Canon, of twelve of *Narbonne*, that were yet at the ſaid *Tholouze*, and order him to direct his Letters to the Parliament and the Capitouls, to move them forthwith to defray the charge of conveying the ſaid pieces of Canon to me. Which whilſt it was in doing we would go attaque another Caſtle within two little Leagues of *Rabaſteins*, which was not very ſtrong, and from thence would go to paſs the *Gave* at a Foard above *Nay*, very well known to the *Bearnois* Gentlemen in our Camp, and take *Nay*, there to eſtabliſh our Magazine of victual, and to receive Meſſieurs *de Luxe*, and *de Damazan*, the Vicount *de Chaux*, and *d'Almabarix*, with the *Baſques* they were to bring in to us, and ſo to march before *Pau*, where the Vicount *d'Orthe* was to come with the two pieces of Canon, and the Culverine had been left in his hands at *Dacqs*; being confident that all the Country, ſome for good will, and the reſt for fear of their lives and eſtates, would immediately ſurrender to us. That having taken *Pau*, and the eight pieces of Canon being come to us from *Tholouze*, we would then march before *Navarreins*, and whoever would have put me to my Oath, whether I ſhould have taken it or no, I ſhould rather have ſworn I ſhould than I ſhould not, for we had with us Gentlemen of *Bearn* and *Bigorre*, and principally Monſieur *de Baſillac*, who had commanded at the Siege of *Navarreins* for Monſieur *de Terride*, who both then ſaid, and have ſince affirm'd, that had we aſſaulted *Navarreins* as briskly as we did *Rabaſteins*, we ſhould have carried that with leſs difficulty than the other; every one that knew them both concluding that *Rabaſteins* was by much the ſtronger place.

Order to hinder the relief of *Rabaſteins*.

Deſign for the Conqueſt of *Bearn*.

But as men deſign, and God diſpoſeth as ſeemeth beſt to him the Events of things, he was pleaſed to order it very much contrary to what we propoſed to our ſelves: for the fifth day of the Siege, the 23, of *July*, in the year 1562. upon a Sunday about two of the clock in the afternoon, I reſolved to give an aſſault, the Order whereof was after the manner following. That Monſieur *de Sanctorens* Mareſchal de Camp ſhould lead the Companies one after the other up to the Breach, which that he might the better do without confuſion, I order'd all the Companies to be drawn by four and four together out of the Town, which upon pain of death were not to ſtir from their places till Monſieur *de Sainctorens* ſhould come to fetch them, who was to ſtay three quarters of an hour betwixt every leading up, and in that manner to conduct all the Companies one after another; and it was alſo order'd, that the two Captains who were upon the Guard by the Breach, which were *l'Artiguet*, and *Salles* of *Bearn* ſhould go on firſt to the Aſſault. As I was ſetting down this Order one came in haſte to tell me, that the two Canons that batter'd the Flanck, and that had been remov'd in the night, were forſaken, and not a man durſt ſhew himſelf upon the Battery, by reaſon the Artillery it ſelf had ruin'd all the Gabions. I therefore left it to Meſſieurs *de Gondrin* and *de Sainctorens* to conclude the Order of the Fight, that is to ſay, that the Companies ſhould go on ſucceſſively one after another, which was to be ſet down in writing, and my ſelf ran on the outſide to the whole of the wall, where I found only ten or twelve Pioneers ſquat with their bellies cloſe to the ground; for *Tibauville* the Commiſſary of the Artillery, who had the charge of thoſe two pieces of Canon, had been conſtrain'd to quit them, and even Monſieur *de Baſillac* himſelf. Seeing then this diſorder, I unbethought my ſelf of a great number of Bavins I had the day before cauſed to be brought into the Town, and ſaid to the Gentlemen who were with me theſe words: *I have heard, and always obſerv'd, that there is no labour, nor danger, that Gentlemen will ever refuſe; follow me therefore I beſeech you, and do as you ſhall ſee me do?* They did not ſtay to be entreated, and ſo we went in great haſte directly to the Bavins that were within the Town, and lay in the middle of a Street there where not a man durſt abide,

1562.

Order for the Aſſault.

The Canon abandoned.

The words of the Sieur *de Montluc* playing the Pioneer.

ſide, and there I took a Bavin and laid it upon my ſhoulder, as alſo every Gentleman took one, and there were a great many who carried two a-piece; after which manner we return'd out of the Town by the ſame way we entred in, and thus I marcht before them till we came to the hole. By the way as we were going I had given order, that they ſhould bring me four or five Halbardeers, which at my return I found already arriv'd at the hole, and made them enter into it. We threw them the Bavins into the hole, which they took with the points of their Halberts, and ran to throw them upon the Gabions to raiſe them. I dare be bold to affirm with truth that we were not above a quarter of an hour about this work, and ſo ſoon as ever the Canon was cover'd, *Tibauville* and the other Canoneers return'd into the Battery, where they began to ſhoot with greater fury than of all the dayes before, every clap almoſt overtaking another, every one aſſiſting them with great cheerfulneſs. If, Captains, you ſhall do the ſame, and your ſelves firſt put your hands to the work, you will make every one follow your exemple, very ſhame will puſh and force them on: and when the ſervice is hot in any place, if the Chief do not go in perſon, or at leaſt ſome eminent man, the reſt will go very lamely on, and murmur when a man ſends them to ſlaughter. And if you covet honor, you muſt ſometimes tempt danger as much as the meaneſt Soldier under your Command.

I will deprive no man of his due honor; for I think I have aſſiſted at as many Batteries as any man this day alive, and muſt needs ſay this, that I never ſaw Commiſſaries of the Artillery more diligent and adventurous than both *Fredeville* and *Tibauville* ſhew'd themſelves during the whole five dayes that the Battery continued, in my whole life; for they themſelves both levell'd, and fir'd, though they had as good Canoneers as ever I ſaw handle Linſtock in my dayes; and I dare be bold to ſay, that of a thouſand Canon ſhot we made againſt this place not ten fail'd of their effect, or were ſpent in vain.

In the morning I ſent for Monſieur *de Gohas*, who was at *Vic-Bigorre*, and the Captains who were ſet to have an eye to *Montamat*, and the Succours expected by him, writing to him to come away that he might be with me at the Aſſault, by reaſon that Captain *Paulliac* Colonel of the Infantry was ſo dangerouſly wounded, that we had no hopes of his life. He receiv'd his ſhot at the time when I went over-night to carry Meſſieurs *de Leberon* and *de Montaut* to cut off the great Counterſcarp, which ſhot went quite through his Body. My Son *Fabian* was alſo ſhot in the chin, and two Soldiers cloſe by my ſide. I there committed a very great error, for I went in the evening before it was dark, and I believe they were aware that we intended to cut the Counterſcarp, for all their Harquebuzeers were run together to that place; and the reaſon why I committed this error was, that having computed with my ſelf how many hours the night was long, I found that it was not above ſeven hours or thereabouts; and on the other ſide I ſaw that in half an hour I ſhould loſe all that I had done, if the Counterſcarp was not pulled down by break of day, and in that caſe I ſhould think fit to give an aſſault that day, they would be ſo ſtrongly rampir'd and fortified, that with as many more Canon ſhot as I had made againſt the place, it would be a matter of very great difficulty to enter. This was the reaſon why I made ſo much haſte to go and begin the work, that I might have it perfected by break of day; where I recommended the care of it to Meſſieurs *de Leberon* and *de Montaut*, and the two Captains upon the Guard, by telling them that in their diligence our victory wholly conſiſted. And in truth they ſlept not, as I have already ſaid, for by break of day the Artillery began to play, and the Counterſcarp was wholly pulled down.

Captain *Paulliac* ſhot.

Fabian de Monluc ſhot.

O Camrades, you who ſhall go to beſiege places, you cannot but confeſs, that both here and in ſeveral other places, my Enterprizes and Victories have ſucceeded more from my vigilancy and prompt execution than my valour, and I on my part am willing to confeſs, that there was in the Camp braver men than I. But no one can be a Coward that has theſe three things; for from theſe three all the Combats and Victories proceed, and all valiant men chooſe to follow Captains that are provided with theſe three qualities. And on the other ſide he cannot be call'd hardy, let his heart be never ſo good, if he be tardy, backward, and ſlow in execution: for before he has fixt his reſolution, he has been ſo long deliberating about it, that the Enemy is advertiz'd of what he intends to do, and conſequently is provided to prevent his deſign: but if he be quick he ſhall even ſurprize himſelf. So that there is no great confidence to be repos'd in a Chief that is not endu'd with theſe three qualities, vigilancy, promptitude, and valour. If a man examine all the great Warriours that have ever been, he will find that they had all thoſe qualities. *Alexander* did not in vain bear the Device I have mentioned before. Examine *Caſar*'s Commentaries, and all the Authors that have writ of him, you will find that in his life he fought two and fifty Battels without ever loſing any, ſaving that of *Dirachium*; but within thirty dayes he had a ſufficient revenge againſt *Pompey*, for he won a great Battel,

and

and defeated him. You will not find that in theſe two and fifty Battels he ever fought three times in his own perſon, that is, with his own hand, though he was alwayes preſent there; by which you will underſtand, that all his Victories were the effects of his conduct, for being diligent, vigilant, and a prompt executer of his deſigns. But for all this, theſe qualities are rarely found, and I believe we *Gaſcons* are better provided of them than any other people of *France*, or perhaps of *Europe*, and many good and great Captains have gone out of it within theſe fifty years. I ſhall not compare my ſelf to them, but this I will ſay of my ſelf, becauſe it is true, that my Maſter never loſt any thing by my ſloth or remiſsneſs. The Enemy thought me a league off when I came to beat up his Quarters. And if diligence be requir'd in all exploits of war, it is much more in a Siege, for a very little thing will ſerve to overthrow a great deſign. If you preſs your Enemy you redouble his fear, he will not know where he is, nor have leiſure to recollect himſelf. Be ſure to wake whilſt others ſleep, and never leave your Enemy without ſomething to do.

I ſhall now return to the Aſſault; our Order being ſet down, I went and placed my ſelf at the Gate of the Town near unto the Breach, where I had all the Gentlemen with me, of which there might be ſix or ſeven ſcore, and ſtill more came up to us, for Monſieur *de la Chappelle Lauzieres*, who came from *Quercy*, brought a great Troop of Gentlemen along with him. I ſhall here relate one thing of my own preſage, which is perfectly true, That it was impoſſible for all the friends I had to diſpoſſeſs me of an opinion I had, that I ſhould in this Aſſault be kill'd or wounded by a ſhot in ſome part of my head; and out of that conceipt was once half in a mind not to go to the Aſſault, knowing very well that my death would at this time be of ill conſequence, if not to the Enterprize in hand, yet to the general deſign upon that Country; this fancy therefore ſtill running in my head the morning before the Aſſault was to be given, I ſaid to Monſieur *de Las* the Kings Advocate at *Agen*, who was of our Councel, theſe words. *Monſieur* de Las, *there are ſome who have exclaim'd, and do yet cry out that I am very rich; you know of all the money I have to a Denier, for by my Will, to which you are a witneſs, you are ſufficiently enform'd of my Eſtate. But ſeeing the world are not otherwiſe to be perſwaded but I have a great deal of money, and that conſequently, if by accident I ſhould die in this Aſſault, they would demand of my Wife four times as much as I am worth, I have here brought a particular of all the money I have at this day in the whole world, as well abroad at Intereſt, as at home in the cuſtody of my Wife. The account is of my Steward* Barat's *drawing, and ſign'd by my own hand. You are my friend, I beſeech you therefoee if I dye, that you and the Councellor Monſieur* de Nort *will transfer your love and friendſhip to my Wife and my two Daughters, and that you will have a care of them, eſpecially* Charlotte Catherine, *who had the honor to be Chriſtned by the King and the Queen his Mother.* Which having ſaid, I deliver'd the Scrowl into his hands, and very well perceiv'd that he had much ado to refrain weeping. By this you may judge if I had not the misfortune that befel me before my eyes. I have no familiar ſpirit, but few misfortunes have befall'n me in the whole courſe of my life that my mind has not firſt preſag'd. I ſtill endeavour'd to put it out of my fancy, reſigning all things to the good will of God, who diſpoſes of us as ſeems beſt to his own wiſdom, neither did I ever do otherwiſe, what ever the Hugonots my Enemies have ſaid or written to the contrary againſt me.

So ſoon as two of the clock, the hour prefixt for the aſſault, was come, I cauſed eight or ten Bottles of wine, that Madam *de Panjas* had ſent me, to be brought out, which I gave the Gentlemen, ſaying, *Let us drink Camrades: for it muſt now ſoon be ſeen which of us has been nurſt with the beſt milk. God grant that another day we may drink together; but if our laſt hour be come, we cannot fruſtrate the decrees of Fate.* So ſoon as they had all drunk, and encourag'd one another, I made them a ſhort Remonſtrance in theſe words, ſaying, *Friends and Companions, we are now ready to fall on to the Aſſault, and every man is to ſhew the beſt he can do. The men who are in this place, are of thoſe who with the Count* de Montgommery *deſtroyed your Churches, and ruined your houſes; You muſt make them diſgorge what they have ſwallowed of your Eſtates. If we carry the place, and put them all to the ſword, you will have a good bargain of the reſt of* Bearn. *Believe me they will never dare to ſtand againſt you. Go on then in the name of God, and I will immediately follow.* Which being ſaid I cauſed the Aſſault to be ſounded, and the two Captains immediately fell on; where ſome of their Soldiers and Enſigns did not behave themſelves very well. Seeing then that thoſe were not likely to enter, Monſieur *de Sainctorens* marcht up with four Enſigns more, and brought them up to the Breach, which did no better than the former, for they ſtopt four or five paces ſhort of the Counterſcarp, by which means our Canon was nothing hindred from playing into the Breach, which made thoſe within duck down behind it.

Monſieur *de Montluc's* Speech to the Gentlemen going on to the Aſſault.

The Aſſault.

I then preſently perceiv'd, that ſome body elſe, and other kind of men than the Foot muſt put their hands to the work; which made me preſently forget the conceit I had of being kill'd or wounded, and ſaid to the Gentlemen theſe words. *Camrades, no body knows how to fight but the Nobleſs, and we are to expect no victory but by our own hands, let us go then, I will lead you the way, and let you ſee that a good horſe will never be reſty. Follow boldly; and go on without fear, for we cannot wiſh for a more honourable death. We deferre the time too long, let us fall on.* I then took Monſieur *de Gohas* by the hand, to whom I ſaid, *Monſieur* de Gohas, *I will that you and I fight together, I pray therefore let us not part; and if I be kill'd or wounded, never take notice of me, but leave me there, and puſh forward, that the Victory however may remain to the King.*: and ſo we went on as cheerfully as ever I ſaw men go on to an Aſſault in my life, and looking twice behind me, ſaw that the Gentlemen almoſt toucht one another, they came up ſo cloſe. There was a large Plain of an hundred and fifty paces over, or more, all open, over which we were to march to come up to the Breach, which as we paſſed over, the Enemy fir'd with great fury upon us all the way, and I had ſix Gentlemen ſhot cloſe by me. One of which was the Sieur *de Beſoles*; his ſhot was in his arm, and ſo great a one, that he had like to have died of his wound; the Vicount *de Labatut* was another, and his was in his leg: I cannot tell the names of the reſt, becauſe I did not know them. Monſieur *de Gohas* had brought ſeven or eight along with him, and amongſt the reſt Captain *Savaillan* the elder, of which three were ſlain, and the ſad Captain *Savaillan* wounded with a Harquebuze ſhot quite through the face. There were alſo hurt one Captain *du Plex*, another Captain *la Baſtide*, both Kinſmen of mine about *Villeneufue*, who had alwayes ſerv'd under Monſieur *de Briſſac*, one Captain *Rantoy* of *Damaſan*, and Captain *Sales* of *Bearn*, who had before been wounded with the thruſt of a Pike in the Eye. There were two little Chambers about a Pike height or more from the ground, which Chambers the Enemy ſo defended both above and below, that not a man of ours could put up his head without being ſeen; however our people began to aſſault them with a great ſhower of ſtones, which they pour'd in upon them, and they alſo ſhot at us, but ours throwing downwards had the advantage of this kind of fight. Now I had cauſed three or four Ladders to be brought to the edge of the Graffe, and I as turn'd about to call for two of them to be brought to me, a Harquebuze-ſhot clapt into my face, from the corner of a Barricado joyning to the Tower, where I do not think there could be four Harquebuzeers, for all the reſt of the Barricado had been beaten down by our two Canon that play'd upon the Flanck. I was immediately all over blood, for it guſht out at my mouth, noſe, and eyes; whereupon Monſieur *de Gohas* would have caught me in his arms, thinking I would fall, but I ſaid, *Let me alone, I ſhall not fall, follow your point.* Upon this ſhot of mine almoſt all the Soldiers and the Gentlemen began to loſe courage, and to retire, which made me cry out to them, though I could ſcarce ſpeak, by reaſon of the torrent of blood that paſht out at my mouth and noſe; *Whither will you go? Gentlemen, whither will ye go? will ye be terrified for me? do not flinch nor forſake the fight, for I have no hurt, and let every one return to his place*; in the mean time hiding the blood in the beſt manner I could; and to Monſieur *de Gohas* I ſaid, *Monſieur* de Gohas, *take care I beſeech you that the Soldiers be not diſcouraged, and renew the Aſſault.* I could no longer ſtay there, for I began to faint, and therefore ſaid to the Gentlemen, *I will go get my ſelf dreſt, but if you love me, let no one follow, but revenge me*: Which having ſaid I took a Gentleman by the hand, I cannot tell his name, for I could ſcarce ſee him, and return'd by the ſame way I came, where by the way I found a little Horſe of a Soldiers, upon which by the Gentlemans aſſiſtance I mounted as well as I could, and after that manner was conducted to my Lodging; where I found a Chirurgeon of Monſieur *de Gohas*, called Maiſtre *Simon*, who dreſt me, and with his fingers (ſo wide were the Orifices of the wound) pull'd out the bones from my two Cheeks, and cut away a great deal of fleſh from my face, which was all bruis'd and torn.

The Sieur *de Montluc* ſhot.

Monſieur *de Gramond* was upon a little Eminence hard by, looking on at his eaſe, who being of this new Religion, though he had never born arms againſt the King, had no mind to meddle amongſt us. He was aware how upon my hurt all the Soldiers were diſhearten'd, and ſaid to thoſe who were with him, *There is ſome eminent perſon ſlain, ſee how the Soldiers are diſcourag'd, I am afraid it is Monſieur* de Montluc, and therefore ſaid to one of his Gentlemen call'd Monſieur *de Sart*, *Go run and ſee who it is, and if it be he, and that he is not dead, tell him that I entreat him to give me leave to come and ſee him.* The ſaid Sieur *de Sart* is a Catholick, who accordingly came, and at his entring into the Town he heard that it was I that was hurt, and coming to my Lodging found my people weeping for me, and me tumbled upon a Pallet upon the ground; where he told me that Monſieur *de Gramont* begg'd leave that he might come to ſee me. To which I made anſwer;

That

That there was no unkindneſs betwixt Monſieur de Gramont *and me, and that if he pleaſed to come, he would find that he had as many friends in our Camp, and peradventure more than in that of their Religion.* He was no ſooner gone from me, but Monſieur *de Madaillan* my Lieutenant, who had marcht on the one hand of me when I went on to the Aſſault, as Monſieur *de Gohas* did on the other, came to ſee if I was dead, and ſaid to me; *Sir, Cheer up your ſpirits, and rejoyce, we have entred the Caſtle, and the Soldiers are laying about them, who put all to the ſword; and aſſure your ſelf we will revenge your wound.* I then ſaid to him, *Praiſed be God that I ſee the Victory ours before I dye. I now care not for death. I beſeech you return back, and as you have ever been my friend, ſo now do me that act of friendſhip not to ſuffer ſo much as one man to eſcape with life.* Whereupon he immediately return'd, and all my ſervants went along with him, ſo that I had no body left with me but two Pages, Monſieur *de Las*, and the Chirurgeon. They would fain have ſav'd the Miniſter, and the Governor, whoſe name was Captain *Ladon*, to have hang'd them before my Lodging, but the Soldiers took them from thoſe who had them in their cuſtody, whom they had alſo like to have kill'd for offring to ſave them, and cut them in a thouſand pieces. They made alſo fifty or threeſcore to leap from the high Tower into the Moat, which were there all drown'd. There were two only ſaved who were hid, and ſuch there were who offer'd four thouſand Crowns to ſave their lives, but not a man of ours would hearken to any Ranſom; and moſt of the women were kill'd, who alſo did us a great deal of miſchief with throwing ſtones. There was found within a *Spaniſh* Merchant whom the Enemy had kept priſoner there, and another Catholick Merchant alſo, who were both ſaved; and theſe were all that were left alive of the men that we found in the place, namely the two that ſome one help't away, and the two Catholick Merchants. Do not think, you who ſhall read this Book, that I cauſed this ſlaughter to be made ſo much out of revenge for the wound I had receiv'd, as to ſtrike terror into the Country, that they might not dare to make head againſt our Army. And in my opinion all Souldiers in the beginning of a Conqueſt ought to proceed after that manner, with ſuch as are ſo impudent as to abide Canon; he muſt bar his ears to all Capitulation and Compoſition, if he do not ſee great difficulties in his Enterprize, and that his Enemy have put him to great trouble in making a Breach. And as ſeverity (call it cruelty if you pleaſe) is requiſite in caſe of a reſolute oppoſition, ſo on the other ſide mercy is very commendable, and fit, if you ſee that they in good time ſurrender to your diſcretion.

Rabaſteins taken by ſtorm.

Monſieur *de Gramond* then came to viſit me, and found me in a very ill condition, for I had much ado to ſpeak to him, by reaſon of the great quantity of blood that iſſued from my mouth; Monſieur *de Gohas* alſo immediately after him came back from the fight to ſee me; ſaying, *Take comfort Monſieur, and cheer up, upon my word we have ſufficiently reveng'd you, for there is not one man left alive.* He thereupon knew Monſieur *de Gramond*, and ſaluted him, who after they had embraced, entreated him to carry him to the Caſtle, which he did, where Monſieur *de Gramond* found the taking of it exceeding ſtrange, ſaying he could never have believ'd this place had been near ſo ſtrong, and that had I attaqu'd *Navarreins* it would have been more eaſily taken. He would then needs ſee all the removes I had made of the Canon, which having ſeen, he ſaid, it had not been requiſite that we ſhould have omitted any thing of the Battery. About an hour after he return'd, where he offer'd me a Houſe of his hard by, and all other things in his power, and has ſince told me, that at that time, and in the condition he then ſaw me, he never thought I could have liv'd till the next day, and believed he had taken his leave of me for ever. All that day, and all that night I bled continually, and the next morning ſent to entreat all the Captains to come and ſee me, which they did, where having recover'd a little heart, and being able to ſpeak with greater eaſe than before, I made them the following ſhort Oration.

The Fortreſs of *Rabaſteins*.

Monſieur *de Montluc*'s Harangue to his Officers after his being hurt.

"Gentlemen, my Companions and Friends, I am not ſo much concern'd at my own "misfortune, nor the pain I endure, as I am to ſee the King's affairs diſorder'd by this "accident, and my ſelf conſtrain'd to leave you. I did not conceal from you the deſign "I had in this Execution, you all of you heard it. I beſeech you therefore that for me you "ſtop not the Career of your victory, but puſh your fortune ſtill on, for the execution we "have done upon theſe people will ſtrike a terror into all the Country of *Bearn*: and I am "confident you will meet with no reſiſtance but at *Navarreins*. Loſe not then this op-"portunity that God has given you; for if you do, all the world will ſay, that your Cou-"rages only depended upon mine, and that you can do nothing without me, which "though it would be a ſingular commendation for me, yet I would be very ſorry to have it "ſaid, out of the honour and friendſhip I bear to you, which makes me as jealous of your "reputation as my own. Make then I beſeech you no more account of me than if I was

"already

already dead. At which word I obſerv'd moſt of the Company with tears in their eyes; and having paus'd a little to take breath, purſu'd my diſcourſe in theſe words. "You "are here a great many Captains as able to command as I, and you have good and valiant "men, who will now redouble their courages to revenge their Chief. I aſſure my ſelf "there is none of you but will give place to Monſieur *de Gondrin*, as well out of deference "to his Birth, as alſo in regard he is the eldeſt Captain amongſt you. And ſeeing he is a "little infirm, I entreat you Monſieur *de Sainctorens*, and you Meſſieurs *de Goas* and *de* "*Madaillan* to be continually about him, that the Conduct of this Expedition may be "order'd by your diſcretion; for he you ſee is old, and therefore you who are young muſt "take the pains. And ſince you are all men of courage, and all aim at one common end, "which is his Majeſties ſervice, and the advancement of his affairs, maintain, I beſeech "you a ſtrict and inviolable friendſhip with one another. My wound, if you perform "brave exploits, will be the occaſion of your acquiring honor for your ſelves; and for God's "ſake my beloved Friends, do not give over this Enterprize in the beginning, and at a "time when you ought moſt to purſue it. Follow your blow in this aſtoniſhment of the "Enemy, and make it manifeſt that it was not I alone, but every one of you alſo, who "have an honourable ſhare in the victory. Are you not content with the Election I have "made for you of Monſieur *de Gondrin*? and are you not willing to accept him for your "Chief? to which they all made anſwer that they were, and that it was all the reaſon in the world he ſhould command. Which having all declar'd, I entreated them to ſee me no more, that they might not encreaſe my Fever, but all retire themſelves to him, and ſo they ſorrowfully departed from me.

One thing (Lieutenants of Provinces) I can ſay, and that without bragging or lying, that never any man in my Command was better belov'd of the Nobleſs than I, and though I was of a peeviſh cholerick nature, yet ſo it was that they bore with my imperfections, knowing that I did nothing out of malice. O 'tis an excellent quality that in a Chief! and believe me what great Lord ſoever you are, if you do not win the love of the Nobleſs, the Officers and Soldiers, you will never do any thing to purpoſe. And if your paſſion ſometimes make you ſay, or do any thing you ſhould not do, (for we are all men) you muſt repair it. I would fain ſee any of thoſe Meſſieurs of *France* who cenſure our actions in governing the Nobleſs of *Gaſcony*, undertake the Government, to ſee if they could ſo eaſily, and at all turns manage thoſe Gentlemen as they pretend. There was yet another thing that has evermore preſerv'd me the friendſhip not of the Gentlemen only, but of all thoſe who ſerv'd under my command, which was that I never thought any thing too dear for my Captains and Soldiers. I have often when I was but Captain my ſelf given away my arms and my cloaths when I ſaw any one in need. For a Pike, a Halbert, a gray Hat and a Feather, I have gain'd the hearts of ſome to that degree that they would have run into the fire for me; neither was my Purſe ever ty'd up in my Companions neceſſity, and yet they ſay I am covetous! He that ſayes ſo of me is nothing acquainted with my nature; and it is the vice, of all others, that I have the leaſt been polluted with-all. I dare ſay that in this laſt War onely I have given to the Lords and Gentlemen under my Command eleven *Spaniſh* Horſes, and two Courſers. Which that no one may think to be a lye, I ſhall name the perſons to whom I gave them; not to reproach them with it nevertheleſs; for they did me honor in accepting them.

Liberality a quality neceſſary in a Chief.

Firſt, I gave a Courſer to Monſieur *de Braſſac*, who follow'd me in all theſe Wars at his own charge (a Gentleman of ten thouſand Livers a year, but the Enemy ever kept from him all the Eſtate he had in *Xaintonge* and *Chaloſſe*) for which Courſer he would not now take 400 Crowns. I gave another Courſer to Captain *Coſſeil*, who bare arms with me twenty years, and was Captain *Charry*'s Lieutenant, after he had firſt been my Enſign. I gave to Monſieur *de Madaillan*, who was my Lieutenant, a *Spaniſh* Horſe he would not part with for 400 Crowns, and another to his Brother he would not now ſell for five. I preſented the Chevalier *de Romegas* with a *Spaniſh* Horſe that coſt me two hundred threeſcore and fifteen Crowns. I gave alſo to *Monguieral* Sieur *de Cazelles* 200 Crowns to buy him a Horſe, becauſe his own had been hurt at *St. Foy*. He is a poor Gentleman, but very valiant, as Monſieur *de Sanſac* will witneſs, who is one of the oldeſt, braveſt, and moſt prudent Captains of this Kingdom. And becauſe he had another Horſe that unluckily died, I gave him a *Spaniſh* Horſe, a tall and ſtrong one to carry *Barbs*, which after the Peace he ſold for 1600 Crowns. Captain *de la Baſtide* had another *Spaniſh* Horſe of me, and the younger *Beauville* my Brother-in-law another, by reaſon his had been kill'd under him in a Sally he had made upon the Enemy. I gave another to Captain *Mauzan*, a Gentleman of my own Company, by reaſon that in a Rencounter he had near unto *Roquefort*, his had been kill'd betwixt his legs, and himſelf, his Brother, and

Brother-in-law all wounded. I gave another to Captain *Romain* a man at Arms of my Company, a poor Gentleman, but a man of extraordinary valour. I gave another to Captain *Fabian*, he having loſt his horſe in his return from Court, for which I had often refus'd 500 Crowns. And yet another to Captain *Mons* my Guidon, a poor Gentleman who had layn a whole year in priſon at *Montauban*, which horſe coſt me three hundred and five and forty Crowns. Being ſick in bed, and diſmiſſing my Nephew *de Balagny*, who I hope will not ſhame the Family from whence he is deſcended, I gave him the *Spaniſh* Horſe that I had ever kept for my own Saddle. Several others I have loſt, and three in this laſt War, particularly one that I deſign'd for the King, who being ſwelted, founder'd under me as I was going to relieve *Mont de Marſan*, which I thought Monſieur *de Montamat* had been going to beſiege; and could I reckon all the horſes I have given in my life, I think it would exceed my Eſtate. If you do the ſame, you Lords who are the Kings Lieutenants, you ſhall alwayes be well follow'd, for the Soldier abhorres nothing ſo much as an avaricious Captain.

The State of Monſieur *de Montluc*'s Army after his hurt.

To return to my Subject all theſe brave Gentlemen took their leaves of me, and the next morning, which was the third day after my hurt, my Nephew *de Leberon* cauſed me to be carried to *Marſac*, which is two leagues from *Rabaſteins*. I was no ſooner departed from the Camp, but that the affection all the Soldiers bore unto me did too ſoon appear, for all the Gentlemen Voluntiers retir'd, and moſt of the Foot, for which I was exceedingly ſorry, and could have been rather content with all my heart they ſhould have totally forgot me. How much (my Companions) did you there prejudice your King and Country? and how great a wrong did you to your own honor? Had you united and maintain'd a good intelligence one with another, as you promis'd me you would, all *Bearn* had been your own. 'Tis an untoward thing this Æmulation to command. The ſame day that I made the Remonſtrance to the Nobleſs, they diſpatcht away Captain *Montant* to the King, "whom I entreated to preſent my moſt humble ſervice to his Majeſty, and in "my behalf to beſeech him, that he would pleaſe to provide for my Goverment, whether "I ſhould live or die, for that he was to expect no more ſervice from me: that I had al- "ready done enough, and muſt now make room for others, and that I would now for "the time to come ſeek what I had ever avoided before, which was the privacy and re- "poſe of my own Houſe. He found at his arrival at Court, that the King had already diſpos'd of my Government above a month before, which till this time never any King of *France* before had ever done: but I ought not to lay the blame upon him. When I heard the news I did not much concern my ſelf at it, though it did a little trouble me I confeſs, to have ſuch a trick put upon me; for though I had not been ſhot, I ſhould never more have exerciſed that Command; and I think he that now has it, which is the Marquis *de Villars*, would as little care to be diſmiſt from it as I; for it is not a *Benefice without a Cure*, to have to do with the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Prince her Son, who is already grown up to a man, the principal Governor, and an Enemy to our Religion; who being what he is cannot want courage, credit, or means, not onely in *Guienne*, but even in the King's Cabiner. Out of which conſideration I had before quitted the Government, had it not been that I would not the King ſhould reproach me, that I had abandon'd his ſervice in a time of War, and the greateſt neceſſity of his affairs.

The Sieur *de Montluc* layes down his Government.

The Marquis *de Villars* the Kings Lieutenant in *Guienne*.

The Prince of *Navarre*.

That I may return to ſpeak of my wound, which I do but too well remember, you that are Generals of Armies, and Lieutenants of Provinces, may here obſerve how much it imports you to preſerve your own perſons, and not to expoſe them to hazard, as I did mine in playing the Common Soldier, and the Pioneer. For this unlucky ſhot of mine was the cauſe that the Army under my Command moulder'd away to nothing. I do not however intend to ſay, that you ought to be Cowards, and to hide your ſelves behind the Gabions, whilſt others lie open to the Harquebuze ſhot, but only that you may learn to be wiſe by my exemple, and go diſcreetly into danger: for upon your loſs all the reſt depends; as you know it befell that brave *Gaſton de Foix* at the Battel of *Ravenna*. I know very well that a good heart, ſeeing his men miſdemean themſelves, cannot forbear leading them the way, and expoſing himſelf to danger, as I did, ſeeing my Foot go ſo untowardly to work. Which made me call to the Gentlemen, for I ever found by experience, that fifty Gentlemen will do more than two hundred Common Soldiers. We retein ſomething of honor, which our Fathers have acquired for us, and which gives us a Title to that fair Epithet of Noble.

By the whole account of my life hitherto you have been able to judg whether or no the King had any reaſon to uſe me ill, conſidering that I never ſpar'd my life (which certainly is the thing moſt dear to us in this world next to our honors) for his ſervice; and not only my own, but the lives of my Sons alſo: for of four that I had I have ſeen three fall in Battel in

in his Majeſties ſervice the fourth only remains, which is the Chevalier, whom though I had deſign'd for the Church, and the Biſhoprick of *Condom*, yet did I alwaies command him to ſhew himſelf a *Montluc*; and he had the honour to be entitled Chevalier by the late King *Henry* my good Maſter, who ſent him to *Malta*, where he ſerv'd his Apprentice-age in arms under the Chevalier *de Romegas*; and from whence the Grand Maſter writ me word, *that immediately upon his arrival he had put him to the teſt, to try if he was of my race or no, and had found him right.* He was afterward in the Siege the Grand Signior laid before *Malta*, which was the braveſt that ever was ſince Artillerie was firſt founded. But do not you who ſerve the King deſpair of honor and reward by my exemple, and becauſe I was not ſo well us'd, as perhaps I deſerv'd to have been; for this does not proceed from the Kings own nature. You may perhaps be more fortunate, and may not have ſo many Enemies as I, who for diſdaining to be any ones creature, had no Patron to defend me; and on the other ſide have been perhaps too liberal of my tongue, in ſpeaking freely what I thought. 'Tis dangerous ſometimes to ſpeak truth, and I could never lie nor diſſemble. Yet ſhall I not be ſo ingrate as not to acknowledg my ſelf highly oblig'd to the Kings my Maſters for the benefits and honours they have conferr'd upon me, who from the condition of a private Gentleman, have rais'd me to the greateſt Employments in the Kingdom: but I can alſo ſay that I purchaſed thoſe honours at the price of my blood. Now you muſt know that having recover'd a little, and finding my ſelf ſomething better of my wound, I writ a Letter to the King, which I have thought fit to inſert in this place, of which theſe were the Contents.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Letter to the King, which contains an abſtract of his whole life.

SIR,

I Have thus long deferr'd to prefer my Complaints, both by reaſon of the great indiſpoſition upon me, and alſo becauſe my friends were long before they would let me know of your Majeſties unkindneſs in taking from me the Government of *Guienne*. Had your Majeſty pleaſed to have had but two months patience only, you would have found that ſo ſoon as I had ſettled the Country in peace, I was reſolv'd moſt humbly to beſeech your Majeſty to provide for that Government, by reaſon of my age, and the great wound I have receiv'd, and then without diſgracing me, your Majeſty had had ſufficient argument to have deputed another in my place. But by the manner of doing it, your Majeſty has evidently manifeſted to all the world, that you have ſtript me of it for ſome forfeiture of mine, either as to matter of arms, or for ſome foul play I have practiſed upon your Majeſties Treaſure, by which means my honour is like to be brought into diſpute throughout the whole Kingdom, which I cannot think I have deſerv'd, and therefore am very much at a ſtand, as many others will be, to gueſs from whence the great diſtaſte your Majeſtie declares to have taken againſt me ſhould proceed; unleſs (out of the little hopes I had to be for the future ſerviceable to you) for having often importun'd your Majeſtie to make choice of ſome other in my ſtead; and as to that, your Majeſtie has ſince commanded me to reaſſume my former Authority, and to continue my adminiſtration. Neither can it be upon any jealouſie your Majeſtie can have entertein'd, that I have embezell'd your Majeſties Treaſure; for you would never have puniſht me for a crime whereof you could not as yet be aſſur'd that I was guilty; and I have that confidence in your Majeſtie's bounty and wiſdom, that you would not eaſily have given credit to reports ſo remote from all probability; for in the time that I have been your Majeſties Lieutenant in theſe parts, ſeveral Commiſſioners in Extraordinary, and ſeveral of your Receivers General, with other Officers of your Majeſties Exchequer, have made their Accounts, and had I been found in any of their Papers, I have friends at Court that would not have fail'd to have ſet a mark upon ſuch places, where my name was any way concern'd. But hitherto I have not been put to any diſtreſs in proving their accounts, foraſmuch as it cannot be found, that I have ever taken upon me to touch one penny of your Majeſties money, not only in this your own Province, but alſo at *Sienna*, and in *Tuſcany*, where I had much greater conveniency of doing it than I could have here. And your Majeſtie may particularly pleaſe to remember, that having done me the honor for three years laſt paſt, to order the penſion of ſix thouſand Livers a year I pay to the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, ſhould be diſcharg'd out of the Exchequer, I was ſo far from meddling with your Majeſties money without your leave, that I would never make uſe of that aſſignment. And of all this your Majeſty may be fully ſatisfied at the return of the Commiſſioners you have ſent into theſe parts, who I am very certain will not bring back my name in any of their accounts, or if they ſhould, there would yet be nothing prov'd againſt me, and therefore it cannot be imagin'd that your Majeſtie ſhould be diſſatisfied with me upon that account.

If peradventure your Majeſties diſpleaſure ſhould proceed from a belief that I have committed ſome fault in point of arms, this opinion would alſo be very contrary to that your Majeſty had of me, at the time when you were pleaſed three or four times to write me word, that I was the Reſtorer of *Guienne*; and I aſſure my ſelf your Majeſty has not forgot the reaſons why you were pleaſed to grace me with that honorable Title; but will, I hope pleaſe to remember, that it was becauſe in the firſt Commotions at *Tholouze*, the City having been diſputed for three dayes together, and in that diſpute two Thirds of the City won by the Rebels was at my coming deliver'd, the Aſſailants at the ſight of me only put to rout, and many of them taken and puniſht according to their deſert, inſomuch that to this day, the Inhabitants of the ſaid City look upon me as the Conſervator of their lives and eſtates, and the honor of their Wives. With like diligence and good fortune the City of *Bordeaux*, to which I went in two dayes and two nights from *Tholouze*, and where by the way I fought with, and routed the Forces that were gather'd together to hinder my paſſage, was by me immediately reliev'd. Having reſcued *Bordeaux* from the ſame danger that I had before *Tholouze*, without ſtaying longer than two dayes there, I croſt the River with ſixſcore Horſe, believing that Monſieur *de Burie* would come up to me, as indeed he did, but it was four hours after the fight, where he found that I had defeated ſix Enſigns of Foot, and ſeven Cornets of Horſe, commanded by Monſieur *de Duras*. And after this victory the ſaid Sieur *de Burie* and I went to beſiege *Mont-ſegur*, which was batter'd, and taken by aſſault, as was alſo *Penne of Agenois*. I after this in two daies took *Lectoure*, by reaſon that the late Captain *Montluc* had ſurpriz'd four hundred men of the Garriſon of the ſaid City, whom he had put all of them to the ſword; and immediately without reſting day or night I purſued Monſieur *de Duras* ſo cloſe, that I compell'd him to fight, before our Foot could come up to us; nay, I ſcarcely gave leiſure to Monſieur *de Burie* to come time enough to be preſent at the Engagement, where we ſucceeded ſo well, that a handful of men defeated three and twenty Enſigns of Foot, and thirteen Cornets of Horſe. After which I ſent your Majeſty ten Companies of *Spaniſh* Foot, of which we had made very little uſe; but that did good ſervice at the Battel of *Dreux*, as alſo did ten Companies of *Gaſcons*, which I ſent your Majeſty by Captain *Charry*, and your Province of *Guienne* remain'd quiet, and clear from all troubles, not a man daring to lift up his head but for your Majeſties ſervice; ſo that with good and juſt cauſe your Majeſtie conferr'd upon me the Title of Conſervator of *Guienne*.

The King ſtiles the Sieur *de Montluc* the Conſervator of *Guienne*.

The Battel of *Ver*.

As to the ſecond Troubles, I had long before ſufficiently advertiz'd your Majeſty, and the Queen your Royal Mother, of what you afterwards ſaw come to paſs, and though by your command I had twice or thrice letters ſent me, that I was very ill enform'd: I did not for all that ſlack my vigilancie, nor neglect to ſtand upon my Guard, that I might not be ſurpriz'd; but the ſame day that the Inſurrection hapned at *Paris*, without other intelligence than my own, and upon *Michaelmas* Eve, I put my ſelf into *Lectoure*, the moſt important City of all *Gaſcony*, in ſo opportune a ſeaſon, that I fruſtrated the deſign of ſix hundred men, which were to have been let in at the Poſtern, and after having preſerv'd the Town in your Majeſties obedience, knowing you ſtood in need of relief, as your Majeſty afterwards ſent me word, I made ſo good haſte in raiſing of men, that in 29 dayes after the ſaid *Michaelmas* day I ſent your Majeſty twelve hundred Horſe, and thirty Enſigns of Foot, which were conducted by me as far as *Limoges*, and from thence by the Sieurs *de Terride*, *de Gondrin*, and *de Mouſales*; when though it ſeem'd to many, that *Guienne* would be left a prey to the Vicompts, who had very great Forces; nevertheleſs at my return I found them ſo much work to do, that they gain'd nothing either upon me, or upon the Province: and with the few Forces I was able to gather together, I went afterwards into *Xaintonge*, where at my arrival thoſe who had taken arms at *Marennes* were defeated by *Madaillan*, and the Seneſchal of *Bazadois*, who after meeting with Monſieur *de Pons*, took *Marennes*, with the Iſles of *Oleron* and *Alvert*. With the like diligence was the Iſle of *Rhé* recover'd by my Nephew *de Leberon*, whom I ſent thither, and had your Majeſty been pleaſed to have furniſht me with what you promiſed of money, Artillery, and other Ammunitions of War, I had put fair to have reduced *Rochelle* it ſelf to your Majeſties obedience, before the Peace that was at that time concluded.

Relief ſent to the King.

Taking of the Iſles.

As to what concerns the laſt Troubles, it is true, that they broke out at a time when I was ſick, and ſcarce recovering from the danger of death, yet I did not nevertheleſs forbear to put my ſelf into the field, and to get together all the Horſe and Foot I poſſibly could, and hearing that the Forces of *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphine* were coming to fall into our Country, I went out accompanied with Monſieur *de la Valette* and *d'Eſcarts*, and ſome other Officers, to meet and fight them, and in ſo doing approacht them ſo near, that had not their Camp-maſter Captain *Moreau* been fortunately taken by us, we had

all

all been cut off, and defeated; for beſides that the Encounter had been in a place where the Horſe could not poſſibly have come to fight, they had moreover fought us at the advantage of ſix to one, we being no more than five and twenty hundred, and they above twenty thouſand men; all which will be made good by the teſtimony of the ſaid Sieurs *de la Valette*, *d'Eſcarts*, and other Captains, who were all of opinion, that the beſt we could do was to retire; and when we were all reſolv'd to coaſt the Enemy, to keep them a little in, and to try to get ſome advantage over them, the younger *Monſales* brought letters from your Majeſtie to all the Captains to march towards Monſieur *de Montpenſier*, and to me that I muſt return, which I accordingly did, both out of regard to my own ſickneſs, and alſo to preſerve the Country, as I have done ſo long as the Forces were in my hands. Being afterwards at *Cahors*, to which place I went with an intent to fight the Vicounts, I was advertiz'd that *Pilles* was about *Agenois* with a great number of Horſe, whom thinking to ſurprize, I marched day and night to fight him, which had alſo ſo faln out, had it not been that Monſieur *de Fontenilles*, and Captain *Montluc* with ſome Light-horſe met with five or ſix Cornets of the ſaid *Pilles* his Cavalry, whom they charg'd with ſo great fury that they put them to rout, which made the ſaid *Pilles* the ſame night paſs the River *Dordogne*, and retreat towards the Body of their Army.

As to the coming of the Count *de Montgommery*, 'tis very well known, that at my departure from *Mont de Marſan*, which in two hours time I had beſieg'd, aſſaulted, and taken, Monſieur *d'Anville* carried away all the Forces in order to ſome deſigns he had in *Languedoc*, leaving me no more but my own Company, with thoſe of Meſſieurs *de Fontenilles* and *de Gondrin*, and five Enſigns of Foot, with which I was fain to make ſhift for the defence of *Lectoure*, *Florence*, *Ville-neufve*, and *Agen*; and although the ſaid Mareſchal afterwards call'd from me the forenam'd two Companies, and that I was left alone with my own, yet did I not for all that forbear to put my ſelf into *Agen*, when the Army of the Princes drew near, without being reliev'd by any but the Sieur *de Fontenilles* onely, who indeed came and brought his Company to my aſſiſtance. From which Town of *Agen* the Princes Army were very much incommodated; and whereas they had thrown a Bridg of Boats over the *Garonne*, with a deſign to paſs into the Country, and of *Condommois* and *Agenois*, to make as it were a City; I broke their Bridg, and ſo ſhatter'd it to pieces, that they could never recover any more than two of the Boats, with which they repaſſed the River, but ſo leiſurely withal, that had your Majeſty been pleaſed to have ſent me never ſo few Forces, I could have kept them well enough from ever uniting again. And whereas during the time of the ſaid Princes being in theſe parts, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of certain Caſtles in the Country of *Agenois*, I retook them, and reduced them all to your Majeſties obedience.

Your Majeſtie has ſince commanded me to go make War in the Country of *Bearn*; wherein I ſo promptly obeyed your Command, that though it was very hard to raiſe men, by reaſon that every one took the Peace for concluded, notwithſtanding in leſs then fifteen dayes I ſet on foot five and fourty Enſigns of Infantry, and ſix hundred Light-horſe, with which I reſolv'd to invade the Country, either to force *Montamat* to a Battel, or to ſuffer his Towns and Caſtles to be taken one after another before his face, as any one may judg it muſt of neceſſity have fall'n out. For having begun with *Rabaſteins*, as it was neceſſary I ſhould, for the reaſons I have before laid down, though it was one of the ſtrongeſt places of all *Guienne*, I carried it in eight dayes time, playing at once in my own perſon the parts of Pioneer, Canoneer, Soldier, and Captain. Where in making my approaches I was like to have loſt my youngeſt Son, who was ſhot cloſe by my ſide, as alſo was Captain *Paullac*; and when it came to an Aſſault, ſeeing the two firſt Companies did not go on as I deſir'd they ſhould have done, I went my ſelf to the Breach, accompanied with the Signieurs *de Goas*, and the Vicount *d'Uza*, and followed by about a hundred or ſixſcore Gentlemen, of which two and fourty were hurt, I my ſelf being one of the number of thoſe that were wounded, and in ſuch a part that I ſhall carry the marks of it to my Grave. And although this action joyn'd to others of the like nature, that I have perform'd during the Reigns of the Kings your Father and Grandfather, make me hope for no other advantages than what was before in the proſpect of my ambition, namely a gracious acceptation, and an honourable acknowledgment of my ſervice from the ſaid Kings my Maſters; I had reaſon however to believe that your Majeſtie would have my performances in ſome little eſteem. Moreover I repreſented in my perſon before your eyes an old Soldier of threeſcore and ten years of age, your Majeſties Lieutenant General in theſe parts, and one who onely in giving the word of Command to others, without engaging in his own perſon, might have ſufficiently perform'd the duty of his charge; but who nevertheleſs out of the zeal he had to render your Majeſtie Victorious in all your Enterprizes, put himſelf into the rank of the meaneſt Foot-Soldiers, and in the greateſt

danger

danger of death, where ſeveral Gentlemen alſo ran the ſame fortune, eſteeming it a great honor and happineſs to follow one of the oldeſt Soldiers, not to ſay Captains of *France*. I alſo thought your Majeſty might have conſider'd, that as in the firſt Tumults, the firſt Victories your Majeſtie obtein'd were by my hand, I had likewiſe in theſe laſt Commotions rendred you victorious in the laſt Enterprize of War that was perform'd in the Kingdom: But when I expected a Letter at leaſt, ſuch as your Majeſty is accuſtomed to write to the meaneſt Captain in your Kingdom, all the fruits of my great labour, and long expectation, was only to hear that you had depriv'd me of my Government, and (which was worſe) without ſending me ſo much as one ſyllable to ſignifie your Royal intention, inſomuch that I ſaw the man already come who was to ſucceed me, before I had any intimation of my being caſhier'd from my Command. Nay, at the very ſame time, that by an univerſal Law throughout the whole Kingdom your Majeſty has reſtor'd to their Eſtates and Employments all ſuch as have been depriv'd of them, I may ſay that by a particular Law made for me alone, I am degraded from an Employment wherein I have ſo long maintain'd my ſelf with my ſword in my hand. But though I had been ſtript to my Doublet, I ſhould yet remain clothed with a Robe of Honor, to wit, the Reputation of having born arms from my Childhood for the ſervice of your Crown, with all the fidelity that the Kings my Maſters could themſelves deſire. I am ſure every one will frankly confeſs that I have been in as many Combats, Battels, Rencounters, Enterprizes both by day and night, Aſſaults, Takings, and Defences of Towns, as any man this day alive in *Europe*; and for ſuch am known in Forreign Nations as well as at home, and yet I can ſay with truth (for which the Glory be attributed to God, and the honor to the Kings my Maſters, who were pleaſed to employ me) that whether it were through my good fortune the influence of their Majeſties arms, or any other accidents conducing to it, I was never defeated in any place, where I had the honor to command in Chief, nor never attaqu'd my Enemy but I beat him. Several perſons of honor yet living will alſo bear witneſs of my behaviour at the Battels of *Pavie*, the *Bicoque*, and *Serizolles*, where I had the Command of all the Harquebuzeers, and alſo in what eſteem the late Sieur *de Lautrec* had me, for having ſeen me in his own preſence fight betwixt *Bayonne* and *Fontarabie*; as alſo for having ſerv'd under him in a Command of Foot in his Expedition into *Lombardy*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, in which ſervices I received no leſs than four Harquebuze ſhots. There are alſo ſeveral men of honor yet alive, who very well remember how I carried my ſelf at the taking of the County of *Oye*, in the quality of Camp-Maſter to all the *French* Foot; and others are able to teſtifie in what eſteem I was with the Prince of *Malphe*, and the late Mareſchal *de Briſſac*, for having ſeen me in *Piedmont*, at all hours, and upon all occaſions both night and day venture my life for the ſervice of this Crown, as others can witneſs, that at the time when the diſgrace befel our people in the Lower *Bullen*, I alone with a very ſmall number of men maintain'd the fight, and at the time when your Majſties Royal Father, my good Maſter of bleſſed memory, gave me for loſt, I came out in deſpite of the *Engliſh*, and brought off with me two and twenty Colours of ours, that had been taken, inſomuch that one only remain'd in the hands of the Enemy. If Monſieur *de Guiſe* were now alive, he would not conceal what he ſaw me do at the taking of *Thionville*, no more than will Monſieur le Mareſchal *de Ville-neufue*, who can witneſs if it was not I who took the Tower, from whence enſued the loſs of the Town. All the Captains of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany* will for ever honor me for what I did at the Siege of *Sienna*, where I was the late King your Father's Lieutenant, as I was afterwards in *Tuſcany*, where I loſt nothing, but remain'd victorious over the Enemy, and had my ſervices ſo highly accepted by your Royal Father, that beſides that at my return from *Sienna*, he conferr'd upon me the Order, which in thoſe dayes was a mark of great and extraordinary ſervice, he moreover gave me the County of *Gaure* for term of life, which ſince, and after the death of my ſaid Royal Maſter, at the calling in of your Majeſties Demeaſns was taken from me, without the leaſt murmur or ſhew of diſcontent on my part at my being ſo depriv'd.

All theſe things, Sir, I have thought fit to repreſent unto you, foraſmuch as your Majeſty may peradventure not have heard of them, and that in ſpeaking of me in your Majeſties preſence I may by ſome have been otherwiſe repreſented, and have had other Characters given of me than I deſerve. I know that ſometimes they have made as if I were a Thief, and that otherwhiles, and for the moſt part have talkt as if for three years laſt paſt I had done nothing of any moment. Wherein, Sir, they have abuſed your Majeſty more than they did me; for all the ill tongues in the world cannot deprive me of the honor I have acquir'd, whereas by their importunity they may have induced you to do a thing that I fear may be of ill exemple to men of my Trade; foraſmuch as thoſe who have of late been

call'd

call'd to Offices and Commands, and who deſire to advance themſelves by the exerciſe of arms, will be apt by my exemple to apprehend, that long ſervices, and the glory by thoſe ſervices acquir'd throughout the world will not ſtand them in ſo much ſtead as the evil tongues of their Maligners, and ſuch as would put a bar to their preferment, may do them harm.

It remains, Sir, that for the concluſion of my long and tedious Letter I muſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to excuſe me, if after ſuch a blow of fortune I have been conſtrain'd to addreſs my Complaint, and to ſigh out my grievance to you, and you alone; and have been oblig'd to do it, as well to make my ſelf better known to your Majeſty, than I have been in times paſt, as alſo moſt humbly to beſeech you, that for the time to come, when your Majeſty ſhall be importun'd to uſe either me, or any other of your good and faithful ſervants ſo unkindly, you will pleaſe to reſerve evermore one ear for the accuſed, before you reſolve upon doing any thing that may wound or diſhonor them. As for what concerns my ſelf, out of the deſire I have ever had to ſee your Majeſty proſper, I am very glad if in theſe laſt troubles you have been ſo well, and ſo ſucceſsfully ſerv'd in all parts of your Kingdom by all thoſe your Majeſtie has employed as by me, who on this ſide have preſerv'd your Cities, and the Country committed to my charge, have beaten your Enemies as oft as I could get opportunity to fight them, and taken Towns by aſſault, with the extreameſt peril of my life. And though it has been ſaid, that I have done nothing conſiderable, yet I beſeech your Majeſtie to believe that no man has ſurpaſſ'd me in good intention, and a hearty deſire to ſerve you. After which (ſince ſuch is your royal pleaſure) I am willing to retire without other mark of all my labours, and the ſervices of ſo many years, but the ſorrow for the loſs of my Children ſacrific'd to your Crown, and ſeven Harquebuze ſhots, which will ſerve continually to put me in mind of the humble and affectionate devotion I have ever had to perform the beſt and moſt obedient ſervice to your glorious Predeceſſors; which alſo I ſhall ever retein for your Sacred Majeſtie, to whom I pray Almighty God to give all proſperity, health, and happineſs, &c.

This was my Letter, which more perplexed the Monſieurs, who at that time govern'd the Court, to comment upon, than it did me to write it. And that unknown to me was afterwards printed and publiſht; for my friends, and ſuch as beſt knew what I had done for the conſervation of *Guienne*, were as much, or more offended, than I. And I would have it known, that both then and ſince, had I as diſloyal a heart as they have, who after the firſt Commotions repreſented me to the Queen for a *Spaniard*, I had yet means, and intereſt enough to have done a great deal of miſchief: But I neither am, nor ever will be other than a good *Frenchman*, and a true Servant to the Crown. I alſo know very well that none of theſe doings proceeded from the King, who never withdrew his favour from me. But a young Prince involv'd in ſo many affairs has much ado to pleaſe all the world; to which may be added, that ſeveral who could hurt me no way but with their tongues, had a very great influence, not over his Majeſtie (who never lov'd the Hugonots, what ever he might pretend for his own repoſe) but with the Council. O that Kings and Princes ought to be very tender of diſgracing a man, who has ever been loyal and faithful to them, and who is a man of ſpirit: for it might light upon ſuch an one, as may put their affairs into a very ill poſture, of which within theſe fifty years we have ſeen too many exemples, to the great loſs and detriment of the King of *France*, as I have ſaid before, when ſpeaking of the traverſes and ill offices that ſeveral great Captains have receiv'd at Court. How many are there, that had they been uſed after this manner, would not only have quitted all, but perhaps have done a great deal worſe: for a man that does his duty, and finds himſelf ill rewarded, it goes to his heart. I have heard that either King *Francis*, or *Lewis* (I know not which of them it was) one day asking a Gentleman, a *Gaſcon*, as I am, *What would debauch him from his ſervice? Nothing Sir*, reply'd the other, *unleſs it be a deſpite*. And it is alſo an old ſaying, that *Out of ſpite a man would turn Turk*. Notwithſtanding, all this unkindneſs could never make me either Spaniard or Hugonot. I have ever lov'd my honor too well for that, and will go down to my Grave with that fair white Robe, without ſuffering the leaſt ugly ſpot upon the name of *Montluc*; and every one that has any regard to his honor ought to do the ſame. If his King and Maſter will not make uſe of his ſervice he may ſit at home, and look on to ſee how others behave themſelves. If he be a man of valour, fortune that caſt him down, will raiſe him up again; ſhe is not alwayes angry. How many great Lords and valiant Captains have we ſeen cultivating their Gardens at home in a time of action, whom the King has been conſtrain'd to recall into his ſervice, and could have wiſhed he had never remov'd them from him?

A *Gaſcon* Gentleman's anſwer to the King.

The miſerable condition of ſuch as revolt from their Princes.

I have ſeen a great many in my time, both on the King's ſide, and alſo on the Emperor's, who have turn'd their Caſſocks, and ſome very lightly, and upon very ſlender occaſion: but they obtein'd no great advancement by it, and being amongſt us, were lookt upon for ſuch as they were. I believe our Enemies did the ſame. Every one loves the Treaſon well enough, but they hate the Traitor. When that brave Prince *Charles de Bourbon* was conſtrain'd to ſide with the Emperor, and to give himſelf to the Devil, becauſe God would have nothing to do with him (for doubtleſs he was compell'd and neceſſitated to it) we were told that even the *Spaniards* themſelves lookt askew upon him; and the poor Prince after he had done a great deal of miſchief left his life. When after he was ſlain at *Rome*, it was a common diſpute, whether the Pope, the King of *France*, or the Emperor was moſt glad of his death; the firſt, becauſe he held him beſieg'd; the King, in that he was deliver'd from a capital Enemy; or the Emperor, for being rid of a baniſht and neceſſitous Prince, that lay upon his hands, and was a burthen to him; though he had only nouriſht him with promiſes, and nothing elſe. Theſe ſcurvie deſpites proceed too far; am ſure mine never did, nor ever ſhall make me do any thing contrary to my duty, or to the prejudice of my honor. If I was young, and that the King would not make uſe of my ſervice, the world is wide enough, I would ſeek my fortune elſewhere; but never at the expence of my Prince, nor at the price of my own honor. The King having receiv'd my Letter, ſent me in anſwer a great many good words, for they coſt them nothing; the end will ſhew whether the Province will be better govern'd, and his Majeſtie better ſerv'd, and whether they who have ſucceeded me (though they are great perſons, and great Captains) have done, or ſhall do hereafter better than I.

But to return to the place where I left off; my Wife came to fetch me from *Marſac*, from whence ſhe carried me in her Litter to *Caſſaigne* near unto *Condom*, where to refreſh me I was for three weeks together ſo crucified with the Cholick, that it had like to have cur'd me of all other diſeaſes. In this condition I had the comfort of Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother, who never left me till he ſaw me out of danger of death; and ſeveral Lords alſo both Catholick and Hugonot came to ſee me. Before Captain *Montaut* arriv'd at Court the Queen diſpatcht away Monſieur *de Beaumont*, Steward of the Prince of *Navarre*'s Houſhold, by whom ſhe ſent me word, that in caſe I was in the Territories of the Queen of *Navarre*, I ſhould forthwith retire, and put my men into Garriſon. See what a ſudden change was here! I askt him if there was a Peace concluded, to which he made anſwer, no; but that it was hoped there ſuddenly would. *Why then ſhould the King*, ſaid I, *put his Army into Garriſon? Is not the Country already ſufficiently ruin'd and deſtroy'd? If I do this when the Peace ſhall come, and that we are to disband our Horſe and Foot, not one of them but will plunder his Hoſt for a farewel, ſeeing themſelves diſmiſſed without money.*

The Army diſbanded.

Seeing then it is ſo, that they are order'd to be put into Garriſons, I will even disband them for all together, and ſend them every man to his own houſe. To this end then I deſir'd Monſieur *de Valence* to write, and ſign a Letter (I being in no condition to do it) to Monſieur *de Gondrin* forthwith to diſmiſs the Army, both Horſe and Foot, and that every one in four dayes ſhould be retir'd to his own home; which was accordingly perform'd. Monſieur *de Beaumont* himſelf carried the Letter to Monſieur *de Gondrin*, and five weeks after the Queen ſent to me to disband the Army, which I had done before, and by ſo doing had ſav'd the people above 500000 Livers, as the Country it ſelf will witneſs. I had ſav'd the pitiful 4000 Francks that I had from the King untoucht, ſaving a hundred Crowns, that I took out to give Captain *Montaut* to defray his Journey to Court. And thus it was that I robb'd the Exchequer, and poll'd the People. Such about his Majeſtie as favour the Hugonots, do not care how deeply they charge me with Calumnies; but I would have the world to know, and do here declare, that in ſo many years that I have commanded, and in all the great Employments wherein I have been I could never enrich my ſelf 20000 Francks, and yet they ſtick not to affirm, that I have pill'd and poll'd 300000 Crowns. I could wiſh it was true, provided it had been from the Hugonots our Enemies. God be praiſed for all. Theſe ſlanderers ſhall never have that advantage over me as to make me hang down my head, but I will walk with my face erect, like a man of honor. The Treaſurers and Receivers are yet living: let his Majeſty enform himſelf of them: let him examine their accounts, where if he find any one ſingle Lyard converted to my profit, his Majeſty does not do well if he do not bring me to my Trial. It is no wonder his Majeſty is ſo ill ſerv'd, as 'tis reported he is, conſidering he makes no exemple; he is then to blame himſelf, and not thoſe that do it. And as to Impoſitions and Taxes upon the People to enrich my ſelf, and to fill my own Coffers, his Majeſty in this caſe ought yet to be more ſevere againſt me than in the other, by how much the people are more to be pitried than the King; who if he want money knows how to make his people find it. 'Tis a priviledge

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our Kings have ſo ſoon as they come out of their Page-ſhip, as one ſaid of *Lewis* the Eleventh; which makes me conclude, that the King ought to inflict a more ſevere puniſhment upon thoſe who flea his people, than if they purloin'd from his own Exchequer. The Commiſſioners have given an account of all ſorts of men who have rais'd money, let them look if they can find me in their Papers, and if any be come into my purſe. I confeſs I have diſpos'd of ſome Hugonots Eſtates, who pretended to ſit ſtill at home, but were worſe than the others who were in arms: neither was it reaſonable, that they ſhould be better uſed than the poor Catholicks, who were gnawn to the very bones; and had I not done it, the Gentry would have taken it ill, and the common Soldier would have revolted: for where there is nothing to be got but blows men will hardly go volunteer to the Wars. Moreover they would have ſaid I had held intelligence with the Enemy, by which means I ſhould not have had a man to follow me; and I had rather have died than to have had ſuch a repute. Had the King's Officers ſeized of theſe mens Eſtates, they would have extracted no leſs than a million of Francks: but there was juggling amongſt them, and they held intelligence with one another. I have had my ſhare; but it has ever been fair prize, and onely taken from ſuch as carried Proviſions and Merchandize to the Enemy; and yet I do believe all I made bold with being put all together, would not amount to above 3000 Crowns. Would to God that all the Chiefs of *France* had gone as roundly to work for the ſervice of the King and Kingdom as I, and that by war they had deſir'd to eſtabliſh peace; which if they had, not a man in the Kingdom would have dar'd to have profeſſed himſelf a Hugonot. But I ſhall leave this unpleaſing diſcourſe.

A little while after the Peace was publiſhed, the articles of which were very much to the Enemies advantage. We had beaten, and beaten them over, and over again; but notwithſtanding they had evermore ſuch an intereſt in the King's Council, that all the Edicts continually ran very high in their favour. We got the better by arms, but they alwayes over-reached us in thoſe confounded writings. Ah, poor Prince, how wofully are you ſerv'd, how ruinouſly are you adviz'd! If your majeſty take not heed, your Kingdom from the moſt flouriſhing, will be made the moſt miſerable that ever was; which though it was in the Reigns of your Grandfather and Royal Father, aſſaulted with many and potent Enemies, and continually engag'd in war, wherein I have ever faithfully ſerv'd, yet matters ſtill went on in excellent good order, and Commands were not prophan'd, as in theſe dayes. I paſs by the injury your Majeſty does your ſelf, in giving your Enemies ſo great advantages by theſe fine Edicts. I ſhall not meddle with the corruption of your Courts of Judicature, nor the abuſes in your Treaſure, I only beg leave to ſay ſomething concerning the ordering of your *Militia*; for ſhould I plunge my ſelf further into what has cauſed the ruine of your Kingdom, I ſhould be forced to ſpeak too loud, and that of no little ones. The Peace publiſhed.

I know, Sir, very well, that your Majeſty will not do me the honor to read my Book; you have other employment, and your time is too pretious to be laviſht in reading the life of a Soldier, but perhaps ſome one who ſhall have read it, in diſcourſe may give your Majeſty ſome account of what it contains. For which reaſon I have aſſum'd the boldneſs to direct this ſhort diſcourſe I am about to make to your Majeſties obſervation, and I beſeech you take a little notice of it, foraſmuch as therein are laid open the cauſes of thoſe diſaſters I have ſeen happen in our Kingdom within theſe fifty years; in the beginning of which I firſt took up arms in the Reign of your Grandfather, King *Francis* of bleſſed memory, during whoſe Reign a Cuſtom was introduced, which I conceive to be very prejudicial to your State. Your Majeſty may alter it, and in ſo doing do a great right to your ſelf and your Kingdom, as to the concern of arms. A young Prince, as you are, for birth the greateſt and the firſt of Chriſtendom ought evermore to learn of old Captains. Your Majeſty is naturally martial, and have a generous heart, and therefore will not, I hope diſdain the advice of an old Soldier, your Subject, and Servant. I remember the time when your Majeſty took a delight to talk with me in private, then when you went your Expedition to *Bayonne*, and then very well perceiv'd that your diſcourſe exceeded the capacity of your age, and to ſuch a degree, that I dare be bold to ſay, might your Majeſty have had your own way, all things had ſucceeded a great deal better: for though you had done nothing but only ſhewed your ſelf, and have let your people ſee, that you was in perſon in your Army, you had at leaſt gain'd the hearts of many, and aſtoniſht the reſt, and conſequently had, without diſpute been much better ſerv'd in this your Majeſties maturer Age. I do believe it was one of the greateſt errors they made you commit (for it was not your Majeſties fault that you was ſhut up when your Armies march't.) The people of your Kingdom are a good and an affectionate people, and rejoyce to ſee their King, ſo that your preſence would have inſpir'd a great many, and particularly of our Country of

Guienne with wiſer and more loyal Councils than ſome of them have ſince embrac't. But I proceed to my diſcourſe.

Sir, when your Majeſtie conferres the place of a Preſident, a Chancellor, a Lieutenant Criminal, or any other Office of Judicature upon any one, it is evermore with this reſervation, that they ſhall not execute any of theſe Charges till firſt they ſhall be examin'd by your Parliaments, which are full of wiſe and learned men: and oftentimes your Majeſtie gives order, that they ſhall firſt be examin'd by your Chancellor, before they preſent themſelves before the Parliaments, which are to determine of their Capacities, and whether or no they be ſufficiently read in the Law, not to be in danger of erring in the Arreſts and Judgments they are to make in their Adminiſtrations, that ſo right may be done to thoſe of your Subjects to whom it ſhall duly appertein. This, Sir, is a good and an equitable way of proceeding, for you owe us Juſtice impartial, and according to the weight of the Ballance. 'Tis a right to which we are born, and the chief thing you owe indifferently to all; and therefore it is admirably well done, to make them paſs thoſe ſtrict and ſevere Inquiſitions that are requir'd in the Chambers of your Parliaments aſſembled. Yet can it not be ordered ſo, that Juſtice in all things is alwaies duly executed.

Diſorders in the Kingdom of *France* through the defect of inexperienced Officers.

You ought, Sir, to do the ſame in all other Offices and Commands you confer in your Kingdom; and yet I ſee that the firſt that makes ſuit to your Majeſtie for the Government of a place, a Company of Gens-d'arms, or of Foot, or the Office of a Camp-maſter, without conſidering what loſs or detriment may thereby enſue, either to your own perſon, or your Kingdom, you eaſily grant it, perhaps at the recommendation of the firſt Lady that ſpeaks for it, and that perhaps your Majeſty has danced with over night at a Ball; for whatſoever affairs are on foot, the Ball muſt trot. Sir, theſe Ladies have too much credit in your Court. O how many miſchiefs have, and do daily ariſe, from having ſo lightly conferr'd theſe Commands! And although your Majeſties proceeding be prudent, and juſt in expoſing your Officers of the long Robe to the utmoſt teſt, it is not however of ſo great importance to your State. For what loſs can you ſuſtain if they be ignorant? it falls not upon you; for he that gains the Tryal though contrary to Law and right, pays you the ſame duties that he did who is nonſuited in his cauſe: by which means you loſe nothing of your Revenue, it is ſtill in the Kingdom; and what imports it to you whether *John* or *Peter* be Lord of ſuch, or ſuch a Mannor ſo long as you have your Fee-farm rents ſtill duly paid you? We are all your Subject: But the error and ignorance of Governors and Captains who obtein Places and Commands with great eaſe, at the firſt word of the firſt that asks, is infinitely prejudicial to your Kingdom, and herein I am very confident all the great Captains and men of honor that are zealous for your ſervice will be of my opinion.

If your Majeſty give the Government of a Place to a man of no experience, and who has never been in ſuch a Command before, ſee what will follow. Firſt it is an old ſaying, that *When the eye ſees what before it never ſaw, the heart thinks that which before it never thought.* If therefore a Siege be clapt down before him, how is it to be expected that he ſhould diſengage himſelf? how is it poſſible he ſhould underſtand and diſcover the deſigns of the Enemy, on what part they can or will aſſault him? which there is a way to do without a Spy, as I have made it to appear by what I did at *Sienna*. How ſhould he know how to fortifie and ſecure himſelf, and in ſhort do a thouſand, and a thouſand things that will be neceſſary to be done, if he have never before been engag'd in ſuch affairs? Such as have been ten times beſieg'd are apt enough to be ſtartled at it, and oftentimes ſo aſtoniſht that they know not where they are. Now when your Majeſty hears that your place is going to be beleaguer'd, you will preſently fall to raiſing an Armie, as you have good reaſon to do, not daring to rely upon the ſmall experience of this young Governor, and perhaps ſhall be conſtrain'd to go in haſte in your own perſon, or at leaſt to ſend one of my Lords your Brothers; where either the Town muſt be loſt, or you muſt hazard a Battel, where your ſelf, or one of your Brothers who ſhall command your Armie may be ſlain, together with ſeveral Princes of you blood, and a great number of your beſt Captains. Conſider then, I beſeech you Sir, the mighty loſs and miſadventure that depends upon your eaſie conferring ſuch a Command upon a man, without firſt knowing what he is able to do. For if he is a man of experience, and that he has manifeſted himſelf in all places where he has been under good Leaders, to be a man of courage and underſtanding; ſo ſoon as he ſhall enter into the place, he will preſently fall to conſidering of the ſtrength, and weakneſs of it, recollecting what he has ſeen done elſewhere, where he has been engag'd under another, and what he has ſeen ſuch and ſuch a Captain do upon the like occaſion; and thereupon will ſuddenly take order for the defects of the place, and begin to fortifie. He will alſo demand of you an Engineer, will enform you

The diligence requir'd in a Chief.

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of the Ammunition both of Victual, Arms, and Artillerie that he has found there, and will never ceaſe ſolliciting till you have ſupplied him with all things neceſſarie, knowing very well what an inconvenience the loſs of the place would bring upon you. When ſo ſoon as your Majeſtie ſhall have furniſht him with all he deſires, and that by his foreſight he ſhall have provided againſt all the defects of the place, he may then know what he has to truſt to, and ſhall have leiſure to conſider what he has to do, without precipitation, which I have ever obſerv'd to be very dangerous in war, unleſs it be in an affair that requires extreme haſt and diligence.

And herein two things preſent themſelves to your Majeſties conſideration; the firſt, that when your Enemy ſhall have heard of the valour of your Governor, and his great experience, together with the great foreſight and diligence wherewith he has been careful to remedie the defects of his place, and the good diſcipline he there maintains; is it to be ſuppoſed, that he will venture to attacque a man qualified with the forenamed virtues? I do believe there is no Aſſailant in the world but would think of it twice before he would once reſolve to do it, and if he call a Council about it, he will find that hardly one old Captain will adviſe him to go on to his own ruine; and if the Chief be a circumſpect and experienced man, the counſel of the young hot-headed fellows muſt not be preferr'd to that of the old Soldiers, for they better underſtand the buſineſs of the world than the others do: and are unwilling to hazard the honor they have got; foraſmuch as men look only upon the laſt of our actions, without much regarding what they have perform'd before. So much concerning the firſt. Now the ſecond thing that preſents it ſelf to your Majeſties conſideration, is, that your Majeſtie reflecting upon the valour of the perſon you have entruſted with defence of your place, his diligence, and experience, will be at quiet within your ſelf, knowing very well that ſuch a man will do no unhandſome things, but will be tender of his own honor, as well as careful of his truſt: by which means you ſhall have time to raiſe your Armie at leiſure, and ſhall come to encamp your ſelf in an advantagious place, where if your Enemie come to aſſault you, he ſhall be defeated; and on the other ſide, if he offer to aſſault the Town, you lye ſo cloſe in his Rear, that let the Breach be never ſo wide, he dares not go to the aſſault, foraſmuch as whether he enter or no he is certain to be defeated, for you ſurprize him in diſorder; which will make him very warie of attempting any thing, where his ruine is ſo manifeſt before him; and either force him to raiſe his Siege, and betake himſelf to ſome other Enterprize, or elſe come to aſſault you in your Fort; which alſo he will have a care of doing, as was the Emperor *Charles* at the Camp in *Provence*, at the time when your Majeſties Grandfather was fortified in the plain field, and that the Enemie made a ſhew of attacquing *Marſeilles*. You are evermore to take heed of committing errors in the beginning of a War; for if your affairs have once a diſrepute upon them in the beginning, your Majeſtie may be aſſured, that your Soldiers will loſe courage, and every one will ſeek an opportunity to run away, inſomuch that you are never to hope your Army ſhall do any thing to purpoſe after. Of which I ſhall give your Majeſtie ſome Exemples, that you may ſee of how great importance it is to have a good Governor in a Town of War. Of theſe Exemples, the firſt ſhall be *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who after having loſt two Battels againſt the *Swiſs* at *Morat*, came with his baffled Army to ſit down before *Nancy*, which he thought to ſurprize, *René* King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Lorrain* never dreaming that he would come to beſiege that place; by which means it was totally unprovided, both of Victuals, Ammunition, and Men. King *René* had with him five or ſix *Gaſcon* Gentlemen (for theſe Princes of *Lorrain* have ever had a great kindneſs for our Nation) namely Captain *Gratian Daguerre*, a poor Gentleman of this Country call'd *Pons*, another call'd *Gaian*, and another whoſe name was *Roquepines*; the others were ſlain during the Siege, where theſe brave *Gaſcons* did ſo valiantly behave themſelves, that with ſome of the Country people that put themſelves into the Town, and ſome Gentlemen of the ſaid Country, they defended the Town, and endur'd the laſt extremity of famine, by that means giving King *René* leiſure to go himſelf into *Switzerland* to fetch his relief. King *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France* would not openly aſſiſt him, by reaſon of the League he had contracted with the Duke; but (as you Princes ordinarily do) he favour'd him underhand, and disbanded four hundred men at arms, that were advanc'd as far as *Pont St. Vincent*, within two leagues of *Nancy*; ſo that when the Duke ſaw the *Swiſs* coming upon him, he raiſed the Siege, and there loſt both the Battel and his life. Had *John d'Albert* King of *Navarre*, when he ſaw the Forces of *Ferdinand* coming to fall upon him, put one or two good Captains into *Pampelona*, he had not ſo poorly loſt his Kingdom, as he did; for there wanted only a good man to have ſtopt the Career of the *Spaniard*, the place was good enough. But he loſt the Kingdom both for himſelf and his Poſterity; for it is in too good a hand

That the valour of a Governor withholds an Enemy from coming to attacque him.

The Duke of *Burgundy* defeated before *Nancy*.

The loſs of *Pampelona*.

a hand ever to retrieve it. Theſe are two Exemples of Antiquity that I have receiv'd from the old Captains of that Age; and I have heard others related, which I could here ſet down; but I leave thoſe to the Hiſtorians, who are able to give a better account of them than I, and will now preſent your Majeſty with ſome of my own.

Antonio de Leva a great Captain.

King *Francis* your Grandfather laid Siege to *Pavie*, where I was; he found within it *Antonio de Leva* a Spaniard, and a man that by a long practice in arms had gain'd as great experience as any other Captain that has been theſe hundred years. He had within but three Enſigns of Italians, and three thouſand German Foot. His Majeſty held him above ſeven months beſieg'd, in which time he had given ſeveral aſſaults, though the place was not very ſtrong; but this Captain by his induſtrie and valour ſupply'd all other defects, and defended it ſo long, that he gave Monſieur *de Bourbon* time to go fetch relief out of *Germany*, and come and fight a Battel with the King, which he won, and took the King priſoner; and had the ſaid Sieur *de Bourbon* in the heat of this victory turn'd his Forces towards *France*, I know not how matters would have gone; and all theſe ſucceſſes befel the Emperor for having made choice of this old Warriour, who put a ſtop to our Kings fortune.

The Duke of *Guiſe* at *Metz*.

Of recent memory the valiant Duke of *Guiſe* put a ſhameful baffle upon the Emperor *Charles* at *Metz*, whom he conſtrain'd ignominiouſly to raiſe his Siege, whereupon his great Army vaniſht into nothing, through the ſole virtue of the Chief that oppos'd him.

His Son at *Poictieres*.

And again in theſe late Commotions his Son, the Duke of *Guiſe* that now is, has preſerv'd *Poictieres*, a great City without a Fortreſs, which had it been taken by the Admiral, he had commanded all *Poictau* and *Xaintonge* to the very Gates of *Bordeaux*, wherein the virtue of this young Prince very much reliev'd your Majeſties affairs, and was ſignally ſerviceable to the whole Kingdom.

Captain *Pilles* at *St. Jean*.

In like manner your Majeſties Victory at *Moncontour* was demurr'd by the choice your Enemies made of Captain *Pilles* left in *St. Jean*, where the valour of this Chief, who very well underſtood how to defend his Poſt, ſet the Hugonot affairs again on foot, who by that means had leiſure to ſteal away, and to come to fall upon us in *Guienne*. I have been told, that he was well aſſiſted by a Captain, a very brave Soldier, call'd *la Mote Puiols*; but had they let me alone at the Battel of *Ver*, I had taken order with him for ever making war againſt you more; for I had my ſword at his throat, when ſome body, I know not who, pull'd him away from me, and ſav'd him. If the Admiral was upon his confeſſion, he would not deny but that my ſole perſon hindred him from attacquing *Agen*, which is no tenable place; doubt not then Sir, but that the valour of one ſingle man is able to give a ſtop to a torrent of ſucceſs.

Your Kingdom is the beſt peopled of any Kingdom in the world, and you are rich in great and faithful Captains, if you pleaſe to employ them, and not take in ſuch as are incapable of command. *Charles* the Emperor, as I have oft been told, made his boaſts that he had better Commanders than the late King *Francis*; and in truth he had very good ones, but ours were nothing inferior to them. You have choice enough, Sir, to put into your Frontier places.

Franget at *Fontarabie*.

Do but conſider of how great moment was the loſs of *Fontarabie*, through the little experience of Captain *Franget*, and how dear the loſs of *Bullen* coſt your Father through the little experience of the Sieur *de Vervins*, who was Governor there.

The Sieur *de Vervins* at *Bullen*.

And on the contrary, you may, Sir, pleaſe to remember (for I am certain you have heard it) what honour and advantage accru'd from the election your Royal Father, my good Maſter, made of that old Cavalier Monſieur *de Sanſac*, who ſo long ſuſtein'd the Siege at *Miranda*; and the choice he was pleaſed to make of my poor perſon for the defence of *Sienna*, which was honourable to the *French* name.

Sanſac at *Miranda*, and *Montluc* at *Sienna*.

The ſecurity of a place, Sir, depends upon the Chief, who may make every one to fight, ſo much as the very Children, which will make an Enemy very unwilling to attacque him. Behold then, Sir, how much it imports your State, your People, and your own Honour; for it will evermore be ſaid, and recorded to poſterity, that it was *Charles* the Ninth who loſt ſuch and ſuch a place; from which Fame God defend you. It ſhall live in hiſtory for ever, and all the good and evil that befals you in your Reign ſhall be recorded, and the evil rather than the good. Be then, Sir, circumſpect, and conſider of it thrice before you deliver to any one the defence of a place, and do not think it ſufficient that the man is valiant, he muſt alſo be a man of experience.

Of Captains of Gens d'arms.

As to what concerns a Captain of Gens-d'arms, you make no more of creating him at the requeſt of the firſt that recommends him to you, than you would do of a Searjeant of the Chaſtelet of *Paris*, who afterwards coming to be preſent at a Battel, you ſhall give him ſuch a Poſt to make good, where the poor man not knowing how to take his advantage, either through want of courage or conduct, ſhall make you loſe this Poſt, and by that means not only encourage the Enemy to ſave the day, but ſhall moreover diſcourage your own people; for four running Cowards are ſufficient to draw all the reſt after them,

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even the Leaders themſelves. And although they be brave enough in their own perſons, and would make head; yet, if they know not how to command, nor underſtand which way to play the beſt of their Game; all will run into confuſion; for that it at that moment depends wholly upon him, and not upon the General, who cannot have his eye in all places at once; and in the noiſe and confuſion of a Battel, it is impoſſible he ſhould provide for all things. He then who has the Charge of a Poſt, or the Command of a Wing, if he want experience; and have never before been engag'd in ſuch affairs, how is it poſſible to be expected that he ſhould either command, or execute? And here's a Battel loſt, and your own perſon, if you are there, either kill'd or taken; for I have never heard of any King of *France* that ever ran away. Neither is any better to be expected in any other Enterprize that ſhall be committed to the execution of ſuch a man. Take heed then, Sir, to whom you give your Companies of Gens-d'arms; 'tis fit that the young ones ſhould be Apprentices, and learn of the old. I know very well that Princes are to be excepted from this Rule, who have ordinarily brave Lieutenants, who in effect are the Chiefs, for the ſaid young Princes in their own perſons are not uſually there.

Of Mareſchaux and Camp-Maſters.

Your Majeſtie has alſo Mareſchaux de Camp, and Camp-Maſters both of Horſe and Foot, both of them employments of great importance, for they are to diſcover all things, and in caſe the Armies lye near they are to make their diſcovery together, for the one can do nothing without the other, and together muſt bring you back an account of what is to be done for the ordering of the Battel, both Horſe and Foot, after having viewed the ſituation of the place, and the Grownd where the Horſe is to be drawn up, and the Foot alſo; and being agreed together, are to bring you back a report of all; whereupon you ſhall in your Council conclude what you have to do: but you are of neceſſity to ground your reſolution upon their intelligence, which if they be not men of experience, O Sir, how many Errors will they cauſe you to commit! It is therefore very neceſſary that the men who diſcharge theſe Offices ſhould have three qualities; of which the firſt is a long experience; for if they be men long beaten to the practice of Arms, and that they have been eye-witneſſes of ſome miſcarriages in the Armies wherein they have ſerv'd, provided they retein it; that very obſervation will make them circumſpect and careful of falling into the like error. The ſecond quality requir'd in men that are entruſted with theſe Offices, is, that they be bold and adventurous (for your Mareſchaux and Maiſters de Camp, of all others muſt not be Cowards) or at leaſt if they are not more valiant than ordinary, (for I do not deſire they ſhould be *Rowlands*) they muſt not be afraid of blows; for if theſe men be timerous, you are not to expect that your Army ſhould do any thing to purpoſe; by reaſon that they will evermore quarter your Army in fear and apprehenſion, and conſequently alwaies encamp at a diſadvantage; by which means if your Adverſary General be a man of Judgment, and practis'd in ſuch affairs, he will eaſily diſcern your Armie to be in fear, as I my ſelf have often judg'd in exerciſing this Command, by the meer obſervation of the Enemies manner of encamping, and have ſeldom been deceiv'd. Which is a thing of all others of the greateſt danger, foraſmuch as nothing ſo much encourages both the Officers and the Soldiers of an Armie, as to know that their Enemie marches and encamps in fear. The laſt qualitie requir'd in this ſort of Officers, is, that they be circumſpect and diligent; which three qualities will render them perfect and complete. They muſt not be men that love to ſleep *a la Francoiſe*, nor ſlow dreaming people, that are long and tedious in reſolving, they muſt have their feet, hands, and underſtandings prompt and quick, and their eye evermore at watch; for upon their vigilancie and providence depends the ſafety of the whole Armie.

It is moreover neceſſary, that in the Election your Majeſty or your Lieutenant ſhall make of ſuch perſons, you narrowly pry and examine that there be no unkindneſs, or diſſimulation betwixt them; for where there is Enmity, there is evermore envy, and that being betwixt them, the one will never approve what the other ſhall do, and they will be eternally in diſpute, from whence nothing but miſchief can enſue. There is no Trade ſo full of jealouſie and juggling as this of ours, and betwixt men that do not love one another there is nothing but contradiction; whereas on the contrary, if they be good friends, the one will evermore ſupply the defects of the other, and they will argue what is fitteſt to be done, amicably, and without doing one another the leaſt ill Office: for they are by the Rule of Diſcipline, whether in quartering the Army, or in diſcovering the Enemy, to be alwaies together. They are alſo before the Kings Lieutenant to diſpute about the Quarters, and to ſhew their reaſons why they take them up in that place, and are likewiſe to appoint to what Poſt the Cavalrie is to retire in caſe of a Charge, whether to the Avant-Guard, or to the Battel, though it ought more properly to be to the Avant-Guard, by reaſon that the Cavalrie is a member belonging to it. It is alſo neceſſary that

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they judg well of the Enemies Avenues, and accordingly where to plant the Artillery, where to encamp the Battel, and where the General ſhall take his place; and in caſe of an Alarm, where to plant the Guard, and where to place the Centinels; in ſhort, all things paſs through their care and conduct.

When theſe, together with him that commands the Army ſhall be perfect in all this, and ſhall have order'd all things as they ought to be, they can never be ſurpriz'd: foraſmuch as they ſhall ſo well have provided for all things neceſſary, that not a man in the whole Army but will know what he has to do; which being granted, every one will confeſs that Army cannot poſſibly fall into any diſorder: for all the loſſes that ſuch bodies uſually ſuſtein proceed only from negligence and ſupineneſs. This good order in quartering ought evermore to be obſerv'd, whether far off, or near to the Enemy, and alſo upon a March, which being done, the Army can never encounter any accident or novelty that can diſcompoſe it, when the Enemy ſhall be near at hand: but if they ſhall deferre to do it till neceſſity requires, they will not find the Soldiers either ſo ready, or ſo well diſpos'd; and beſides it ſometimes falls out, that they think the Enemy at a great diſtance, when he ſhall riſe earlier than they, and come to beat up their Quarters. Moreover they ought in ſuch a caſe to maintain a better intelligence betwixt themſelves than upon a march, and then the Maſter of the Ordnance is to be joyn'd with them, and indeed upon theſe three perſons next to the General the loſs or gain of a Battel depends. Judg you then, Sir, whether theſe Employments are to be diſpos'd of with ſo great facility, ſince the loſs and overthrow of your Armies proceed from their inſufficiency or negligence. When ever your Majeſty or your Lieutenants ſhall make Election of ſuch perſons, your hearts ought to tremble with fear at ſo unadviſed a choice. And you ought to conſider of it more than once.

Captains of Foot.

You have, Sir, next your Captains of Foot, to whom you give Commiſſions at the fancie of a Monſieur or a Madam, who recommend them out of a deſire they have to preferre their own Relations and Creatures, and to oblige others. From theſe Commands ill beſtow'd, almoſt as many miſchiefs may proceed as from the former; whether it be at the defence of a Breach, or in leading a Foot Company in a day of Battel, or in any other Enterprize of importance to your affairs: for if he who takes upon him ſuch a Command, is not ſuch as he ought to be, he will be defeated through his own fault, and all the men loſt that are under his Command, where the damage and diſhonor will be yours, and the boldneſs and courage of your Enemie will every day encreaſe. Of which your Majeſtie both has ſeen, and do now ſee the Experience. At the time when I firſt entred into arms, the Title of a Captain was a Title of honor, and Gentlemen of good Families were proud of it: But now-a-daies every Plow-boy and Carter that has commanded but in the qualitie of a Corporal takes upon him that Title. You will ſay, Sir, perhaps, that we who are your Majeſties Lieutenants are in fault for this, but you muſt pardon us if you pleaſe: for it proceeds principally from you, who have begun to conferre theſe Commands upon little people, ſo that now the Gentlemen diſdain them. In your Grandfathers time the Foot Companies conſiſted of a thouſand men, which was a noble Command, and that was no ſmall eaſe to your Treaſure, there being not near ſo many foot Officers requir'd as I have ſaid elſewhere: but now it is a very great diſorder, and for which your Majeſtie would do well to find out ſome remedy, that ſo many Captainets may return to be common Soldiers. And the ſame medly is at this day obſerv'd amongſt your Knights of the Order, which is a very great confuſion.

Now, Sir, what does all this mean? but that to determine of differences and Suits in Law your Majeſty makes all your Judges to paſs a ſtrict Examination, though you your ſelf can loſe nothing by the ſentence, let it go which way it will; whereas where it immediately concerns your own life, and the lives of my Lords your Brothers, and of all the Princes and great Captains of your Armie, and conſequently the ruine of your Kingdom, your Majeſtie without any manner of difficulty, or conſideration, conferres Commands and Governments upon the firſt that make ſuit for them. Sir, there is an old ſaying

Si le Fol un conſeil te donne,
N'en fay refus pour la perſonne:
If the Fool good advice deliver,
Slight not the counſel for the Giver.

Which I bring in here to excuſe the advice I intend humbly to offer to your Majeſtie, and which you ought to take in good part from me, who am at this day the oldeſt Captain in your Kingdom; and who from the paſſages I have ſeen in my time, ought in reaſon to have gain'd ſome experience for the time to come. The Counſel that I will preſume to

give

give you, Sir, that your Majeſtie would take exemple by the Examination whereby the bodies of your Parliaments are compos'd, where the ſeveral members are firſt to preſent themſelves before your Chancellor, your Preſident and Counſellors, to be examin'd of their ſufficiencie, who if they thereupon be found incapable, they are ſent back to ſtudie till they be wiſer, and have rendred themſelves worthy of the Employments to which they pretend.

Before then, Sir, you diſpoſe of any Command, upon which ſo many inconveniencies viſibly depend, never conferre it at the importunity of any man alive, till firſt you have put the perſon upon his Examination, remanding him before your Doctors, which are the old Captains who have gain'd experience by a long practice in Arms. You may have ſome old ones, who have not much ſtirr'd from their own Houſes, I do not take ſuch for old Captains, but worſe than thoſe the Chancellor ſends back to ſtudie: for it is a ſaying, *Too old to mend*: but I mean that you ſhould call to be aſſiſting at your inquiſition ſuch as have ever follow'd the wars, and that are markt for ſuch with a great many Paragraphs, that is to ſay, with Harquebuze ſhots, or cuts, and ſlaſhes with the ſword upon his face and bodie; which are ſigns that he has not alwaies ſate idle by the fire ſide. To this end, Sir, 'tis fit you ſhould have a Chancelor; and Sir, it is moſt reaſonable that that Chancellor be the Monſieur your Brother, although he be yet very young; for in three or four years that he has born Arms he has won two memorable Battels, ſo that with the good underſtanding and judgment he is Maſter of, and being deſcended of ſo good a Race, it is impoſſible but he muſt have retein'd a great deal: for he has heard great Doctors in our Faculty diſpute before him. Your Majeſtie muſt therefore have no other Chancellor of Arms but him; you ſhall ſtill, Sir, be ſuperior, for no one can take that from you, and 'tis you onely that can confer honor upon others. As God has made you to be born a Prince to command ſo many millions of people, he has alſo diſtinguiſht you by ſome particular Endowments from the reſt of men. When then any one ſhall make ſuit to you for any of the foremention'd Commands, your Majeſtie would do well to aſſemble your Chancellor and your Doctors; and if you be there preſent in perſon, it would be better if your Majeſtie would take the pains your ſelf to interrogate them if they know the perſon in queſtion, where he has ſerv'd his Apprentiſhip, and under whom, (for oftentimes *Like Maſter, like Man*) and what act of honor he has perform'd? I doubt not but theſe old Cavaliers will frankly tell your Majeſtie the truth, as knowing very well of what importance it is to have a Captain a Fool, a Coward, or a Novice; and according to their characters and opinion you may conferre upon him the Command he pretends to; for he has then paſſed the inquiſition. And that your Majeſtie may be deliver'd from importunities, do, Sir, as I did once at *Alba* in *Piedmont*. Every day my horſes were borrowed of me (for we had a little kind of a Truce) This vext me, and I knew not how to avoid it: but at laſt I commanded my Trumpet to go and make proclamation throughout the Town from the Governor, (which was my ſelf) that I had made an Oath never any more to lend my horſes, and that therefore I had cauſed it to be thus proclaimed, that no one might be ignorant of my vow. After which I was no more importun'd. Do you, Sir, the ſame; ſome day in a great Company declare openly before all the Lords and Ladies of your Court, that you have taken an Oath never to diſpoſe of any Command or Government, but by the advice of your old Cavaliers and Captains. This will preſently be ſpread abroad; for what you Kings and Princes ſay and do diſperſes it ſelf with marvelous ſwiftneſs; and this will alſo produce another great effect, which is, that ſuch as are freſhmen in Arms, knowing they cannor get in at the Window, will endeavour to ſignalize and make themſelves known to ſuch as are to open them the door, and every one will contend who ſhall do beſt.

A pleaſant ſtory of the Sieur *de Montluc.*

O if your Majeſtie will but pleaſe to do this, how many brave Captains will you have in a little ſpace! you will have more valiant Leaders then are again to be found in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*. And this alſo will produce two things, which of all others you ought moſt to deſire in your Militia; of which the firſt is, that when this Governor or Captain ſhall have been preferr'd by the teſtimony of your old Cavaliers, given either to your Majeſtie, or to the Monſieur your Brother, he will look upon it for ſo great an honor, that he will determine within himſelf, if he have never ſo little courage, rather to loſe a thouſand lives, than be guilty of the leaſt cowardize, or commit the leaſt offence: for he will evermore think, that ſhould he misbehave himſelf, he ſhould do an injury to thoſe who nam'd him for the Employment he has obtein'd, and that your Majeſtie might juſtly reproach them with their overſight in that nomination: by which means they will endeavour to do the beſt they can that they may obtein honor, and that your Majeſtie may preferre them to a better Command; knowing that they muſt again paſs the inquiſition

ſition to arrive at it, and the examination of your old Captains, where if they ſhall have behav'd themſelves amiſs, they will evermore make a true report, and will be aſham'd to adviſe your Majeſtie to create ſuch a one Maiſtre, or Mareſchal de Camp, whom they have ſeen miſdemean himſelf in the quality of a ſimple Captain.

The ſecond advantage that will derive it ſelf from this ſtrict way of examination, is, that you will hereby ſtop the mouths of thoſe importunate Lords and Ladies, who upon ſo light foundations make ſuit to you for Commands, upon which ſo many miſchiefs depend, being aſſur'd before hand, that your Majeſtie will not grant them without the parties being well examin'd before your Chancellor and Doctors, but will refuſe them, as you would do him that ſhould ask of you the Office of a Councellor of the Parliament of *Paris* before he has paſſed the Teſt; for the Court would not admit him. I have heard that formerly your Father hearing that they had refuſ'd to admit one, who by ſome Lady was recommended to them, ſhould ſay, *that one Aſs might very well paſs among ſt ſo many Spaniſh horſes:* but they would not believe him. Sir, put thoſe by whom you deſire to be ſerv'd to the Teſt. I once ſaw a Gentleman (as I remember he was a Provençal) whoſe cuſtom it was when any ſervant came to make him a tender of his ſervice, he would preſently put him to trial, and putting a ſword into his hand, would command him to defend himſelf, without permitting him nevertheleſs to thruſt at him, where if he found him a man firm, and reſolute, he would preſently entertein him; if otherwiſe, he would tell him he was not for his turn. By which means he had evermore brave and reſolute men about him, for every one knew his cuſtom, and no one would offer himſelf but he was ſtout and hardy; for he was a rude Gameſter. This was an Examination practis'd by a Subject of yours, and a Law he eſtabliſht within himſelf, for every man is a King in his own Houſe; as your Grandfather was anſwer'd by the Collier. Eſtabliſhing this ſevere Inquiſition of the merits of men, all *Europe* would preſently know it, and ſo many importunate Suitors will be aſtoniſht at ſuch a Law, and will think of nothing but how to learn, inſtead of courting Monſieur or Madam, and you will be rid of theſe impertinents whom you ſend about their buſineſs, and the other may go render themſelves worthy before they offer to pretend to Employments too big for them, and that till they have given a better account of themſelves, they cannot honeſtly pretend to, becauſe they do not deſerve them.

The Character of a little Monſieur of the Court.

There will alſo another conveniency ariſe from this way of proceeding, which is, that thoſe you chooſe and honor with theſe Charges and Commands will hold them immediately from your ſelf, or your Doctors, and not from the Ladies and the little Monſieurs of your Court, who better underſtand how to ſet the finger of their Watches to the hour of the day, than to level a piece of Canon againſt a Tower, or ſo much as to diſcharge a Musket, and yet by their haughty carriage, and ſtately motion, a man would think that all ſhould tremble before them. I once heard one of theſe pretty fellows talk at ſuch a rate, as if he had almoſt himſelf alone carried away the honor of the Battel of Monſieur *de Biron*, and that Monſieur *de Tavannes*, nor even the Monſieur your Brother had done nothing comparable to him. Now, as I was ſaying, theſe Gentlemen who ſhall have the honor to hold their Commands immediately from your ſelf after this manner, will think themſelves much more highly honour'd; wherefore, Sir, in truth theſe are things you ought more to deſire to ſee regulated, and to have a more eſpecial regard unto, than all the reſt that concerns military diſcipline, by how much all the Events of War, whether good or evil, under God, depends upon the choice you ſhall make of men of Command.

I ſhall not here ſpeak of Generals of Horſe, nor Colonels of Foot, by reaſon thoſe are two Employments that are only to be conferr'd upon Princes, or men of very extraordinary quality, who though they be young and of little experience, it imports not much, provided the Camp-Maſter be an experimented man. And purſuing this method, your Majeſty will ſoon ſee the confuſion that is crept into your Armies vaniſht and gone; and the ancient ſplendor and beauty of your Companies of Gens-d'arms reſtor'd. One thing I perceive, that we very much loſe the uſe of our Launces, either for want of good horſes, of which methinks the Race viſibly decayes, or becauſe we are not ſo dextrous in that kind of fight as our Predeceſſors were; for I ſee we quit them for the German piſtols, and indeed fighting in groſs Battalions, theſe are much more ready than Launces are; for if they be not fought in file the Launceers are apt to encumber one another; and alſo that open kind of fight is not ſo ſafe and certain as in cloſe Bodies.

To return to my diſcourſe; you may pleaſe to take notice, Sir, that all ſuch as deſire to advance themſelves by Arms, will covet to be brought upon the Chequer of Examination. And in my opinion it would be well and prudently done of your Majeſtie to keep a Liſt of

of all the brave and qualified men you have in your ſeveral Provinces, to the end, that a vacancy of any Command falling, you may think of thoſe perſons, and worthily ſupply it: by which means ſuch as know themſelves to be in your Liſt will be highly encouraged, and endeavour with all the power they have to do you ſome notable piece of ſervice: and ſuch as are not in, will expoſe themſelves to a thouſand dangers to be put into it. This Book you ſhould call the Book of Honor, and when you hear any one highly applauded, after having examin'd the particularities of his Exploits, your Majeſtie would do well to give publick Order to have his name entred into your Liſt. I remember I have heard when I was very young, that *Lewis* the Twelfth did after this manner, eſpecially by thoſe of the long Robe, and that the Office of Chief Juſtice of *Agenois* (a place of great profit and honor) being vacant, he remembred himſelf of a good Lawyer, who had made him a very eloquent Oration at *Orleans*, whoſe name he had ſet down in his Liſt, and in pure Gift gave him the place. He likewiſe did the ſame in all Employments; and I have ſeen the ſame way practiſed by that great *Odet de Foix*, under whom I ſerv'd in the beginning of my Arms: he knew the names of all the Captains and remarkable perſons; and when any one had perform'd any ſignal Exploit, he preſently booke him down.

But, Sir, withal you muſt oft turn over this Book, and not content your ſelf with taking the names of ſuch perſons only, but employ and advance them according to their quality and deſert, and encourage them by ſome gracious expreſſions in their favour; or if he be a poor Gentleman give him money, which if you pleaſe to do with your own hand, five hundred Crowns will be better taken than two thouſand from the hands of a Treaſurer; for ſomething will evermore ſtick to their fingers. One time King *Henry* your Royal Father, and my good Maſter (whom God abſolve) had order'd me two thouſand Crowns, and he that was to pay it, was not aſham'd to detein five hundred: but he met with a Gaſcon that was not wont to be ſo ſerv'd, nor to pay ſuch large Fees. He knew I would complain of him to the King, and was more overjoyed that he could perſwade me to receive it, than I was of the receipt. If your Majeſtie would give with your own hand, theſe tricks would not be put upon men of deſert. It was ſaid in your Grandfathers time, that his Predeceſſor alwaies did ſo, and had a Cheſt full of Baggs ſtuft with Crowns, in ſome more, in ſome leſs, which he himſelf diſtributed according to the quality of the perſon, or of the ſervice he had perform'd. I know ſome will tell you that this is too much below a King; but Sir, do not believe them, for theſe are the people that would have the moulding of all the Paſte, and would that your liberality ſhould paſs thorough their hands, to the end that they might nim from your bounty. Only one thing give me leave to tell your Majeſtie you ſhould not give all to one, nor to a few perſons; I beſeech you, Sir, pardon my plainneſs, you have given one Gentleman of *Guienne* enough to have ſatisfied fifty pretenders. I will not ſay but that the man was brave and valiant, but there were who deſerv'd it as well, or better than he; and who notwithſtanding had nothing at all. Your Majeſtie may pleaſe to take what I ſay in good part: I have one foot in the Grave, and 'tis the affection I bear to your Crown, that prompts me to ſay what I do. I am Neighbour to the *Spaniard*, but he never had other than *Flours-de-Lis* from me. I could ſay a great deal more, if I durſt, for in truth there is but too much to ſay, and but too many things to be reform'd. I muſt now ſpeak a little with your Majeſties permiſſion to the Monſieur your Brother, your new Chancellor in arms.

'Tis to you then (my Lord) that I addreſs my ſelf, and I ſhould be ſorry this Book ſhould go out of my hands without ſome honorable teſtimonie of your Grandeur. You are deſcended from the greateſt Family in the world; there is no Record, but that theſe ten laſt deſcents have ever been hardie and warlike; and but very few from the firſt Chriſtian King have been otherwiſe, although Races have gone out, and that others have ſeiz'd upon the Crown, which is exceedingly admirable; for of four Generations of Gentlemen you ſhall hardly find two Deſcents together valiant: Which ought to make us believe, that God has a particular providence over this Kingdom, ſeeing he has given ſo great Gifts and Graces to thoſe who are his Vicegerents, as to the Kings your Grandfather and Father. And although you are no King, you nevertheleſs ſhare in the bleſſing that God has ſo liberally conferred upon your Royal Family. O (my Lord) you have great reaſon to think, and to aſſure your ſelf, that Almighty God has deſign'd you for great ends, as is already diſcern'd by the victories he has given you in your younger years, which are ſuch as therein his Almighty arm has been manifeſtly ſeen, and that you have obtein'd them more thorough his Divine Will, than any power of man. Every one muſt therefore of neceſſitie confeſs that this Kingdom is the Care of Heaven, that the

King your Brother is God's Lieutenant, and that You are his. Behold what fair and honourable Titles!

I muſt now take the boldneſs to talk a little to you. You are (my Lord) the prop upon whom he repoſes and relies; you are he who are to command the Arms which are to carry him into all hazards, perils, and fortunes. You are the Trumpet which is to give us the ſignal what we are to do. You are our refuge and our hope, by whoſe teſtimonie we are to expect from the King the recompence of all our ſervices. 'Tis you who are to recommend us to his Majeſties knowledg, and who as a true Chancellor of the Sword are to make him a true Report of what we have done for his ſervice; and who when we are dead and gone ought to preſent our Children to him, if we have behav'd our ſelves as men of honor ought to do. Finally you have all the eyes of *France* upon you, upon you (my Lord) who command Armies, and who have ſo often bang'd and bang'd again the Rebellious Hugonots. All Chriſtendom knows that it is you, for the King is contain'd, ſince his Council will have it ſo, to make war in his Cabinet. Since then you hold ſo high a place, upon which all other Offices and Commands that concern Arms depend, and that we are all to ſtand or fall by you for the Kings ſervice, and your own, your Highneſs ought to repoſe your entire confidence, and to lay out your whole care upon us who follow Arms: for all other conditions of men participate nothing with yours, forasmuch as all the reſt depend upon men of the long Robe. Of ſuch there are a great many in the Kings Council: you have nothing to do with theſe people, neither indeed is it proper you ſhould; for *too many irons in the fire never do well*, and it is an old ſaying, *All covet, all loſe*.

If your Highneſs will pleaſe a little to reflect upon what I take the boldneſs to repreſent before you, you will find that it will be neceſſary, ſeeing you are in ſo high a Station, to weigh and conſider what it is that may help to maintain and ſupport you in ſo great and ſo honorable a Command, than which nothing can be greater. Shall it be from theſe young Captains that you are to expect it? no certainly; for in theſe kind of people there is no manner of experience, but rather levity and folly. Shall it be from men of the long Robe? You are yet leſs to expect it from them than from the other. They will talk like freſh-water Soldiers; they meddle but too much that way, and upon the Green-Cloth will be pracing of Arms, that they no more underſtand than the Carpet they prate upon. From whom then? It is from the old Captains who have been exerciſed in Arms, and have paſſed the rude trial of Battels, Combats, Skirmiſhes, Sieges, and Aſſaults. They will have cauſe to remember what they have ſeen, and will no doubt be mindful enough of the loſſes they have ſuſtein'd, as alſo by what error and default the misfortune befell them. If they have been well beaten they will have cauſe to remember, and if they have been victorious they will hardly forget it. If you take advice of ſuch men you cannot fail of keeping up your greatneſs, and of encreaſing your reputation and renown: for of ſuch you will learn to know how rightly to command, and ſhall retein from them what they ſhall repreſent before you, when giving an account of what they have ſeen. You cannot employ your time better than to learn prudence to ſuch a degree, that Poſteritie may triumph in your Name; and I know you are of too good a Race, not to covet that your renown ſhould flouriſh after you are dead.

There may peradventure be ſome old Captains about you, who have neither done nor ſeen any great matters; for having lov'd their Houſes and their Riches better than the exerciſe of Arms. Truly (my Lord) there are two many Gentlemen of this humour, and the King would do well to degrade ſuch dunghil-bred Gentlemen from all Nobilitie, who can command nothing but their Hounds and Greyhounds, whilſt others are ſeeking danger in the field, and think it ſufficient that they can wind a Horn. There is alſo another ſort of men, who for want of underſtanding cannot retein what they have ſeen. They can perhaps ſay I was at the Battels of *Cerizolles* and *Dreux*, *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*, but they are not able to give any account how Monſieur *d'Anguien* won the firſt, and how Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſav'd the ſecond; the Errors the Admiral committed in the two others, your Highneſs noble reſolution, and finally all that paſſed, with the reaſons both of the one and the other, nor any thing of all this; ſo that you would ſay they had never heard talk of it, no more than the moſt ſtupid loggerheaded Lancequenet that was there. Theſe are not the men you are to rely upon. You are not nevertheleſs to reject theſe people, for you are to make uſe of all ſorts of men, eſpecially in matters of war.

The men you ought to have about your perſon, and of your Cabinet Council, ſhould be ſuch old Captains as have reputation to be men without fear, vigilant, and prompt of execution. Such a Captain there may be, as may have done one brave thing in his life; but who by his ſlowneſs may have loſt a hundred fair opportunities, where honor and advantage

vantage might have been obtein'd. Yet will I not ſay that you ought abſolutely to deſpiſe theſe people: I am not ſo imprudent as to intend any ſuch thing; for ſo peradventure I may ſinge my own wings, though what I am you will ſee in my Book. I dare preſume to ſay, that at this time good and valiant Leaders do not grow by cluſters, nor are to be ſold by the dozen. You ſhould, Sir, do ſomething for every one of what degree ſoever; not for all alike, but according to every man's merit and renown. I know ſome will tell you, that if you draw ſo many about you, they will put you upon making great demands of the King; (for Soldiers are bold beggars) and that peradventure his Majeſtie may take offence at it; but for this there is a remedy good enough in the old Rule.

Qui n'a de l'argent en bourſe,
Qu'il ait du Miel en Bouche.

Who in his Pocket has no Money,
In his mouth muſt carry Honey.

By ſpeaking them fair, and vouchſafing obliging language, you will entertein them in hopes that you do not forget them, but that when an opportunitie preſents it ſelf, you will be ready to do them the beſt Offices in your power. A kind reception, a gracious ſmile, a friendly embrace, will keep them in breath. But if there be ſuch a troubleſome importunate fellow, that will not be ſatisfied with your gracious anſwers, you may conclude, that that man neither ſerves the King nor you heartily, or out of any great good will or affection to your perſon. Such people will never do you any good; and if the chance of war do not of it ſelf free you from them, there are waies enough to ſhake them off: and whoſoever he is that ſerves his Prince more out of avarice than affection, is unſound at the heart: For an avaritious ſervant when he ſees he cannot ſatisfie his appetite of getting will deſire to change his Maſter, thinking to get more by another, and to that end will corrupt others by the complaints that he will daily make to the reſt, of the ill uſage they receive. Avoid then (my Lord) having to do with ſuch kind of people, and betimes before their venom have poiſon'd the reſt: for ſuch men do all they poſſibly can to make their Prince hated, to the end that they may cover their own private malice under the colour of a publick Odium, and ſuch are eaſie to be known. Such I have known, and ſuch you daily ſee, who although they bow under the burthen of the Kings bounty never ceaſe asking, nor ever will.

Moreover (my Lord) to nouriſh the good will, and cheriſh the affection of Gentlemen and Captains, you may do well ſometimes to write to them, that they may be certain they are in your favour and remembrance; for this will make them believe that you have a deſire to perform ſomething more and greater than before, and that you intend to purſue your fortune. And from this I will tell you what will follow, they will ſhew your Letters to their Relations and Friends, who ſo ſoon as they ſhall ſee them, and that you have ſuch a one in ſo great eſteem as to honor him with your Letters, they will lay out all they can wrap and wring to put themſelves into equipage to follow him, by which means one ſervant will bring you twenty or thirty more, out of the hopes they ſhall conceive, that in doing you ſervice, you will be as gracious to them. And this will coſt you no great trouble, your Secretaries will eaſe you of that, and but waving one hours recreation, you will ſign more Diſpatches than would ſerve the whole Kingdom. If it be to a man of very great qualitie, a word or two under your own hand in a Poſtſcript will be no great trouble: but then it muſt not be too common, at the ſame time, nor in the ſame terms; a fault that I have evermore obſerv'd in the Secretaries of Princes, and particularly thoſe of our own Nation: for they communicate their Letters to one another, and finding them all run in the ſame ſtile, make afterwards no great account of the favour.

That a General ought to write frequently to his Captains.

If (my Lords) you ſhall not pleaſe to do as I adviſe you, ſee what will follow. When the Captain ſees that you make no account of him, nor have him not in your remembrance, he will think you are ſatisfied with the fortune God has already beſtowed upon you, and that therefore he is no more to hope that you ſhall have any ambition to be greater than you are; but that every man muſt think of retiring to his own houſe, without caring any more for Arms. And after a Soldier, let him have never ſo little a Competencie to live upon, has once begun to reliſh the pleaſure of his own Houſe, his Wife, his Hawks, or his Hounds, and that he is once ſuffer'd to take that bent, it is a very hard matter to draw him out of the Chimney-corner to go again to the Wars, and to perſwade him to forſake his ſoft and warm feathers, to lye abroad upon the hard and cold Turf; and if you get him out with much ado, it will be with a very ill will, and he will be alwaies

hankering homewards to ſee his Wife and Children. He ſhall never hear the report of a Muſket, but, like a * Frank-Archer, he will think himſelf ſlain. In all theſe things cuſtome is all; Canon and Harquebuze-ſhot aſtoniſh ſuch as are not uſed to them, but after a man has once or twice heard them rattle about his ears, he cares not ſo much. There is nothing ſo prejudicial to War, as to let Soldiers and Officers lye idle and ruſt. Hang up your Headpiece, or your Cuiraſſe againſt a wall, and in a little ſpace it will be all ruſt and cobwebs: it is the ſame with men of war, if they be ſuffer'd to lye ſtill and do nothing. Wherefore your Highneſs ought to have a ſpecial care of this; for keeping your Captains waking with your Letters, and ſome little benefits from the King, you will hold every one in expectation, and ready to march ſo ſoon as his Majeſties Summons, or your Command ſhall be brought to them. To this end give your Secretaries order to put you in mind, for otherwiſe the Ladies, or the delights of the Court, will put it out of your head. You are young, and 'tis fit you ſhould taſte the pleaſures of the world; it is but reaſonable you ſhould know what they are; we have done it before you, and thoſe who are to follow after will do the ſame. But go ſoberly to work.

* A Frank Archer is one of the Traind-Band of a Pariſh, that ſeldom ſees ſervice but upon extraordinary occaſion; and by being upon the Liſt is exempted from all Taxes.

By this Alarm you ſhall give your Soldiers with your Letters, you will diſcover to all the world that you will not forget the faculties that God has given you, nor ſuffer your Talent to lye idle; and every one who has an inclination to arms will reſolve to attend you to the utmoſt ſtretch of your fortune. You will make it appear, that ſince God has already laid his hand upon your ſhoulder, you will trie if he will not lay it upon your head alſo: you ought to have an opinion that he will be pleaſed to do it, and to take the verſe in the Pſalm for your Motto. *Cœlum Cœli Domino: Terram autem dedit filiis hominum*: which is to ſay, that God has reſerv'd the Heavens for himſelf, and has left the Earth for us to conquer. This Verſe was not made for ſuch little Companions as I am, but for Kings and ſuch Princes as you are: and yet give me leave to tell you, that although I am a poor Gentleman, and have not the ſpirit of a King, yet had God pleaſed to preſerve my Sons, and have granted me a little better health, I ſhould have thought, with the help of my friends, provided we had been at peace at home, to have got ſome corner of the world or another to my own ſhare, and if I could not have got a great piece, I ſhould at leaſt have had a Gobbet; or at the worſt I ſhould only have loſt my labour and my life, both which I ſhould have thought well laid out for the purchaſe of honor. Had my Son liv'd I do verily believe he would have brought about the deſign, that the Admiral knows he had in his head, and that he may acquaint your Highneſs withal. You are young, your Brother has the great piece, you are to go ſeek your fortune elſewhere, and inſtead of being a Subject, make others Subjects to you. Since then ſuch a poor fellow as I am have the courage to ſoar ſo high, and that the Sons of Labourers and Forge-men (as I have heard) have by their virtue arriv'd at Empire, what are you to hope for who are the Son and Brother to the greateſt King in *Europe*? you ought to look for no leſs when occaſion ſhall preſent it ſelf, and that you ſhall ſee your time. A magnanimous Prince is never to reſt contented, but ſtill to puſh on his fortune; the world is ſo wide there is enough to conquer; and the King your Brother has power enough to aſſiſt you. You are in your age of undertaking, and you are fortunate. I am ſorry that you have laid aſide the great and brave name of * *Alexander*, who, if I miſtake not, was the moſt valiant Warriour that ever bore arms. His Majeſtie will help to ſet ſome foreign Crown upon your head. If then God ſhall do you the grace to put an end to theſe miſerable domeſtick Broils, ſet your deſigns on foot, and trie to immortalize your Name. Employ thoſe many Servants you have in conquering ſomething; and ſeeing my age, and the wounds I have receiv'd will not permit me to ſerve you in ſo brave an Enterprize, I ſhall at leaſt humbly adviſe you never to ſtop the Career of your Arms, but ſtill to attempt greater and more difficult undertakings, taking the device of the Emperor *Charles*, who cut out ſo much work for your famous Anceſtors. In caſe you cannot arrive at the utmoſt aim of your Ambition, you ſhall at leaſt advance the better half way to your deſires. I have no hopes, being a maim'd Valetudinary as I am, my ſelf to ſerve you in theſe honorable deſigns; but I leave you three little *Montlucs*, which I hope will not degenerate from their Grandfather and their Fathers. More I have not to trouble your Highneſs withal; and alſo it is time to put an end to my Book.

* For he was Chriſtned *Edouard Alexander*, which he afterwards chang'd for *Henry*, and was *Henry* the third of *France*.

Behold here (fellows in Arms) you who ſhall read my life, the end of the Wars in which I have ſerv'd five and fifty years together that I had the honor to be in Command for the Kings my Maſters. From which ſervices, that I might not forget them, I brought away ſeven Harquebuze-ſhots for a *Memorandum*, and ſeveral other wounds beſides, there being not a limb in all my body that has eſcaped, my right arm only excepted. But I have by thoſe wounds purchaſed a renown throughout *Europe*, and my name is known in the re-

The Sieur *de Montluc's* wounds.

moteſt

moreſt Kingdoms, which I eſteem more than all the riches in the world; and by the Grace of God, who has ever been aſſiſting to me, I will carry this reputation along with me to my Grave. This is a marvelous contentment to me when I think upon it, and call to mind how I am ſtep by ſtep arriv'd to this degree of honor, and thorough ſo many dangers am come to enjoy the ſhort repoſe that remains to me in this world, in the calm and privacie of my own houſe, that I may have leiſure to ask God forgiveneſs for the ſins I have committed. Oh if his mercie was not infinitely great, in how dangerous a condition were all thoſe that bear arms, eſpecially that are in command; for the neceſſity of war forces us in deſpite of our own inclinations to commit a thouſand miſchiefs, and to make no more account of the lives of men than of a Chicken: to which the complaints and outcries of the people, whom we are conſtrain'd in deſpite of us every day to ſwallow up and devoure, and the Widows and the Fatherleſs that we every day do make load us with all the curſes and execrations, miſery and affliction can help them to invent, which by importuning the Almighty, and daily imploring the aſſiſtance of the Saints, 'tis to be fear'd lye ſome of them heavie upon our heads. But doubtleſs Kings ſhall yet have a ſadder account to make than we; for they make us commit thoſe evils (as I told the King in diſcourſe at *Tholouze*) and there is no miſchief whereof they are not the cauſe: for ſeeing they will make warres, they ſhould at leaſt pay thoſe who venture their lives to execute their paſſions, that they may not commit ſo many miſchiefs as they do. I think my ſelf then exceedingly happy, in that God has given me leiſure to think of the ſins I have committed, or rather that the neceſſity of war has enforc'd me to commit. For I am not naturally addicted to miſchief; above all I have ever been an enemie to the vice of impurity, and a ſworn adverſary to all diſloyalty and treaſon. I know very well and confeſs, that my paſſion has made me ſay, and do things for which I now cry *Mea culpa*; but 'tis now too late to redreſs them, and I have one that lies heavier upon my heart, than all the reſt. But had I proceeded otherwiſe every one would have ſlirted me on the noſe, and the leaſt Conſul of a Village would have clapt too his Gates againſt me, had I not alwaies had the Canon at my heels; for every one had a mind to Lord it. God knows how fit I was to endure ſuch affronts; but all's done and paſt; my hand was ever as prompt as my tongue, and it was but a word and a blow. I could have wiſht, could I have perſwaded my ſelf to it, never to have worn a ſword by my ſide, but my nature was quite otherwiſe, which made me carry for my device, *Deo Duce, Ferro Comite*. One thing I can truly ſay of my ſelf, that never any Kings Lieutenant had more commiſeration of the ruine of the people than I, in all places where ever I came. But it is impoſſible to diſcharge thoſe Commands without doing miſchief, unleſs the King had his Coffers cramm'd with Gold to pay his Armies; and yet it would be much to do. I know not if thoſe that ſucceed me will do better; but I do not believe it. All the Catholicks of *Guienne* can witneſs, if I did not alwaies ſpare the people; for I appeal from the Hugonots, I have done them too much miſchief to give me any good teſtimonie; and yet I have not done them enough, nor ſo much as I would; my good will was not wanting. Neither do I care for their ſpeaking ill of me, for they will ſay as much or more of their Kings.

Miſerable condition of a Soldier.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* nature.

But before I put an end to this Book of mine, which my name will cauſe to be read by many, I ſhall deſire all ſuch as ſhall take the pains to read theſe Commentaries, not to think me ſo ingrate that I do not acknowledg, after God, to hold all I have of Eſtate and Preferment of the Kings my Maſters, eſpecially of my good Maſter King *Henry*, whom God abſolve. And if I have in ſome places of my Book ſaid, that wounds were the recompence of my ſervice, it is not at all intended to reproach them with the blood I have loſt in their quarrels. On the contrary I think the blood of my Sons who died in their ſervice very well employed. God gave them to me, and he took them from me. I have loſt three in their ſervice; *Marc Anthony* my eldeſt, *Bertrand* (to whom I gave the name of *Peyrot* (which is one of our *Gaſcon* names) by reaſon that *Bertrand* did not pleaſe me) and *Fabian* Seigneur *de Monteſquieu*. God gave me alſo three others. For of my ſecond Son I had *Blaize*, and of my youngeſt *Adrian* and *Blaize*, whom God preſerve, that they may be ſerviceable to their Kings and Country, without diſhonouring their Race; that they may well ſtudy my Book, and ſo imitate my life, that, if poſſible, they may ſurpaſs their Grandſire; and I beſeech your Majeſtie be mindful of them. I have left them, amongſt my Papers, the Letter your Majeſtie was pleaſed to write to me from *Villiers* dated the 3. of *December* 1570, which conteins theſe words. *Aſſure your ſelf, that I ſhall ever be mindful of your many and great ſervices, for which if you ſhall in your own perſon fall ſhort of a worthy recompence, your poſterity ſhall reap the fruits of your merit; as alſo they are ſuch, and have ſo well behav'd themſelves in my ſervice, that they have of themſelves very well deſerv'd my acknowledgment, and that I ſhould do for them what I ſhall be very ready to*

The Sieur *de Montluc's* acknowledgment.

The death of the Sieur *de Montluc's* Son.

The King's Letter to the Sieur *de Montluc*.

to do whenever an opportunity ſhall preſent it ſelf. Sir, this is your Majeſties promiſe, and a King ſhould never ſay or promiſe any thing but he will perform.

I do not then by any means reproach my Maſters; and I ought alſo to be ſatisfied, though I am not rich, that a poor Cadet of *Gaſcony* is arriv'd at the higheſt Dignities of the Kingdom. I ſee ſeveral at this day who murmur and repine at their Majeſties; and for the moſt part thoſe who have done little or nothing make the greateſt complaints. In others who have really deſerv'd ſomething it is a little more pardonable: all that we have, of what degree ſoever we are, we hold it of the Kings our Maſters. So many great Princes, Lords, Captains, and Soldiers, both living and dead, owe to the King the honors they have receiv'd; and their Names ſhall live by the Employments they have receiv'd from the Kings they ſerv'd, and were not only enterr'd with thoſe honorable Titles, but have moreover honour'd thoſe who are deſcended of them, and mention will be made of their virtue whilſt any Records of honor remain in the world. I have liſted a good number in my Book, and have my ſelf had Soldiers under my Command, who have been no better in their Extraction, than the Sons of poor labouring men, who have liv'd and died in a reputation as great and high as they had been the Sons of Lords, through their own virtue, and the eſteem the Kings and their Lieutenants had of them. When my Son *Marc Anthony* was carried dead to *Rome*, the Pope and all the Cardinals, the Senate and all the People of *Rome*, payd as much honor to his Hearſe as if he had been a Prince of the blood. And what was the cauſe of all this, but only his own Valour, my Reputation, and my King, who had made me what I was? So that the name of *Marc Anthony* is again to be found in the Roman Annals. When I firſt entred into Arms out of my Page-ſhip in the Houſe of *Lorrain*, there was no other diſcourſe but of the great *Gonſalvo*, call'd the great Captain. How great an honor was it to him (which alſo will laſt for ever) to be crown'd with ſo many Victories? I have heard it told, that King *Lewis* and King *Ferdinand* being together, I know not at what place, but it was ſomewhere where they had appointed an Interview, theſe two great Princes being ſat at Table together, out King entreated the King of *Spain* to give leave that *Gonſalvo* might dine with them; which he accordingly did, whilſt men of far greater quality than he ſtood waiting by. So conſiderable had the King his Maſters favour, and his own valour made him. This was the honor he receiv'd from the King of *France*, who in recompence for his having depriv'd him of the Kingdom of *Naples* put a weighty Chain of Gold about his neck. I have heard Monſieur *de Lautrec* ſay, that he never took ſo much delight in looking upon any man, as upon that ſame. O how fair an Exemple is this for thoſe who intend to advance themſelves by Arms! When I went the ſecond time into *Italy* as I paſſed through the Streets of *Rome*, every one ran to the windows to ſee him that had defended *Sienna*, which was a greater ſatisfaction to me than all the Riches of the Earth. I could produce ſeveral Exemples of French men, of very mean Extraction, who have by Arms arriv'd at very great Preferments: but out of reſpect to their Poſteritie I ſhall forbear; but it was the bounty of their Kings that ſo advanc'd them for the recompence of their brave ſervices.

Honor done to *Marc Anthony de Montluc.*

Honor done to the great Captain *Gonſalvo.*

It is then juſt that we confeſs, we could be nothing without their bountie and favour; if we ſerve them, 'tis out of obedience to the Commandment of God, and we ought not to try to obtein rewards by importunities and reproaches; and if any one be ill rewarded, the fault is not in our Kings, but in them who are about them, that do not acquaint them who have ſerv'd well, or ill; (for there are many of both ſorts) to the end that his Majeſties largeſs ſhould be rightly placed. And there is nothing that goes ſo much to the heart of a brave and loyal Subject, as to ſee the King heap honors and rewards upon ſuch as have ſerv'd him ill. I am ſure it is that that has vext me more than any diſappointment of my own. I have often heard ſome men ſay, the King or the Queen have done this, and that for ſuch a one, why ſhould they not do as much for me? The King has pardoned ſuch a one ſuch an offence, why does he not alſo pardon me? I know alſo that their Majeſties have ſaid, *They will no more commit ſuch over-ſights, we muſt wink at this one fault*: but it was the next day to begin the ſame again. However a man ought never to ſtomack any thing from his Prince. The honor of ſuch men lies in a very contemptible place, ſince they more value a reward or a benefit than their own reputation or renown, and are ſo ready to take ſnuff if they fail of their expectation. And moreover (as I have already ſaid) they are commonly men that have never ſtrook three ſtrokes with a ſword, and yet will vapour what dangers they have paſſed, and what hardſhips they have endur'd. If a man ſhould ſtrip them naked, one might ſee many a proper fellow that has not ſo much as one ſcar in all his body. Such men, if they have born arms any while, are very fortunate, and at the day of Judgment if they go into Paradiſe, will carry all their blood

along

along with them, without having loſt one dram of their own, or having ſhed one drop of any others here upon earth.

Others I have heard, and of all ſorts of men, even to the meaneſt, complain that they have ſerv'd the King four, five, or ſix years, and notwithſtanding have not been able to get above three or four thouſand Livers yearly Rent: poor men they are ſore hurt. I ſpeak not of the Soldiers only, but of all other conditions of men his Majeſtie makes uſe of. I have heard my Father, who was an old man, and others older than he, report that it was a common ſaying at Court, and throughout the whole Kingdom in the Reign of *Lewis* the Twelfth.

Chaſtillon, Bourdillon,
Galliot, & Bonneval,
Governent le ſang Royal.

and yet I dare be bold to ſay, that all theſe four Lords who govern'd two Kings, put them all together never got ten thouſand Livers yearly Revenue. I have formerly ſaid as much to the Mareſchal *de Bourdillon*, who thereupon return'd me anſwer, that his Predeceſſor was ſo far from getting 3000 Livers a year, that he ſold 1500, and left his Family very neceſſitous. Should any one ask the Admiral to ſhew what his Predeceſſor, who govern'd all, got by his favour, I durſt lay a good wager he could not produce 2000 Livers yearly Revenue. As for *Galliot* he liv'd a great while after the others, and he peradventure might in that long time rake together three or four thouſand Livers a year. For what concerns *Bonneval*; Monſieur *de Bonneval* that now is, and Monſieur *de Biron* are his Heirs, and I believe they can boaſt of no great Eſtates. O happy Kings that had ſuch Servants. 'Tis eaſie to diſcern that theſe men ſerv'd their Maſters out of the love and affection they bore to their perſons and the Crown, and not upon the account of reward; and I have heard that they evermore rather begg'd for the King's own Domeſtick Servants, than for themſelves. They are gone down to their Graves with honor, and their Succeſſors are not nevertheleſs in want.

Since I have ſpoken of others, I will now ſay ſomething of my ſelf. Some perhaps after I am dead will talk of me, as I talk of others. I confeſs that I am very much oblig'd to the Kings I have ſerv'd, eſpecially to *Henry* my good Maſter, as I have often ſaid before, and I had now been no more than a private Gentleman, had it not been for their bounty, and the opportunities they gave me to acquire that reputation I have in the world; which I value above all the treaſure the Earth contains, having immortaliz'd the name of *Montluc*. And although during the long time that I have born arms, I have acquir'd but very little wealth, yet has no one ever heard me complain of the Kings my Maſters: marry I have ſpoke at mouth of thoſe about them, when in theſe late Troubles I was calumniated by them, as if I could have done all things with nothing. Believe me the wounds I have receiv'd have adminiſtred more comfort than affliction to me; and one thing I am ſure of, that when I am dead they can hardly ſay, that at the Reſurrection I ſhall carry all the blood, bones and veins I brought with me into the world from my Mothers womb, along with me into Paradiſe. As for Riches I have enough. It is true, that had I been bred up in the School of the Baylif of *Eſperon*, I ſhould have had more; the ſtory is not amiſs, and therefore I ſhall inſert it here.

A pleaſant ſtory of the Baylif of *Eſperon*.

Lewis the Twelfth going to *Bayonne* lay in a Village call'd *Eſperon*, which is nearer to *Bayonne* than two *Bourdeaux*. Now upon the great Road betwixt theſe two places, the Baylif had built a very noble Houſe. The King thought it very ſtrange, that in a Country ſo bare and barren as that was, and amongſt Downs and Sands that would bear nothing, this Baylif ſhould build ſo fine a Houſe, and at ſupper was ſpeaking of it to the Chamberlain of his Houſehold; who made anſwer, that the Baylif was a rich man: which the King not knowing how to believe, conſidering the wretched Country his houſe was ſeated in, he immediately ſent for him, and ſaid to him theſe words. *Come on Baylif, and tell me why you did not build your fine Houſe in ſome place where the Country was good and fertile?* Sir, anſwer'd the Baylif, *I was born in this Country, and find it very good for me. Are you ſo rich,* ſaid the King, *as they tell me you are? I am not poor,* replied the other, *I have (bleſſed be God) wherewithal to live.* The King then askt him, *how it was poſſible he ſhould grow ſo rich in ſo pitiful a barren Country. Why, very eaſily Sir,* reply'd the Baylif. *Tell me then which way* ſaid the King, *Marry Sir,* anſwer'd the other, *becauſe I have ever had more care to do my own buſineſs, than that of my Maſter, or my Neighbours. The Devil refuſe me,* ſaid the King (for that was alwaies his Oath) *thy reaſon is very good; for doing ſo, and riſing betimes, thou couldſt not chooſe but thrive.* O how many Sons has this Baylif left behind him to inherit this virtuous humour! I was never any of thoſe.

I

I do really believe, that there is never a little Pedlar in the world, who, having trotted, run and moyl'd as I have done, but would have enricht himſelf to a Merchant. And there is never a Treaſurer nor a Receiver (let him be as honeſt as he would) in the Kingdom, that had had ſo much money paſs through his hands, as has done through mine, but more would have ſtuck to his fingers. I have been ſeven or eight times Captain of Foot, which is none of the worſt Commands for getting of money; and I have known ſeveral Captains in my time, who have enricht themſelves meerly out of their Soldiers pay. I was not ſo ignorant, nor ſo raw a Soldier, neither did I want dexterity, but that I could have done the feat as well as they; neither was it any ſuch hard matter to learn, for with a good Quarter-maſter, and ſome few other little helps the buſineſs had been done. I have ſince been three times Camp-maſter, in which Employment God knows I might have had Skip-jacks enow to have made Muſter, and intelligence enough with the Commiſſaries. I could have diſcover'd when any thing was to be got, as ſoon or [illegible] any man in the Army, I had noſe good enough. I was after Governor of a place, where I could have had fourſcore or a hundred men at my devotion to have paſſed Muſter, as Meſſieurs les Governeurs know well how to do: by which means, having been ſo long in theſe Commands as I have been, and made ſo many Muſters as I have done in my life, with a little good husbandry, Good God! what a Mountain of Gold might I have had! I never think of it but it makes me wonder at my own honeſty, that could reſiſt ſo many temptations. I was moreover the King's Lieutenant in *Sienna*, and another time at *Montalſin*; where I had wayes enow to have lin'd my pockets, as others in the like Commands have done: for it had been no more but to have had intelligence with three or four Merchants, who ſhould have affirm'd that the Corn of the Garriſon had been bought by them, and taken up upon their Credit, and it had been don[illegible] God knows what profits are made of theſe Magazines. I could then have made demands upon the account of borrowing, and have deputed ſome who would have been ready to have taken the Employment upon them, to have brought in a hundred or two hundred thouſand Francks in Debentures. But inſtead of this his Majeſty owed us five payes when we came out of *Sienna*, whereof I found means to acquit him of three ſo ſoon as we came to *Montalſin*. Afterwards the ſecond time that I was ſent thither, in the place of Monſieur *de Soubize*, I ſtay'd ſix weeks by the Kings Command at *Rome* with the Pope, and his Majeſties Ambaſſadors and Agents. It was at the time when the Duke of *Alva* made war with his Holineſs, and all the Sea-coaſt was ready to be abandon'd, and *Groſſette* was not able any longer to ſubſiſt, having not a grain of Corn, no more than the other Garriſons. I found at *Rome* ſome *Siennois* Gentlemen, that marcht out of *Sienna* with me, who brought me acquainted with a Banquer call'd *Julio d'Albia*, a *Siennois* alſo, who upon my own bare word lent me 600 (*a*) Moges of Corn, which are 300 Tuns or Barrels, at twelve (*b*) Muids the Barrel, conditionally that I ſhould monthly pay him 600 Crowns at every Muſter. This money I could no way raiſe but out of the deductions I reſerv'd from the Muſters, and inſtead of putting it into my own pocket, I accordingly paid him all, the laſt payment only excepted; for there was no more money, nor means to have any; ſo that we made no Muſter. I might have made my advantage of this, for I furniſht ſeveral places that ſtood in need, according to the authority I was inveſted withal; and I ſav'd half the Corn, which I lent to the Country people, who were more diſtreſt for bread than the Soldiers. There it was that I began to play the Uſurer; but it was at the expence of the King's Conſcience; for, for every Muid that I lent them then, I receiv'd two at the Harveſt; and indeed it was double worth at the time when I lent it, and yet a penny of this profit never came into my purſe, for I left it all to the King. I ſtay'd yet ſeven months longer in theſe parts, without receiving ſo much as one Pay; during four months of which I made my men live of twenty ounces of bread a day out of the profits I made of the Corn, ſaving as much as in me lay my Maſters money. The other three Months I paid the Soldiers with good words, and the liberality of my Bonnet, as I had done at *Sienna*. Some time after *Don Franciſco* arriv'd, who found Corn yet in the Magazine. I moreover dealt with the Dutcheſs *de Caſtro*, Wife to the Duke who was ſlain at *Piacenza*, who knew Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother, at the time when he was in the ſervice of Pope *Paul Farneſe*. Pope *Paul Caraffa* had made a Prohibition, that no manner of Grain ſhould be carried out of *Romania*; but this Dutcheſs under hand permitted certain Merchants to bring it by night into our Territories, where our merchants met, and bought it of them. I carried this practice very cloſe, of which I could have made a very great advantage to my own private profit; but never ſo much as one Liard came into my purſe.

(*a*) A *Moge* is a Meaſure containing about ſix Buſhels.

(*b*) *Muid de bled*, (*meſure de Paris*) contains twelve *Septiers*, the *Septier* two *Mines*, the *Mine* 6 *Boiſſeaux*, the *Boiſſeau* 4 *Quarts*, which amount to about five Quarters, a Coomb, and a Buſhel of *London* meaſure.

I could have brought the King a Bill of two or three hundred thouſand Francs debt, as did Signior *Jourdano Corſo*, and others whom I ſhall forbear to name, who were well paid. I was neither ſo ſimple, nor my opportunities were not ſo few, but that I could have done it as well as any of them. I have been his Majeſties Lieutenant in this Province of *Guienne*, and have been much up and down abroad in the world, but never ſaw any Country equal to it, either in Riches or Conveniencie of Living. And having ſuch an Employment, I could have had intelligence with the Receiver of the Province, (thoſe kind of men deſire no better) and have ſtuffe my own Coffers; for what upon Muſters, Garriſons, and Equipages of the Artillerie, I could have made infinite advantages. How many Impoſitions might I have laid upon the Country? for the King had given me power to do it, which would have turn'd to my particular benefit: for although his Majeſty in that Commiſſion doubtleſs intended thoſe Levies for his own ſervice; I could, if I would have put the charge upon him, and have converted a great part of them to my own proper uſe. I could if I would have fir'd Towns, and have ſent a *Will with the wiſp* up and down to the Towns and Villages to whiſper the principal Inhabitants in the ear, that they muſt either give me money to free them, or that otherwiſe I would cauſe them to be undone, and come quarter Soldiers upon them, who ſhould eat them to the very bones: for they know men of our Trade are ſeldom weary of ill doing. I could alſo have ſent to tell the Hugonots, who liv'd at home under the protection of the Edict, that unleſs they greaſed me in the fiſt, I would cauſe them all to be ruin'd and pull'd in pieces; and what would they not have given me to have ſecur'd their Lives and Eſtates? for they did not greatly confide in me, hearing how I had handled them before. But inſtead of making uſe of ſuch Artifices of theſe to enrich my ſelf, I let the Captains and Gens-d'arms, and others who ſerv'd the King, and askt it of me, take all; reſerving very little or nothing to my own benefit. And even that which I had at *Clairac* I took by the King's permiſſion. Let others therefore reſt content. If God would pleaſe to let me be once cured of this great Harquebuze-ſhot in my Face, I think yet, that ſhould the War break out again, I ſhould be one to mount to horſe; and I think it is not far off; for ſo long as there are two Religions, *France* will evermore be in diviſion and trouble. It cannot otherwiſe be, and the worſt on't is, 'tis a War that will not be ended of a long time. Other quarrels are eaſily compos'd, but that for Religion has no end. And although the Martial ſort of men are not very devout, they however ſide, and being once engag'd ſtick to their Party. In the poſture that affairs now ſtand, I do not think we are at an end. However I have this ſatisfaction in my ſelf, that I have to my utmoſt oppoſed it, and done my beſt endeavour to ſettle the peace of the Kingdom. Would to God that all thoſe who have been in Command had conniv'd no more than I. But we muſt let God work his own will. After he has ſufficiently ſcourg'd us for our ſins he will burn the Rod.

The fertility of *Guienne*.

And now, you Lords and Captains, who ſhall do me the honor to read my Book, let me beſeech you not to read it with prejudice, but believe that I have deliver'd the truth, without depriving any one of his due and merited honor. I make no queſtion but that ſome will bring ſome things that I have here related into diſpute, to ſee if they can catch me tripping in point of truth; foraſmuch as they will find that God has never more accompanied the fortune of any man, for the Employments I have gone thorough, than he did mine. But let me aſſure ſuch, that I have omitted an infinite number of paſſages and particularities, by reaſon that I never committed any thing to writing, nor ever kept any memorial, as never ſuſpecting my ſelf to become a Writer of Books. I ever thought my ſelf unfit for that Employment, but in the time of my laſt hurt, and during my ſickneſſes I have dictated this that I leave you, to the end that my name may not be buried in oblivion; nor ſo many other gallant men, whom I have ſeen perform ſo many and ſo brave exploits: for the Hiſtorians write only of Kings and Princes. How many brave Gentlemen have I here ſet down, of whom theſe people make no mention, no more than if they had never been? He who has writ the Battel of *Ceriſolles*, though he does name me, yet it is but ſlightly, and in *tranſitu* only; and yet I can honeſtly boaſt, that I had a good hand in that Victory; as alſo at *Bullen* and *Thionville*. Which they take no notice of at all, no more than of the valour and gallant behaviour of a great number of your Fathers and Kindred, whoſe names you will find here. Do not then think it ſtrange if I have been ſo fortunate as I have written, for I never minded any thing but my Command, and have ever acknowledg'd that all my ſucceſſes came from God, into whoſe hands I ever reſign'd my ſelf and all my affairs; although the Hugonots were pleaſed to report me for an Atheiſt. They are my profeſt enemies, and you ought not to believe them. And although I have had my imperfections and my vices, and am no more a Saint

Negligence of Hiſtorians.

than other men, (they had their ſhare too though they pretended holineſs and mortification) yet I have ever placed my hope in God, evermore acknowledging, that from him alone I was to expect my good or evil fortune, attributing to his bounty and aſſiſtance all the ſucceſſes of my life. Neither was I ever in any action whatever wherein I have not implor'd his Divine aſſiſtance, and never paſſed over day of my life, ſince I arriv'd at the age of man, without calling upon his Name, and asking pardon for my ſins. And many times I can ſay with truth, that upon ſight of the Enemy I have found my ſelf ſo poſſeſt with fear, that I have felt my heart beat, and my limbs tremble (let us not make our ſelves braver than we are; for every man upon earth apprehends death when he ſees it before his eyes) but ſo ſoon as I had made my prayer to God, I felt my ſpirits and my ſtrength return. The prayer which I continually uſed, from my firſt entring into Arms, was in theſe very words. *My God, who haſt created me, I moſt humbly beſeech thee to preſerve my judgment entire, that this day I may not loſe it; for it is thou that gaveſt it me, and I hold it from no other but thee alone. If thou haſt this day appointed me to die, grant that I may fall with the reſolution of a man of honor, which I have ſought for through ſo many dangers. I ask thee not my life, for I deſire nothing but what pleaſes thee. Thy will be done, I reſigne all things to thy divine wiſdom and bounty.* After which having ſaid my little Latin prayers, I declare and proteſt in the preſence of God and men, that I ſuddenly felt a heat creep over my heart and members, ſo that I had no ſooner made an end, but that I found my ſelf quite another man than when I began. I was no more afraid, and my underſtanding again return'd to perform its Office, ſo that with promptitude and judgment I diſcern'd what I had to do, without ever loſing it after in any Engagement wherein I have ever been.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* Prayer when he went to fight.

How many are departed this life, who were they now living could witneſs, if ever they ſaw me aſtoniſht, or loſe my judgment in any action of war, whether at an Aſſault, or in any other Rencounter or Battel. Meſſieurs *de Lautrec*, *de l'Eſcut*, *de Barbezieux*, *de Monpezat*, *de Termes*, *du Bié*, *de Strozzy*, *de Bourdillon*, *de Briſſac*, *d'Anguien*, *de Boittieres*, and *de Guiſe* could have given teſtimony of me; for they had all had me under their Command, and have all ſeen me in a thouſand and a thouſand dangers, without the leaſt ſign of fear or amazement. Who, could they again return to life, would be good witneſs of the truth of what I have deliver'd; and yet they are not all dead, under whom, and by whom I had the honor to ſerve, and to be commanded, who although they were much younger Captains than I, it was nevertheleſs fit I ſhould obey them. Monſieur le Duc *d'Aumale*, and the Mareſchaux *de Coſſé*, and *de Vielle Ville* are of this number; and I beſeech you (my noble Lords if my Book peradventure fall into your hands) to do me right, and declare whether what I have here deliver'd be true, or falſe; for you have been eye-witneſſes of part of it; and I fancie that after my death you will be curious to ſee what I have writ. There are others alſo who are able to give me the lye, if I have ſaid ought but true; namely Signior *Ludovico de Biraga*, and Monſieur le Preſident *de Birague*, who never abandoned that brave Mareſchal *de Briſſac*. Several others are yet living who have been my Companions in Arms, and many others who have ſerv'd under my Command; all which are able to affirm the truth of what I have ſaid, and whether whenever there was a debate about any Execution, I did not alwayes think nothing impoſſible; but on the contrary concluded things feaſible, which others concluded impoſſible to be effected. I undertook it, and brought it about, having evermore that ſtedfaſt aſſurance in God, that he would not forſake me, but open the eyes of my underſtanding to ſee what was to be done to make my Enterprize ſucceed. I never thought any thing impoſſible but the taking of *Thionville*, of which the honor is to be attributed to Monſieur *de Guiſe* alone, and in truth there was more of fortune than reaſon in that ſucceſs, though the ſaid Sieur *de Guiſe* was ever confident he ſhould carry it, and ſo he did.

Fellows in arms, how many and how great things ſhall you perform if you put your whole truſt in God, and ſet honor continually before your eyes? diſcourſing with your ſelves, that if it be determin'd you ſhall end your dayes in a Breach' tis to much purpoſe to ſtay behind in the Graſſe. **Un bel morir*, (ſayes the Italian) *tutta la vita honora*. 'Tis to die like a beaſt for a man to leave no memory behind him. Never go about to deprive another man of his honor, nor ever ſet avarice and ambition in your proſpect: for you will find that it will all come to nought, and end in miſery and diſgrace. I do not ſay this that I have any mind to play the Preacher, but meerly out of reſpect to truth. How many are there in the world, who are yet living, and whom I ſhall forbear to name, that have had the reputation of valiant men, and yet have been very unfortunate in their undertakings? Believe me the hand of God was in this, and though they might implore his divine ayd, their devotion was not right, which made the Almighty adverſe to them.

* A brave death illuſtrates a man's whole life.

If

If therefore you would have God to be aſſiſting to you, you muſt ſtrip your ſelves of ambition, avarice, and rancour, and be full of the love and loyaltie we all owe to our Prince. And in ſo doing although his quarrel ſhould not be juſt, God will not for all that withdraw his aſſiſtance from you: for it is not for us to ask our King if his cauſe be good or evil, but only to obey him. And if you are not rewarded for the ſervices you have performed, you will not ſtomack your being neglected, by reaſon it was not your intention nor deſign to fight upon the ſcore of ambition and greatneſs, nor out of a thirſt of riches; but upon the account of fidelity, and duty that God has commanded you to bear to your Prince and Sovereign. You will rejoyce to find your ſelves eſteem'd and belov'd by all the world, which is the greateſt Treaſure a man of honor ought to covet. For great Eſtates and high Titles periſh with the body, but a good Reputation and Renown are immortal as the Soul. I now ſee my ſelf drawing towards my end, and languiſhing in my bed towards my diſſolution, and 'tis a great conſolation to me, that in ſpite of Death my name ſhall live and flouriſh, not only in *Gaſcony*, but moreover in foreign Nations.

This then is the end of my Book, and of thus far of my life, which if God ſhall pleaſe longer to continue to me, ſome other may write the reſt, if ever I ſhall again be in place, where I ſhall perform any thing worthy of my ſelf; which nevertheleſs I do not hope for, finding my ſelf ſo infinitely decayed, that I never again expect to be able to bear arms. I have however this obligation to the Harquebuze ſhot, which has pierced through and ſhatter'd my face, that it has been the occaſion of writing theſe Commentaries, which I have an opinion will continue when I am dead and gone. I entreat all thoſe who ſhall read them, not to look upon them as proceeding from the Pen of an Hiſtorian, but of an old Soldier, and a *Gaſcon*, who has writ his own life truly, and in the rough ſtile of a Soldier. All ſuch as bear arms may take exemple by it, and acknowledge that from God alone proceed the ſucceſſes or the misfortunes of men. And ſeeing we ought to have recourſe to him alone, let us beſeech him to aſſiſt and adviſe us in all our afflictions, for in this world there is nothing elſe, of which the great ones have their ſhare as well as the meaneſt of us all. Wherein he manifeſteth his own greatneſs, in that neither King nor Prince are exempted from his correcting hand, and who ſtand not continually in need of him and his divine aſſiſtance.

Do not diſdain, you who deſire to follow arms, inſtead of reading *Amadis de Gaule*, and *Launcelot du Lake*, to ſpend ſometimes an hour in reading what I have done, and in taking notice of what I have been, in this Treatiſe that I leave behind me. By which means you ſhall learn to know your ſelves, and betimes to form your ſelves to be Soldiers and Captains; for you muſt firſt learn to obey, that you may afterwards know how to command. This is not for ſilk-worms, and ſpruce Courtiers to do; nor for thoſe that are in love with their eaſe, but for ſuch as by the ways of virtue, and at the price of their lives will endeavour to immortalize their names, as I hope, in deſpite of envy I have done that of *Montluc*.

Here the Signieur de Montluc *had put an end to his Book; but ſince, the ſhort Supplement following was found amongſt his Papers.*

I Here thought I had at once put an end both to my Writing, and my Life; never imagining that God would ever again have enabled me to get on horſe-back to bear arms; but he was pleaſed to order it otherwiſe. For ſome time all *France* was happy in the enjoyment of Peace and repoſe, whilſt I alone was afflicted with ſickneſs, and tormented with my great wound, which together confin'd me for the moſt part to my bed: notwithſtanding by little and little I recover'd my health, being more glad to be diſcharg'd of my Government, than if that heavy burthen had ſtill layn upon my ſhoulders. The Marquis *de Villars*, who has now the charge upon him, will no doubt acquit himſelf of his truſt, as an old Cavalier, and a great Captain ought to do.

Now I ever ſaid with my ſelf, hearing news from Court (for I had yet ſome correſpondence there) that the Hugonots were too much careſſed, for any good to come of it, and ſaw very well that there was ſome miſchief a brewing. The King by his Letters, which I have yet by me, and alſo in diſcourſe to ſeveral of my friends, was pleaſed to declare, that he was no way diſſatisfied with me, that he deſir'd to manifeſt how much I was in his favour and eſteem, and that my own indiſpoſition had been the only reaſon of his putting the Marquis *de Villars* into my place. I was content to believe it to be ſo; for we muſt believe as our Kings will have us, or otherwiſe we offend them. Now although I was no more the Kings Lieutenant, notwithſtanding all the Nobleſs, and all the

Eſtates of *Guienne* ever paid me a very great reſpect, and very often came to viſit me; at which times we never parted without ſome diſcourſe of what the times would come to: for we thought the Hugonots were grown very inſolent, and ſpoke almoſt as high as in the firſt Troubles. Had I been as young and luſty now, as I was then, I ſhould have made ſome of them have held their prating, at leaſt in *Gaſcony*, where I was.

The Execution upon St. *Bartholomew's* Eve at *Paris*.

A year or thereabout being paſſed over in this manner, news was brought of what had hapned upon St. *Bartholomew's* day at *Paris*; where the Admiral was ſo unadviſed as to engage his perſon, out of vanity to ſhew that he govern'd all. I wonder that ſo circumſpect and ſo wiſe a man, and a man ſo well beaten to the affairs of the world ſhould commit ſo groſs an error. He paid dear for it, for it coſt him his life, and many others. And indeed, to ſpeak the truth, he had brought great troubles upon the Kingdom; for I know that all, nor the one half of the miſchief was never contriv'd by the Prince of *Condé*. The ſa[illegible] Prince communicated but too much of his deſigns to me at *Poiſſy*, and I do believe, that would I have given ear to him, he would have told me all. I acquainted the Queen with every ſyllable of it; but ſhe enjoyn'd me ſilence. She did not then think that things would have come to that paſs, that they afterwards did. I know very well, and it is very well known to all the world, that ſhe was accuſed for the cauſe of the Commotions, that hapned in the firſt Troubles; and the Prince did her the wrong to ſend her Letters into *Germany*, to ſhew them, and cauſe them to be printed and publiſhed in all places: which nevertheleſs did not much advance his affairs. The ſaid Lady the Queen being at *Tholouze*, did me the honor to talk with me above three hours upon that ſubject, and ſaid a great many things to me, that I ſhall be ſo wiſe as to keep to my ſelf. So it is, that it is a very eaſie matter to reprehend, and find fault with thoſe who have the management of the affairs of the world, eſpecially affairs of ſo great importance as ſhe had, having the King and his Brothers ſo young upon her hands, and all the Princes being bandied againſt one another; and afterwards this ſpecious Cloak of Religion, which has equally ſerv'd both Parties to ſhadow and palliate their Revenge, and to make us devour one another. I pray what apparence could there be, that ſhe ſhould have any intelligence with the ſaid Prince? what ſhe has ſince done has ſufficiently manifeſted the contrary. But I ſhall wave this diſcourſe (for perhaps I ſay too much) and return to my former ſubject.

The Naval Army before *Rochelle*.

Every one was aſtoniſht to hear what had hapned at *Paris*, eſpecially the Hugonots, who could not find ground enough to fly over, the moſt of them eſcaping into *Bearn*. The reſt turn'd Catholicks, or at leaſt ſeem'd to do ſo. For my part I did them no harm on my ſide; but they were every where uſed exceedingly ill. I then thought that our Naval Army, which at that time lay before *Rochelle*, was deſign'd for ſomething elſe than to go into *Portugal*, and then founded the bottom of the Deſign: but I could not imagine why they had only wounded the Admiral at firſt, having the deſign that I afterwards ſaw they had. For had all the Hugonots the next day reſolv'd with the great ones of their Faction, it had been eaſie for them to have retir'd from *Paris*, and to have put themſelves into ſome place of ſafety: But they were blinded, and God depriv'd them of their underſtandings. I ſhall not here take upon me to determine whether this proceeding was good or evil; for there is a great deal to be ſaid on both ſides, and beſides it were now to no purpoſe, for it would do no good. Thoſe that follow after us may ſpeak to better effect, and without fear. For the Writers of this Age dare not ſpeak out; but mince the matter; for my part I had rather hold my peace, and ſay nothing.

Though I had at this time no other Command than that of my own Houſe and Family, yet was the Queen pleaſed to do me the honor to write to me, and to ſend me word, that there was a dangerous Conſpiracy diſcover'd againſt the King and his Crown, which had been the occaſion of that which had hapned. I know very well what I thought: 'tis a dangerous thing to offend ones Maſter. The King never forgot the time when the Admiral made him go faſter than an amble betwixt *Meaux* and *Paris*. We loſe our underſtandings when we come to the pinch of affairs, and never conſider that Kings have greater ſtomacks than we to reſent an injury, and that they are apter to forget ſervices than offences. But let us talk of ſomething elſe, this will be ſufficiently canvaſed by others, who will be better able to undertake it than I.

Charles the IX. at *Meaux*.

Rochelle the Refuge of the Hugonots.

All the King and Queens care was how to take *Rochelle*, the only refuge of the Hugonots. God knows whether I did not ſend the Queen my advice touching this affair. At the Voyage of *Bayonne*, and afterwards at her coming into *Xaintonge*, I had propoſed it to her, to make her ſelf Miſtreſs of it, without noiſe, or breeding the leaſt diſturbance; and by what I gather'd from Monſieur de *Jarnac* (to whom I diſcover'd my ſelf a little, and not too much) I think there would have been very little difficulty in the buſineſs. She

was

was evermore afraid of renewing the War; but for ſo delicate a morſel one would not have been nice of breaking the Faſt. It might have been done, and afterwards it had been to much purpoſe for them to have complain'd. There would have been wayes enow found out to have appeas'd the people; for what could any one have ſaid, if the King would have built a Citadel in his own City? But it is now too late to repent that overſight. This City has furniſht the Hugonots with means to renew the Wars, and will ſtill do it, if the King does not take it from them, to which end nothing ſhould be omitted. For thorough the conveniencie of this City they manage the intelligences they have in *England* and *Germany*, and take great prizes upon the Sea, with which they maintain the War. They moreover keep the Iſles, from whence they extract a Maſs of money, by reaſon of the Salt. The Queen ſhall pardon me if ſhe pleaſe, ſhe then committed a very great error, and moreover another ſince, not to ſupply us with means to execute her Commands then when ſhe ſent us to beſiege it: For *Rochelle* at that time was not the ſame that it is now, and I think I ſhould have frighted them.

The importance of *Rochelle*.

And now behold all the world before *Rochelle*, and I alſo was invited to the Feaſt amongſt the reſt: So God help me, when I took the reſolution to go thither, I made full account there to end my dayes, and to lay my bones before the Town. Being come thither I was aſtoniſht to ſee ſo many men, ſo many minds; for they were ſtrangely divided in their inclinations, and a great many there were who would have been ſorry the Town ſhould have been taken. The Siege was great and long, and many handſome actions were there perform'd, but *well aſſaulted, better defended*. I ſhall not take upon me to give the Narrative of the particularities of this Siege, for I was no more than a private perſon, and I will ſpeak ill of no one. The Monſieur that commanded in chief at this Siege, and has ſince been King, knows very well, that having done me the honor to talk with me, and to ask my advice, I told him frankly what I thought. By this Leaguer all men who were preſent at it, and thoſe who come after us, may judg, that places of ſuch importance are either to be taken by famine, blocking them up, or foot by foot with time and patience. There was here a great fault committed, in hazarding ſo many men in Aſſaults, and another greater in keeping ſo ill watch, that ſupplies of powder came in by Sea, as they continually did: but to tell you my opinion, (which was alſo that of a great many others) they had been our own in ſpite of the beſt they could have done for their defence, and muſt have come out to us with Ropes about their necks; for the Succours the Count *de Montgommery* brought them were retir'd, and we were upon the point to grapple with them, for they were reduced to the laſt neceſſity of all things. But at the ſame time Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother was in *Poland*, to labour the Monſieurs election to that Kingdom, as he did. And I think the glory of that buſineſs is due to him: but it was alſo the cauſe that every one thought of entring into Capitulation with the Rochellors, as at laſt they did. The Deputies of *Poland* there came to ſalute the Monſieur for their King, and every one retir'd to prepare himſelf to ſee the Solemnity of this new Crown; ſo that after having loſt a vaſt number of men at this Siege, we left the Rochellors ſtill in poſſeſſion of their City. It ſeem'd by ſome words the Monſieur caſt out at his departure, that he was not very well ſatisfied with this new Kingdom: for my part I think it was a great honor both to him, and to us all, that ſo remote a Kingdom ſhould come to ſeek a King in ours. Monſieur *de Valence* my Brother got a great deal of honor in this Negotiation, and his Orations are very fine, I make no doubt but he will inſert them in his Hiſtory.

The Sieur *de Montluc* goes to the Siege of *Rochelle*.

The Monſieur elected King of *Poland*.

During theſe unhappy Wars, and this Siege, where I loſt ſeveral of my Kindred and Friends, the Admiral *de Villars*, who was the Kings Lieutenant in *Guienne*, did in my opinion the beſt he could; and in truth there was not much to do, for the Hugonots were ſquandred here and there like a Covey of flown Partridges. But having taken a little heart by the length of this Siege, they made ſome attempts, which made me for my laſt misfortune, to loſe my Son *Fabian* Signieur *de Monteſquien*, who in forcing a Barricado at *Noguarol*, receiv'd a Harquebuze ſhot whereof he died. Although he was my Son, I muſt needs give him this teſtimony, that he was loyal and brave; and I verily believ'd that the ſorrow for his death would have ended my dayes, but God gave me courage to bear my loſs; nor with that patience I ſhould have done, but as well as I could.

Fabian de Montluc ſlain.

In the mean time all *France* was full of Triumphs to honor the departure of the new King of *Poland*, whilſt I remain'd at my own houſe, without other company than my own ſorrows, ſaving that ſometimes I was viſited by my friends, and the Gentlemen of the Country. The King about this time made a new removal, which was very prejudicial to the Province of *Guienne*. Thoſe who follow after us will learn to be wiſe by the overſights of others; and the error that his Majeſty here committed, was, that he divided the Government of *Guienne* into two parts, wherein he gave all on this ſide the *Garonne* towards

Gaſcony

Gaſcony to Monſieur *de la Valette*, and that on the other ſide to Monſieur *de Loſſe*. This was a very great miſtake in the Kings Council; and more eſpecially in the Queen, who would again divide it into three parts, to give one to Monſieur *de Gramont*. 'Twas pitty that ſo many wiſe head-pieces had not taken notice what inconveniences had already accru'd by giving ſo much power to Monſieur *d'Anville* before, by reaſon of the little intelligence there had been betwixt him and me, of which I have elſewhere given an account; and ſeeing all the forces of the whole Province, under one head, had enough to do to cauſe the King to be obey'd, what was to be expected from them, when ſeparated, and under ſeveral mens Commands? This ſows jealouſie and diſſention amongſt them, which in the end grows to abſolute breach; and all at the expence of the King and his people. The effects ſoon diſcover'd themſelves; for Monſieur *de Loſſe* undertook the Siege of *Clerac*, a paltry Town, that had never dar'd to ſhut her Gates againſt me; where Monſieur *de la Valette* was alſo preſent, but it was only in the quality of a looker on: where in the end he did nothing worth ſpeaking of; neither indeed am I at all concern'd in that affair; ſo that what I ſay is only to enform the King, that to be well ſerv'd he ought never to divide a Government, but commit it entire to one Lieutenant only. His Kingdom is wide enough to ſatisfie the ambition of thoſe who are greedy of Employments; and, with his Majeſties pardon, they ought to ſtay their time, there will be enough for all.

Some time after we heard ſo many ſtrange things, that me-thought I ſaw the Enterprizes of *Amboiſe* again on foot; for they talkt of prodigious things, and ſuch as I ſhould never have believ'd, if all was true that was ſaid; which whether it was or no, I leave to others to examine. A little while after, news came of the Kings being ſick, and of ſeveral great perſons at Court being committed to priſon, which made me think my ſelf happy that I was ſo far off; for a man is often trapt when he leaſt expects it, and when he knows no reaſon why. In the end of all, news came of the death of the King, which was in truth a very great blow to the Kingdom: for I dare be bold to ſay, that had he liv'd he would have done great things, and to his Neighbour's coſt would have remov'd the Scene of War out of his own Kingdom. Wherein if the King of *Poland* would have joyn'd with him, and have ſet on foot the great Forces he had been able to have rais'd in his Kingdom, all would have bowed before them, and the Empire would again have been reſtor'd to the Houſe of *France*. His death did very much aſtoniſh us, by reaſon of the great deſigns he had, as it was ſaid, in the Kingdom, and I do believe the Queen never found her ſelf in ſo great a perplexity ſince the death of the King her Husband my good Maſter.

The death of *Charles* the 9th of *France*.

Her Majeſty did me the honor to write to me, and to entreat me to aſſiſt her in her great affliction, and to preſerve the State till the coming of the King her Son. Wherefore to gratifie her Majeſties deſire, though I was overburdn'd with years and infirmity, as alſo to divert my own grief for the death of my Son, and eſpecially to manifeſt to her the deſire I had to keep the promiſe I had made to her at *Orleans*; I went to *Paris* to receive her Majeſties Commands, and from thence attended her to *Lyons*, where I had the opportunity of diſcourſing with her at large concerning ſeveral things which I have ſince ſeen diſcover themſelves nearer at hand, and which it will be a great work in her to redreſs.

The Sieur *de Montluc* attends the Queen to *Lyons*.

The King being return'd, they made him commit a very great error, at his firſt footing in the Kingdom; for inſtead of compoſing all differences and diſorders in the State, and eſtabliſhing peace and tranquility amongſt us, which at that time had been a very eaſie matter to do; they perſwaded him to reſolve upon a War. And they yet perſwaded him to a greater inconvenience, for they made him believe, that entring into *Dauphiné* all places would immediately ſurrender to him, whereas notwithſtanding he found, that every paltry Garriſon made head againſt him: but I have nothing to do to give an account of thoſe tranſactions. At his coming he was pleaſed to be exceedingly gracious and kind to me; and yet he was not ſo to all; and indeed I obſerv'd him to be much alter'd in his humor, from what he was wont to be. There were there ſome publick Councils held, but there were alſo others that were private, and very cloſely carried.

Henry the 3d. of *France*, and King of *Poland* returns into *France*.

Now his Majeſty calling to mind the ſervices I had done for the Kings his Grandfather, Father, and Brother; ſome of which he had heard of, and others had himſelf alſo ſeen, he was reſolv'd to honor me with the Eſtate of Mareſchal of *France*, and to make me rich in honor, ſince he could not do it in matter of wealth and eſtate. Having therefore caus'd me to be call'd for, and being come, to kneel down before him, after I had taken the Oath, he put the Mareſchal's Staffe into my hand: Which having done, in returning my moſt humble thanks, I told him, *That I had no other grief in this world, but that I had not ten good years in my belly, wherein to manifeſt how much I deſir'd to be ſerviceable to his Majeſty and Crown in that honorable Command.* Having receiv'd his Commands, and thoſe of the Queen, I return'd into *Gaſcony* to make preparation for war, for all things tended that way:

The Sieur *de Montluc* created Mareſchal of *France*.

way: but I very well perceiv'd by the tediouſneſs of my Journey, that I was rather to think of dying my ſelf, than of killing others: for I was no more able to endure long Journies, nor to undergo any great labour. And moreover I very well foreſaw, that the ſame would happen betwixt the Kings Lieutenants and me, that had hapned before betwixt me and the Mareſchal *d'Anville*.

Sometime after the Parliament of *Bourdeaux* writ me a Letter, that the Hugonots were playing prancks upon the River *Dordogne*, that ſome courſe muſt be taken with them, and that therefore they entreated me to draw a little nearer to them, that ſome order might be taken to prevent them from proceeding to greater miſchief. I hereupon accordingly came to *la Reolle*, where Preſident *Neſmond*, to whom I was totally a ſtranger, Meſſieurs *de Merville*, *de Monferran*, and *de Gourgues* came to meet me, and there propos'd to me a great many things. I was not to ſeek in my anſwer, neither did I want ſufficient excuſes, particularly that ſome promiſes that had been made me had not been made good; to which I alſo remonſtrated to them my Age and indiſpoſition; and moreover the ſaid Sieurs *de Merville* and *de Monferran* coming to my bed-ſide, I ſhew'd them my wounds, acquainting them withal with the Oath I had made never more to bear arms; but in the end I could not deny them, and they made me break my Oath. They being then return'd to make preparation for the attacquing of *Genſac*, I went thither. Preſently after Monſieur *de Monferran* brought a brave Troop of Gentlemen out of his Government, (as alſo ſeveral others came in from other parts) together with a conſiderable number of foot, ſo that we carried the Suburbs and the Barricado's at the very firſt aſſault. Meſſieurs *de Duras*, *de la Marque*, and *de la Deveſe*, there went on in their Doublets only, with their Swords in their hands up to the very Gates of the City, which was very madly done of them, for the Harquebuze ſhot flew very thick; but they did it in emulation of one another, and to ſhew that they were men without fear: but (as ill fortune would have it) Monſieur *de Monferran* receiv'd a Harquebuze ſhot quite through the body, of which he died; which was great pity, for he was a Gentleman of extraordinary valour, and mightily belov'd of the Country, which will find a great miſs of him.. Monſieur *de Monferran* ſlain.

The Enemy ſeeing themſelves coopt in after this manner, and the Canon ready to play, ſent out a great Rogue, whom they call'd Captain * *Tonnellier*, but a very good Soldier, as it was ſaid, who capitulated and ſurrendred the place; in which Monſieur *de Ranſan*, Brother to Monſieur *de Duras*, was placed Governor. I muſt now give an account of an accident that befel me at this Siege, which had never hapned to me before. After the death of Monſieur *de Monferran* I thought fit to diſpoſe of the Command he had in the Army to Monſieur *de Duras*, conceiving that he being a Gentleman of ſo good a Family, as he was, he would be very well accepted by all: but every one was not well pleaſed with my choice. From which another miſchief alſo aroſe, which was, I was told, that the Gentlemen who were come along with theſe Meſſieurs, to ſerve me upon this occaſion, highly complained of ſome words which I had ſpoken of them, as falſe as the Devil himſelf. The words were unhandſome and dirty, for which reaſon I will not blot my paper with them; but they were all in ſo high a mutiny upon it, that they were ready to mount to horſe, and leave me engag'd with the Canon. I therefore ſent to entreat them to do me the favour as to take the field betimes in the morning, where I had ſomething to ſay to them; which accordingly they did. I was ſo early that I went by Torch-light, ſo impatient I was to eaſe my heart; where the Gentlemen being all drawn round about me, with my hat in my hand, I ſpake to them to this effect. * Or Cooper.

The Gentlemen diſcontented.

Gentlemen,

"IT is now many years that many of you have known me, having born arms under my "Command, both in our own domeſtick troubles of *Guienne*, as alſo abroad in for- "reign Countries: others alſo that are here preſent, I make no queſtion, have heard talk "of me, of my chollerick diſpoſition and haſty humour; but I aſſure my ſelf not one of "you, as many as you are, ever knew, or ever heard, that I was of a detractive or an in- "jurious nature; and although I am not without my faults, yet have I never been guilty "of that. How comes it then to paſs, that you have done me the wrong to believe that "I ſhould be ſo indiſcreet as to ſpeak of you with ſuch contempt, as I am told has been "reported to you? Believe me I am ſo far from being guilty of ſuch an injury to you who "are Gentlemen, that I would not have ſpoken ſuch a word of the meaneſt Soldier in "the Army. I have ever lov'd and honour'd the Gentry, for under God it is they who have "help'd me to that honor and reputation I have acquir'd amongſt men. You know very "well, Gentlemen, that in the quality I now ſtand I am out of Combat, and therefore "ſhall not give the lye to any; but I do aſſure you it is nothing ſo, and that I never ut- "ter'd

The Sieur *de Montluc*'s Harangue to the Gentlemen in mutiny.

"ter'd ſuch a ſyllable; neither would I have done it for the world. Methinks at this "age, and after having ſeen ſo much as I have done, I ſhould know what it is to live in the "world, and be careful of offending ſo many perſons of honor, and Gentlemen of good "and noble Families. Now (Gentlemen) I have underſtood the reſolution you have ta-"ken to retire to your own houſes, for which I am very ſorry; as alſo that you diſlike "the nomination I have made of Monſieur *de Duras*. Wherein I ſhall ſo far comply "with your ſatisfaction, as not to impoſe him upon you contrary to your liking, and "ſeeing you are diſſatisfied with my choice ſhall no more name him to you. His Majeſty "ſhall appoint ſome other in the place of the late Monſieur *de Monferran*, whom I lament "from my ſoul. In the mean time, Gentlemen, do not deny me this one favour at leaſt, "to convoy the Canon to ſome place of ſafety; which if you ſhall not think fit to do "for my ſake, who have ſo many years been your Leader and Captain, yet do it for the "affection and ſervice you owe to the King your Lord and Soveraign. As for my own "part, I will alſo go retire to my own houſe; for my age, my wounds, and other in-"firmities will no longer permit me to bear arms, nor to undergo the labours requir'd "in war. Love me alwayes I beſeech you, and remember your old Captain and fellow-"Souldier.

This Remonſtrance of mine gave ſatisfaction to all, inſomuch that they all told me with one voice, *that in truth this ſtory had given them very great offence, it being reported to them by one that carried the name of a Gentleman: but they now believ'd nothing of it, that they were my ſervants, and ready not only to convoy the Canon, but alſo to follow me wherever I would pleaſe to command them.* I thought fit to commit this paſſage to writing, to the end that thoſe who follow after may learn how to behave themſelves upon the like occaſion. Had I upon the inſtant known the man that had raiſed this fine report of me, I doubt I ſhould have ſhew'd him a ſcurvy trick: but the Canon was carried back, which they attended till they ſaw it lodg'd in ſafety, and ſo we took leave of one another, and departed every man to his own home.

I had not been long at my own houſe before I had every day very ſtrange news brought me from Court, and of great deſigns that were laid by the greateſt men of the Kingdom: but when I heard that the King of *Navarre* made one amongſt them, and was ſtoln away from Court without taking his leave, I from that time forward concluded that *Guienne* was again to ſuffer many miſeries; for that he being a great Prince, young, and who gave viſible hopes of being one day a great Captain, would eaſily gain the hearts of the Nobleſs and the People, and would keep the reſt in awe. So God help me a thouſand miſchiefs were eternally before my eyes, ſo that I was often in mind to withdraw my ſelf to avoid the affliction of hearing ſo continual ill news, and of ſeeing the ruine of my native Country. To which end a certain Priory was evermore running in my head, that I had formerly ſeen ſituated in the mountains, part in *France*, and part in *Spain*, call'd *Sarracoli*; to which place I had ſome thoughts of retiring my ſelf out of the Tumult of the world. I might there at once have ſeen both *France* and *Spain*; and if God lend me life, I know not yet what I may do.

The End of the Seventh and laſt Book of the Commentaries of Meſſire Blaize de Montluc *Mareſchal of* France.

BLASII MONLUCI
FRANCCIÆ MARESCHALLI
TUMULUS.

Iliadis rursum nascatur conditor altæ.
Hoc tumulo rursum conditur *Æacides*.

FLOR. RÆMONDUS Senat: Burdigal.

Quæris qui siem? MONLUCIUS Nomini meo satis est nomen.

Conjugi conjux.

P. C.

MONLUCIUM hæc urna tegit. Cujus varios casus, terra marique exhaustatos labores Gallia testabitur, hostes prædicabunt, posteri mirabuntur. Urbium propugnator, oppugnator, Hostes sæpius fudi, vici, subegi. Patriam in sua viscera versam quoties restitui? Imis functius, maxima consecutus. Terrarum orbem fama complexus. Fatis urgentibus lubens & integerrima mente cessi.

Avo, Patri Filius, Nepos *Blasius Monlucius*

P.

RErum humanarum vices quis non miretur? festinantibus Pater fatis, tardantibus Avus in cœlum receptus. Ille ferro, hic morbo. Ille in insulis Oceani Atlantici, hic in Gallia, hominibus exemptus. Ille me unicum, vix primos edentem vagitus superstitem reliquit. Hic tres liberos Gallicæ florem nobilitatis, tria Martis pignora, vivens amisit & eluxit. Utérque bellum & lituos spirans. At juventus patris sedatior, senectus avi præfervidior. Ex æquo tamen eadem utrique gloria. Ore facundus, corde catus, manu promptus, militibus pariter utérque gratus, militarem veterum ducum adoream triumphalibus laureis utérque supergressus. Avus nunquam victus, pater etiam moriens hostium victor extitit. Adlucete filio & nepoti vestro virtutis egregiam facem sanctissimæ & fortissimæ animæ, invicta avita pietatis columina: & me vestigia per vestra euntem ad æternum stirpis nominisque nostri decus tot inter rerum caligines, & errorum flexus, itinere inoffenso perducite.

ΕΙΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ
Κελτῶν Βλάσιον ϟ Μονλύκιον. Ἐπιτάφιον.

Γᾶλλις μέ, Ῥώμυλο τε, καὶ ἐυρὲϑ ἔδνεα κόσμυ
Ἠνάρισεν Καίσαρ, Καίσαρα τόνδε βεπτῖ.
Γάλλις τ' Ἰταλίυ τε, καὶ ἔδνεα κόσμυ ἔπεσε
Μονλύκϑ, ϟ ἀνὴρ δ' ὃ κτείνε, ἀλλὰ Θεός.

Ἄλλο.

Τύτμαδ' ὦ ξεῖν ὡς Μονλύκιϑ ἐνθάδε κεῖ)
Οὐδὲ μαθεῖν μεῖζόν τ' ἄδε βεγλον ἔχεις.

Ἄλλο.

Ἐνθάδε Μονλύκιο μεγαθύμυ κεῖται ἀνακτος,
Ὃς πελάσμας ἄρδις, αὐδὶ Κυλλιυὶς εἶχεν.
Ἐμανυὴλ ὁ Μεγάλϑ ϟ γαλάτης σφῶ βεβ-
δισαλέων γενεσίας βελδίτης, ἔδηκε.

Εἰς ϟ αὐτόν.

Ἐν πολέμοισε μέγας Μονλύκιϑ ἐνθάδε κεῖ).
Σῶμα δὲ πεύμελϑ σῆμ' ὀλίγον κατέχει.

Ἔεζα δὲ καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὸ κλέϑ ἐρεύομενος
Οὐδὲ πάϑ δύχε), ἄπε) δὲ αὖ.
Φῶτας δ' ἰφθίμυς αἰὲν πεφάσκει ὁ Ἄρης,
Οὗϑ ἔχεν τὸ γέρας καὶ δυὸ γεγλέϑ.
Στέφανϑ ὁ Μαγιαλδός.

Εἰς ϟ αὐτόν.

Τίπ' ἀφελὸς πολεμάοντι βέλη λελυθρωμένα φθίσεις,
Καὶ βλαβερὰς παλάμας Ἄρεϑ ἀνδρεφόνυ.
Νυῦ γὸ Ἀρηῖ φίλϑ Μονλύκιϑ αὐτὸς ἀπώλε,
Τὸν ϟ πολυχρονίυ γήρεϑ ἄρε νόσϑ.
Ἤτοι πανδαμάτωρ Κρόνϑ, Ἄρεός ὅσσον ἀρείων,
Καὶ πολὺ ῥωμαλεώτερος ἠπύτης.
Ἀλλ' ἀρετὴ ϟ γ' αὖτε Κρόνυ δυσαμένων κρατέουσι
Φαίδιμον ἀνδρα μέτα νεκρὸν ἐλεύθεροι.
Ἰωάννης ὁ Γαυρί ϑ ἐπίσκε.

TOMBEAU

Tombeau de Meſſire Blaiſe de Montluc.

CE Marbre icy (paſſant) le grand Montluc enſerre,
Un tel homme que luy, dedans ſi peu de terre
Ne peut eſtre compris : ce tombeau labouré
Cloſt ſeulement ſon corps, dont il eſt honoré.
Mais juge par ſa mort, le dommage & la perte,
Que la Gaſcongne a fait depuis veufue & deſerte.
Et franc de paſſion, voy comme le laurier
Ceignant ſon front receut honneur de ce guerrier.
Ce grand guerrier qui fut la garde de ſon Prince,
Le ſouſtien & l'appuy de toute la province.
Ou lieutenant de Roy & en guerre & en paix
Teſmoins de ſa vertu, il fit tant de beaus faits,
Qu'il a laiſſé mourant ce beau doute à tout aage
Quel des deux il eſtoit plus vaillant ou plus ſage.
En bataille rangée, il deffit par trois fois
L'ennemy de ſon Roy, il remit ſous ſes loix
La Guyenne revoltée aux factions civiles.
Par force il emporta, & print cinquante villes,
Le primier à l'aſſaut en témoignant la foy
Qu'l avoit à ſon Dieu, qu'il avoit à ſon Roy.
Par degrez il acquiſt d'une honorable peine
Tous les tiltres d'honneur, de ſold t, capitaine,
Colonel, Lieutenant, Vice-Roy, Mareſchal.
Et touſiours commandant, à ſoy touſiours eſgal,
Dedans ſoy retenant ſous égale balance.
La vaillance d'Ajax, de Neſtor l'eloquence,
De l'homme plus couard il animoit le cœur :
Et au plus courageux faiſoit venir la peur
A ſa ſeule parole, à ſa ſeule preſence.
Il fut chaud & actif, remply de vigilance
En tout il ſe monſtra, & par tout invaincu,
Et ne ſceut onc vainqueur que c'eſt d'eſtre vaincu,
Où fut-ce par la force, ou par la courtoiſie,
Tant il avoit d'honneur ſa belle ame ſaiſie.
L'Italie le ſçait, où de ſon brave cœur.
Mainte marque il laiſſa, & courtois & vainqueur.
Et le ſçait, l'Angleterre, & la France & l'Eſpague,
Et cette nation, que l'onde du Rhin baigne.
Brave s'il euſt voulu de l'invincible mort
I leuſt encore peu faire languir l'effort.
Mais voyant la vertu faire place a l'envie :
L'honneur à la faveur, il deſdaigna la vie
Et deſira mourir au monde vitieux,
Pour aller immortel vivre dedans les cieux.
O vous, de qui iamais l'amitié ne varie
Pleurez-le ſes amis, vous mirant en ſa vie.
Vous laſches envieux guidez d'un autre ſort,
Pleurez enſenblement, & ſa vie & ſa mort.
Sa vie vous oſta tout l'honneur & la gloire,
Et ſa mort vous ravit l'eſpoir de la victoire,
Ayant ſi bien ſceu vivre, & encore mieux mourir.
C'eſt à luy deſormais à qui faut recourir
Pour le patron des deux, afin qu'on y contemple
De bellevie & mort un admirable exemple.
Heureux trois fois Montluc, qui vivant ſi longs jours,
As eu pour compagnons, avecque toy touſiours
Et l'heur & la vertu : & qui maugré l'envie,
Vois d'un los immortel ta memoire ſuivie.

Sur le Tombeau de ſon coeur.

Icy de Montluc vainqueur
Eſt enclos le brave cœur.
Ou pluſtoſt affermer i'oſe
Qu'il eſt icy tout entier,
Car tout ce cœur grand guerrier
Eſtoit, & non autre choſe,

Siſte Hoſpes, & perlege. Magnus ille *Monluciu*s hic jacet & quieſcit mortuus, qui vivens nec quam quieſcere poterat. Hæc te ſcire volebam, quandoquidem illud poſtremum per me ut ſcires ipſemet voluit, morienſque commendavit. Abi, & bene precare.

I, du Che Eveſque de Condom

Epitaphe de Blaiſe de Montluc Mareſchal de France, & de M. Antoine, Pierre, & Fabien ſes enfans.

CEluy ſe plaint en vain qui dit que noſtre vie,
(Theatre infortuné de mainte Tragedie)
Eſt ſerve du deſtin : que le laſche & le fort
Peſle-meſle ſans chois ſont ravis de la mort.
Ainçois que de Pluton la chartre tenebreuſe
Va pluſtoſt devorant une ame genereuſe
Que celle qui moiſit d'un languiſſant ſeiour
Dans ſon corps inutile, & mange en vain le jour.
Un jour du vertueux vaine une longue vie
De celuy qui la paſſe aux vices aſſervie.
Un acte valeureux eſt l'embelliſſement
Du tableau de la vie, & luy ſert d'ornement,
Ores qu'il fait tout ſeul, & ne pert point ſa grace
Lors que la mort le vif de nos couleurs efface.
I'honnore plus d'Appelle une ligne, un ſeul trait,
Que le labeur entier d'un vulgaire pourtrait.
C'eſt le fait d'un grand maiſtre à bien tirer ſa vie
Et la rendre d'honneur de tout poinct accomplie.
L'œuvre artiſtement fait garde ſes liaiſons.
Sa grace, ſa beauté, & ſes proportions :
Le temps ne deſtaint point ſon raieunilſant luſtre,
Ains contre ſes efforts il ſe rend plus illuſtre :
De l'indocte tableau la honte & le mépris,
Et une obſcure mort en eſt ſeule le pris.
C'eſt un fait Atlantée, eſtre endoſſé d'années,
Qui ne les fait marcher d'honneur accompagnées.
L'honneur de la vieilleſſe eſt l'eſtançonnement,
C'eſt ſon fonds, c'eſt ſon champ, c'eſt ſon propre element :
Cet aage eſt un tom'eau ſans la belle lumiere
De la vertu, qui doit luy eſtre familiere.
Celuy qui maiſtriſe d'appetits éhontez
Se precipite au ſein des fauſſes voluptez.
Eſt ſous l'eſcorce humaine une idolle mouvante.
Non homme, ains ſeulement ſa peinture vivante.
Noſtre vie eſt un ſonge, une ombre decevant ;
C'eſt un nuage vain pouſſé au gré du vent,

Une

Une fueille d'Autone à la premiere haleine
Des Aquilons que doit s'abbattre ſur la plaine.
Que l'on ſoit donc d'honneur, non des ans envieux :
Que s'ils nous ſont donnés de la faveur des cieux,
Il les faut ſoulever d'une vivante gloire,
Dont la Parque ne puiſſe arracher la memoire :
Comme a fait ce Montluc, Montluc ce grand guerrier,
Qui honore ſon front d'un belliqueux Laurier,
Et de Palmes ſa main; palmes victorieuſes
Le ſignal verdoyant des armes glorieuſes.
C'eſt ce Montluc, qui fut aux combats nompareil,
Le plus prompt à l'eſpée, le plus ſage ou conſeil,
Capitaine invincible, ayant ſous ſes bannieres
Rompu cent & cent fois mille bandes guerrieres.
Son berceau fut Gaſcongne, où les peuples ardans
Naiſſent, meurent ſoldats, & dependent leurs ans :
Indomptables, hautains à ſecourir leurs Princes,
Et replanter les bords de leurs belles Provinces.
Il eſtoit deſcendu d'ayeuls braves & forts,
Praticqs en toute guerre, entreprenants, accorts,
Eſchauffez d'un beau ſang & d'une noble envie
Ou de vaincre aux combats, ou d'y verſer la vie.
Le los de nos ayeuls va noſtre cœur hauſſant,
Ainſi de la vertu de ſon pere ſe ſent
Le ieune Lyonneau, qui jà deſia menace
De ſes ongles tranchans des fiers taureaux l'audace.
L'aigle à grand peine eſclos de ſon lict maternel
Oze attaquer des cerfs le peuple au pied iſnel :
Il aſſaut des dragons l'engeance venimeuſe
Et eſchange ſa vie en mort victorieuſe,
Ainſi ce chevalier avant que la ſaiſon
Luy friſaſt ſur la ioue une creſpe toiſon
Eſpoinçonné d'honneur, il voulut chaud aprendre
Fier de cœur & de mains en ſa ieuneſſe tendre
Le meſtier de Bellone, ayant devant ſes yeux
De ſes preus devanciers les geſtes glorieux,
Bien toſt on s'apperceut que ſa vertu cogneüe,
Sa vaillance aux dangers, ſa prudence cheſnüe
Aux affaires doubteux voloit devant ſes ans
Iune ſoldat ja vieux de geſtes triomphans.
Comme l'on void la nuict à la robe eſtoillée
Qui n'a point ſa clarté de nuage voilée
Des chetifs journaliers affublant les travaux
Et d'un profond repos adouciſſant leurs maux
Ardente eſtinceler de mille flammes vives,
Que Thetys a levé dans le frais de ſes rives,
Entre toutes bluete un feu plus radieux,
Horrible, perruqué qui menaſſe les cieux,
Qui menaſſe la mer & la terre d'orage :
Ainſi du grand Montluc le Martial courage
Terrible flamboyoit entre tous les ſoldats
Actif, laborieux, vray champion de Mars.
La Toſcane en trembloit, la ſuperbe Italie,
Angleterre, Piedmont, Flandres, la Germanie,
Sa grand' picque en ſa main guide des battaillons
Eſtoit l'horreur, frayeur des peuples Bourguignons,
Sous les feux ondoyans de l'acier de ſa targe
Le Franc ois gros de cœur ne craignoit point la charge
De l'arrogante Eſpagne, ayant plus cher mourir
Et voir ſon eſtomac d'un coup mortel ouvrir
Que recevoir le froid d'une peur palliſante,
Coulpable des honneur d'une ame peu vaillante.
Son ſeul regard rendoit le ſoldat ſi hautain
Qu'il ſembloit jà tenir la victoire en la main.
Il n'y a point d'honneur ny tiltre militaire,
Dont ne l'ait ennobly, non la faveur proſpere
De fortune, mais bien ſa fameuſe valeur,
Qui a touſiours vaincu des armes le mal-heur :
Ayant e cœur plus grand non que Mareſchauſſées,
Gouvernemens, grandeurs à la foule entaſſées,
Ains plus grand qu'un Empire, & né pour commander
Depuis le ſtot Indois juſq'à l'Angloiſe mer,
Poſez moy un Coloſſe au bas de la campagne
Il eſt toutesfois grand : un Nain ſur la montagne
Eſt toutesfois petit : ainſi l'indignité
D'un homme bas & vil monſtre ſa laſcheté
Quoy que hauſſé d'honneurs, & que la main royale
De biens & de grandeurs luy ſoit trop liberale.
Depuis quand le Françoiſe diviſé en deux parts
Fit floter contre ſoy ſes propres eſtendars,
Et que Mars tout ſanglant, & la diſcorde irée
Trainoit ceſte couronne en pieces deſchirée,
Grand Alcide Gaulois il ramaſſa le bris :
Mille fois la campagne il ioncha d'ennemis,
Et vainqueur abbatit ſous le fer de ſa lance
De l'heretique erreur l'outrageuſe licence,
Hardy, determiné, indomté, valeureux,
Et l'exemple immortel des faicts chevaleureux.
Mais qui pourroit conter ſes guerres terminées,
Eſcarmouches, aſſauts, & battailles données,
Murs prins & defendus, celuy pourra nombrer
Les eſtoiles des cieux, & les flots de la mer
Luy ſeul eſcrire a peu digne de ceſte gloire
De ſes divers travaux une immortelle hiſtoire,
Luy un ſecond Ceſar, le ſçavant eſcrivain
Des exploits achevez par ſa vaillante main.
Non autrement qu'un cheſne orgueilleux de trophées
Ses armes reluiſoient de lauriers étoffées,
Ayant touſiours fait voir par le glaive pointu
Qu'il eſtoit impoſſible d'abattre ſa vertu
Si bien que le Dieu Mars or qu'il portaſt envie
Gros de rage & deſpit aux geſtes de ſa vie,
N'a iamais entrepris dedans leſt our ſanglant
Sur la poudre adenter ce Tydide vaillant.
Dont époinct de fureur & boüillant de colere,
A meurtry coup ſur coup en leur fleur printaniere
Trois freres, ſes trois fils, trois Achilles François,
Trois Scipions nouveaux flambans ſous les harnois,
Comme l'aſtre iumeau qui ſauve de tempeſte
Du matelot ja preſt à naufrager la teſte.
Ces vieux Heros de Grece, & ſes foudres Romains
N'euſſent paſſé l'honneur des trois freres germains,
Si leur forte vigueur aux armes ſi bien née
En leur tendre bourgeon n'euſt eſté moiſſonnée.
Comme on void trois beaux lis qui d'un luſtre pareil
Des boutonnent leur robe aux royons du ſoleil.
Ou trois beaux Hyacints à la face vermeille,
Epanir les threſors de leur vifue merveille,
Le ciel s'en reſiouit, & verſe ſur ſes fleurs
Les larmes dont l'aurore argente leurs couleurs :
Mais le coutre trenchant où le greſleux orage
Les celeſtes honneurs de leurs beautez ſaccage.
Le deſtin nous monſtra puis à ſaudain repris
Ces trois freres à ſoy du terreſtre pourpris.

Craignez

Graigniez vous que ſous eux la Françoiſe vaillance
Fit ployer (ô bons Dieux) du monde la puiſſance ?
Celuy qui fit broncher le Macedonien,
Qui fit pomper ſon char du ſang Emathien,
Vid d'un œil aſſeuré, haut reveſtu de gloire,
La mort de ſes deux fils aſſieger ſa victoire,
De meſme (ô grand Montluc heurté d'un tel malheur
On ne te vid iamais foible ſous la douleur :
Ferme comme un rocher dedans la mer profonde,
Lequel plus eſt batu plus ſe mocque de l'onde.
Tu deſſeignois encor les combats retenter
Quand la fieureuſe mort vint au lict te donter.
Tel eſt le fier torrent des affaires humaines
Qui faict & puis deffaict toutes choſes mondaines :
Nous mourons en naiſſant, & mainte-fois au bord
De ceſte freſle vie on eſt pris de la mort :
Mais heureux qui a peu plein d'honneurs & d'années
Attendre de pied coy les fieres deſtinées,
Qui a veu pres de ſoy ſans iamais s'esbranler
Puiſſances, Royautez, Empires chanceler :
Qui a peu ſans frayeur voir fondre ſur ſa teſte
Des grands eſclats du ciel la bruante tempeſte.
Tel fut ce Chevalier, auquel oncques la peur
Par aucun accident ne fit tomber le cœur,
Ayant heureuſement vaincu Mars & l'envie
Qui voyoit de travers la ſplendeur de ſa vie :
Ayant veu retourner deux fois quarante Eſtez.
Aſſailly, combattu de mille adverſitez :
Mais compris en ſoy-meſme, il eſpointoit la flesche
Dont le malheur pouvoit à ſon los faire breſche.
Vous ſon fils, honorez du pere & des enfans
Le Tombeau non de pleurs, mais de chars triomphans
Gemiſſans ſous le fais des deſpouilles vaincuës,
Piſtolets, coutelats, picques, lances, maſſuës,
Morions, gantelets, braſſars, cuiſſots percez,
Panaches tous ſanglans, corcelets enfoncez,
Phifres, tambours, guidons fanfares de trompettes.
Enſeignes, eſtandars, & lancieres cornettes,
Marques de leur proueſſe, & dignes monuments
De ces quatre guerriers, les premiers de leurs temps,
Leſquels ores la haut de la voute dorée
Feront trembler d'eſclairs leur ſalade timbrée
Foudroyans Encelade, & l'orgueil furieux
Des Geans qui encor s'arment contre les Cieux.

ALIUD.

Ignavi Pario quærant in marmore vitam,
Queis vitæ tantum ſpes jacet in tumulo :
Hæc geſſi ut mutos liceat contemnere teſtes,
Praxiteliſve manus, ſeu Polyclete tuas.
Nec vatum ſcriptis mea buſta inciſa legantur,
Funditus extinctos hic tueatur honos.
Sic ſcripſi, ut poſſint vates nil addere, nobis
Æternum ingenio ſuppeditante decus.
Sed ne forte meum longinquo ex orbe profectus
Ut redeat viſo prætereat tumulum
Extremi nomen ſculpatur margine ſaxi
Hoc ſatis eſt : populis cætera fama canet.
Sic olim qui Alpes, Italas qui fregerat arces,
Scribi unum hoc juſſit, Annibal hic ſitus eſt.

Faciebat Godofridus Malvinus Regius, Burdigalæ Senator, anno.1577.

Epitaphe de Meſſire Blaiſe de Montluc, Mareſchal de France.

CI giſt le grand Montluc, duquel la renommée
Par mille cors divers,
Embouchez hautement, à la gloire ſemée
Au champ de l'univers.
Montluc, qui de ſon nom comme vn foudre de guerre
Eſtonna mille fois
L'Italie, Le Piedmont, l'Eſpagne, & l'Angleterre
Et le mutin François.
De ces peuples domptez ayant l'ame eſchauffée
D'un deſir glorieux,
Deſpoüille ſur deſpoüille, il dreſſa maint trophée
Touſiours victorieux.
Mais la mort, qui demain doit trancher noſtre vie
Ou peut eſtre aujourd'huy,
Le triomphe enviant de ſon heureuſe vie
Triomphe ores de luy.
He que c'eſt peu de cas que des choſes mondaines :
C'en eſt rien que du vent.
Car tout ainſi qu'on void qu'elles naiſſent ſoudaines :
S'en vont ſoudainement.
N'agueres ce Montluc fut l'honneur de ſon aage
Vn Alcide nouueau.
Apres tant de travaux pour ſon dernier partage
Il n'a que ce tombeau.
Lieutenances, eſtats, ordres, mareſchauſſées,
Ny lots, ny dignitez,
Ny honneurs, ny grandeurs, l'une à l'autre entaſſées,
Ny lauriers meritez
N'avoient rendu content ſon eſprit plein d'envie
De plus outre tanter.
(Iamais un brave cœur cependant qu'il a vie
Ne ſe peut contenter)
Ores il eſt contant avec ſix pieds de terre
Partage égal à tous :
Car autant en emporte un chetif beche-terre
Que le plus grand de nous.
Sa gloire ſeulement apres luy nous demeure
Gloire qui ne meurt pas.
Car la vertu iamais encor que le corps meure
N'eſt ſubjette au trépas.
Encor eſt fraiſche en nous d'Annibal la memoire,
Encor vivent les faits
Des Scipions, Catons & Ceſars, dont la gloire
Ne perira iamais.
Ainſi apres cent ans de vie il ne nous reſte
Rien exempt du deſtin
Que le ſeule vertu : car toſt ou tard le reſte
Eſt conduit à ſa fin.
Repoſe donc en paix ô ame genereuſe,
Honneur de l'Univers
Cependant que pleureus ſur ta tombe poudreuſe
Ie graveray ces vers.

Montluc comblé d'honneurs de grandeurs & d'années
Et de gloire chargé ;
Aiant ſervi cinq Rois fut par les deſtinées.
Sous ce tombeau logé.

ALIUD.

ALIUD.

Ne mihi pro tumulo ſaxorum attollite molem;
Grandia nec titulis ſaxa notate meis.
Verſæ bello acies, quaſſataque mœnia, gentes
Edomitæ, nobis ſint tumuli, & tituli.

Flor. Remondus Senat. Burdig.

ALIUD.

ISta Monlucius jacet ſub urna
Franciorum equitum unus ex magiſtris,
Quo nemo meliùs ferire punctim,
Quo nemo meliùs ferire cæſim
Vel pedes, vel eques valebit unquam.
Pellæum hic juvenem, ſenem Camillum,
Claros Scipiadas, ducemque luſcum.
Et duces vetores fuere quotquot
Bellandi docuiſſet unus artem,
Vincendi docuiſſet unus artem.
Mavors ſcilicet, & ſoror flagello
Clara ſanguineo, Minerva, Apollo,
Omnes denique dii, deæque, quos nos
Bellis imperitare ſuſpicamur,
Maximo ſtudio, improbo labore,
Scire illi dederant locare caſtra,
Obſervare diem, locumque pugnæ,
Armatorum aciem ordinare, firmis
Ipſam ſubſidiis fovere, ſemper
Hoſtium inſidias cavere, ſæpe
Hoſtes inſidiis necare, nulla
Non cibaria militi expedire,
Torpeſcentia corda militantum,
Forti & comta animare concione,
Æſtuantia, dulcibus, ſeveris,
Permulcere, vel increpare verbis
Munia omnia militis, duciſque
Exequi intrepide, ut frequens pudorem
Tantis incuteret ſuis Magiſtris.
Noſter Monlucius deorum alumnus.
Princeps militiæ, decuſque noſtræ,
Illis artibus, hic graves Latinos,
Fortes Allobroges, feros Iberos,
Gentes Cæſareas, truces Britannos,
Plebem Tectoſagum impiam, rebelles
Vibiſcos tremefecit; imò ſæpe
Cæcidit, domuit: ſtupes viator?
Non noras hominem: volens profecto
Longé maxima præſtitiſſet horum.

P. de Termes Senat. Burd.

Lucinæ Vaticinium de fortuna Monluci.

VIx bene Monlucum dias in luminis oras
Lucina extulerat, pueri cum pandere fata
Incipit, ac tanto matrem ſolatur alumno.
En, ait, en genetrix cœlo hic gratiſſimus Heros,
Italiam ſternet juvenis Ticinumque, Padumque,
Subjiciet Franco. Nec deſæviſſe juvabit,
Germanas acies, & magni Cæſaris arma,
Allobroges quin ipſe feros, Alpeſque ſuperbas
Obterat, atque fugam caſtris immittat Iberis.
Aſpera Monlucum Cyrnus tremet: addita ſignis
Lilia, victriceſque rates mirabitur Ætna,
De ſuper, atque ſolo, atque ſalo congeſta trophæa.
Hinc, ubi jam matura viri proceſſerit ætas,
Eruet hic arces, & propugnacula Martis
Belgica, tum Sequanæ coget parere Moſellam.
Cumque reſurgentes ſiſtet Titanas Enyo,
Quos non ille manu, quas non diſjecerit urbes?
At tu flos ævi, Divumque, Henrice, propago,
Ne propera, & ſceptri curam dimitte Poloni,
Hic hoſtes premet excidio, flammaſque Rupellæ,
Inferet, hic Francis avertet finibus Anglum,
Heu quibus in pugnas animis ruet! Ecce Triumphi
Exuviæque micant: ſtridentque hinnitibus aures,
Arva rubent, cerno ſtrages, tonitruque furenti
Oppida quaſſa, tubis reboat clangentibus æther
Concuſſus valleſque, & vaſtæ ripa Garumnæ.
Hic vir hic eſt fato Gallis datus. Aſt ubi tandem
Monlucum vincet mors effera, tum quoque Mavors
Victus erit, nodoque manus Pax junget aheno.
Ne me quæſieris extra.

E. du Mirail Senat. Burdig.

Tumulo Blaſii Monlucii.

Unicus Alcides Manes prope & Infera rupit:
Quid modo quadruplici facient Alcide miſelli?
Ecce tribus natis obſeſſo Blaſius Orco
Contulit arma parens: Jam ſcilicet Orce periſti.

ALIUD.

Geryonem triplicem ſeipſo Monlucius auxit.
Jam quadruplex, nati atq; pater, ſtupor orbis & horror.

Marc Monerius.

Les Manes de Meſſire Blaiſe de Montluc, Mareſchal de France.

Par. P. de Brach.

QVand Cloton file-vie, à qui les deſtinées
Font tourner le fuzeau de nos courtes années,
Voulut du grand Montluc tramer les heureux jours,
Pour ne les tramer pas, comme elle fait touſiours,
D'un fil ſimple commun, à l'ouvrage attentive
Sa quenouille chargea d'une filace vive:
En arma ſon coſté, & avec une main
Tira brin deſſus brin le bout d'un fil humain,
Faiſant de l'autre main avec le fil baiſſée
En l'air piroüetter la vitale fuzée.
Le fil par le pezon juſqu'en terre alongé
Fortement s'arrondit bien retors, bien dougé.
Et la Parque achevant de tirer la filace
Par trois fois ces deux vers chanta d'une voix baſſe,

L'attache ceſte vie avec vn ſi ſi fort,
Qu'à peine ſera-il deſnoüé par la mort.
Puis le fuzeau groſſi d'un grand nombre d'années
Au poids elle donna és mains des Deſtinées.
Et Juppin retaſſant la paſte entre ſes mains,
Dequoy pere commun il moule les humains,
L'ayant fort repaiſtrie en fit une grand' maſſe:
Un beau chef en forma imprimé d'une face.
Qui s'eſlevoit hautaine, & l'enta ſur un corps
Dont les membres eſtoient muſculeus, nerveus, & forts,
Auquel en l'avivant Mars vint à bouche pleine
Neuf fois ſouffler deſſus le vent de ſon haleine,
Vent bruyant, ſous lequel avec mille dangers
Le grand nom de Montluc fiſt voile aux eſtrangers,
Vent, qui venant de Mars ſoufler ſur ceſte image,
Luy ſouffla dans le cœur l'ardeur de ſon courage:
Alluma dans ſon ame un feu de guerroyer,
Qui l'a fait outre nous tempeſter, foudroyer,
Battre, bouleverſer mille fortes murailles,
Tenter & retenter le hazard des batailles
Apprendre comme il faut une ville aborder,
Comme il faut l'aſſaillir, comme il la faut garder,
Ce qui fiſt qu'un laurier marquant mainte deffaite
Eſpais fueille par fueille environna ſa teſte.
Mais las! comme il n'eſt rien, qui ſi toſt qu'il eſt né,
Ne ſoit d'un ſort commun à la mort deſtiné,
Ce Montluc plein d'honneurs, de biens, & de vieilleſſe,
Sentiſt le trait mortel duquel la mort nous bleſſe.
Or comme ſon eſprit deſlogeoit de ſon corps
Mercure il rencontra, Mercure, qui des morts
Tous les eſprits attend, afin d'eſtre leur guide
Au chemin tenebreux de l'onde Acherontide.
Ce Dieu le conduiſſant de ſon double eſleron
Hachoit l'air qui ſiflant bruyoit à l'environ;
Et l'eſprit le ſuivant parmy l'obſcure voye
De l'enfer plein d'effroy ſans frayeur le couſtoye:
Auquel comme de loin il euſt monſtré le lieu
Du paſſage infernal, Mercure dit adieu.
L'eſprit demeure ſeul, pourſuivant ſon voyage
Se rendit à la fin ſur le bord du rivage,
Où plantant fermement ſes pieds ſur le gravois
Appella le Nocher à haute & rude voix:
Mais ſa nacelle armée & de voille & de rames
Paſſoit à l'autre bord un nombre infini d'ames.
Il paſſa par deux fois & au meſme batteau
Pour la tourner paſſer, tourna repaſſer l'eau.
L'eſprit qui cependant attendant ſur l'arene,
Contemploit ce Nocher qui ramoit avec peine,
Au poil blanc, au teint noir, au regard eſgaré,
Couvert d'un vieil habit à lambeaux deſchiré,
Plein de poix, qui meſlée au tortis des filaces
Avoit de ſon vaiſſeau calfeutré les crevaſſes,
Ses bras tiroient la rame avec un tel effort,
Qu'en trois coups ſon batteau revint baiſer le port.
De mille endroits divers ſuivant les advenues,
Afin de s'embarquer mille ames ſont venues,
Qui deça, qui delà ſautant du bord de l'eau
L'une ſur l'autre entroient foule à foule au batteau,
Qui n'a deux doigts de franc, affeſſé de ſa charge,
Que ià le vieux Nocher vouloit pouſſer au large,
Quand l'eſprit à Montluc, à qui chaſſe du bord
Le Nocher commandoit d'attendre un ſecond port,
S'eſtança dans l'eſquif, qui ne vouloit le prendre:
Et dit, ie paſſeray, c'eſt trop me faire attendre.
Si toſt qu'il euſt gaigné le bord de ce vaiſſeau,
Et charge & Nautonnier ſe renverſe à vaut l'eau
Et le premier meſtier qu'apprit cette belle ame
Dans ce Royaume noir, ce fut tirer la rame.
Et comme en ſon vivant iamais neceſſité,
N'avoit reduit Montluc en telle extremité,
Qu'il n'y trouvaſt remede; ainſi dans l'enfer meſme
Il trouva le remede à ſe paſſer ſoy-meſme,
Charon qui cependant dedans l'eau grenoüilloit,
Pluton & ſes eſprits à ſon aide appelloit.
Et tout ſoudain qu'il euſt d'ongles croches pris terre,
Commença de crier, nous ſommes à la guerre.
Alarme, alarme, alarme; & redoublant ces cris
Eſpouvanta l'enfer, effraya les eſprits.
Pluton craint que quelqu'un par ſecrette rapine
Vienne encor de nouveau ravir ſa Proſerpine.
Il ne ſçait, qu'il doit faire, il va de tous coſtez
Rechercher dans l'enfer les ſoldats indomptez
Qui ont durant leur vie avecques quelque gloire
Acheté par leur ſang l'honneur d'une victoire,
Hardis, aſpres, vaillans, ardans de ſang humain,
Et qui ont furieux porté la guerre en main.
Dix mille tels eſprits ſont ſortis des lieux ſombres,
Où logent dans l'enfer plus plaiſibles les ombres.
L'un d'un grand coup d'eſpée a le chef avalé,
L'autre de bras de iambe eſtoit eſcartelé,
L'un porté dans le ſein une bale cachée:
L'autre a d'un coup d'eſpée une oreille tranchée.
Mais comme la pluſpart de ces braves ſoldats
Ont veu l'ame à Montluc qui marchoit à grand pas
En l'air branlant ſa main d'une horrible menace
Suivans à vauderoute ils ont quitté la place,
Preſque tous les eſprits à l'arme venus
En voyant l'autre eſprit, ſe ſont reſſouvenus,
Que ceſtoit ce Montluc, qui vivant ſur la terre
Eſtoit un ſecond Mars, un foudre de la guerre,
Et tous ceux qui vivans luy furent ennemis,
Comme s'il les cherchoit, en fuitte ſe ſont mis.
A chaſque ame il ſembloit penſant eſtre attrappée
Sentir encor le fil de ſa ſanglante eſpée.
La Toſcans, la Lombars, Napolitans, Anglois,
Allemans, Eſpagnols & rebelles François
Peſle-meſle fuyans d'une fuitte preſſée
Cul ſur teſte tombant à iambe renverſée.
Tout l'enfer retentiſt, & les eſprits peureux
Cerchent pour ſe cacher leurs ſepulchres ombreus,
Ils veulent tous crier; mais une crainte mole
Dans leur bouche beante amortiſt la parole.
Pluton qui cependant cherchoit par tous moyens
De raſſeurer le cœur de ſes noirs citoyens,
Et connoiſtre l'autheur de l'eſmute avenüe,
Ne les voyans ſuivis fors que d'une ame nue
Se bouffit de colere: il enrage de voir
Qu'une ame ait peu l'enfer de frayeur émouvoir.
Et rougiſſant de honte à grand pas il s'avance
Vers l'eſprit à Montluc qui ferme en contenance
Sans s'effrayer de luy devers luy s'avançoit.
Comme aſſez près de luy l'eſprit il apperçoit,
Vomiſſant ſon courroux il commence luy dire,
Viens tu ſuperbe eſprit pour troubler mon empire?
Arreſte,

Arreſte, arreſte toy : ſinon malgré le ſort
Ie te feray ſen ir une ſeconde mort :
Ou ie feray ſouffrir à ton ombre coupable
L'impitoyable arreſt du juge inexorable.
Plus rigoreux vers toy ſera ſon jugement,
Que du fer, que du feu, que du geyneux tourment
Qui es tu ? d'ou viens-tu ? de quelle audace folle
Ozes tu ſans Caron paſſer dans ſa gondolle.
L'eſprit ayant eſté l'hoſte d'un corps vainqueur,
Duquel iamais la peur n'avoit glacé le cœur.
Ne s'eſtonna craintif au bruit de ſa menace :
Ains luy contre-reſpond avec une humble audace :
Icy ie ne viens pas, comme ont faict autresfois
Hercule tugeant, Theſee, ou Pirithois,
Pour troubler ton enfer : car cette ame eſchauffée
De gloire n'a iamais deſiré ce trophée,
Sans peur donques demeure en ces ombreux enfers,
D'enfer le chien portier aux trois goſiers ouverts
Et toy ſans peur de moy, pluton, garde ta fame.
Là haut une plus belle encor garde la flame
De ſon amour vers moy : mais ſi tu es le Roy
De ce Royaume noir plein d'horreur & d'effroy,
Pour quoy n'eſtablis-tu avec quelque juſtice,
Les favorables loix d'une douce police ?
Et quoy ? luy dit Pluton, qu'as-tu ça bas trouvé,
Qui par nouvelle loy doive eſtre reprouvé ?
Apres qu'on euſt, dit-il, mis mon corps ſous la lame
Voulant paſſer ton fleuve, ainſi que fait toute ame
D'une rame Caron me chaſſa rudement,
Bien que i'euſſe attendu ſur le port longuement,
Et qu'il euſt ia paſſé mainte ame en ſa barque,
Qui avoient eu congé depuis moy par la parque,
Moy qui ay le cœur gros & penſe meriter
Pour le corps, d'où ie ſors, de me voir mieux traitter,
Tout flambant de courroux i'entray dedans la nuſſe
En renverſant ſa charge : & tout ſeul ie me paſſe.
Or Pluton ſi tu veux avec un long diſcours
Entendre qui ie ſuis, & quels furent mes jours,
Ie n'aurois iamais fait contant ma vie entiere.
Le parler me faudroit pluſtoſt que la matiere,
Pluton, dont le courroux eſtoit deſia flatté
Par ſes propos diſerts plein d'humble gravité,
Luy dit, approche toy, ame genereuſe
Viens çà bas pour parer ma grand chambre fumeuſe,
D'où es-tu qui tu es, & tes faicts conte moy.
L'ame ſans ſonner mot longuement ſe tint coy :
Puis dit en s'élevant comme un, qui ſe réveille,
Si le nom de Montluc a frappé ton oreille,
Nom que la renommée embouche en mille corps,
Ie fus quand il vivoit, l'hoſteſſe de ſon corps.
La France eſt mon pays, Gaſcongne eſt ma nourriſſe,
Qui blandiſt ſes enfans d'un guerrier exercice,
Qui arme leurs berceaux de petits eſtandart,
Et leurs mains de tambours, le voüans au Dieu Mars.
La lignée de ceux, deſquels ie pris naiſſance,
Eſt aſſez par mon nom conneuë par la France,
Comme un Lyon iamais n'engendre un cerf pourueux.
Succedant aux Montlucs en leur cœur genereux
De guerre deſireux ie n'eus loiſir d'attendre
Qu'un poil vint mollement ſur ma ioue s'épandre,
Poil la fleur du printemps, qui poinct ſur noſtre teint
Car encor ie n'avois trois fois ſix ans atteint,
Que ſortant hors de page au Duc de Lorraine s'eſchappe,
N'emportant comme on dit que l'eſpée & la cape,
Comme un jeune poulain qui branlant teſte & col
A force a deſtaché la boucle à ſon licol,
Lors que libre il ſent en fuyant l'eſcurie
Diſpoſt court par les champs, & cherche un prairie,
Où la terre grattant d'un jarret ſouple & prompt
Il galoppe, il gambade, il fait en l'air le bond,
Deſſous ſes pieds ven eus le long de ſa carriere.
L'air demeure épaiſſi d'une obſcure pouſſiere
Son crain flotant eſpars ſe meut au gré du vent,
Sous ſon viſte galop par accord ſe mouvant
La terre retentit : mais quand ſur un rivage
Il oit hanir la poutre, ou le poulin ſauvage.
Une oreille dreſſant s'eſtant court arreſté
Eſcoute en quel endroit, puis court de ce coſté.
Ainſi du tabourin, qui le ſoldat réveille,
I'ecoutois quand le ſon viendroit à mon oreille :
Pour courir celle part. Alors cet Empereur,
Ce grand Charles, qui fut du monde la terreur
Deſſignoit de la France eriger un trophée.
La guerre eſtoit par tout vivement échauffée.
Là donques i'accourus ; & ſous Odet de Foix
I'appris jeune ſoldat à porter le harnois.
Et ores en Eſpagne & ores en Angleterre
Ieune ie m'adextray au meſtier de la guerre.
Ie traverſay les monts ſuivant l'eſpoir de tous,
Qui penſoient que Milan ſeroit garde par nous.
Mais comme bien ſouvant la fortune ſe mocque,
Nous fuſmes d'un malheur ſuivis à la Biquoque :
Là où comme pieton, tout de poudre noircy
Ie vis combattre à pied le grand Mommorancy,
Que i'allay coudoyant au milieu du carnage,
Faiſant ſentir l'effort de mon jeune courage.
Apres que noſtre camp deſeſpera de voir
Par ſa force Milan remis ſous ſon pouvoir,
Revenu, ſans long temps m'arreſter en Gaſcongne.
La Navarre ie vis, Picardie & Bourgongne.
Et bien que i'euſſe veu ia maint & maint combat,
Mon vol n'eſtoit plus haut, que le vol du ſoldat.
Mais lors un point d'honneur ſalariant ma peine
De ſoldat ie receus tiltre de capitaine.
Bien toſt ie me trouvay plus chaud en guerre épris,
Lors que Fonterabie aux Eſpagnoles fut pris.
Invincible au travail, apres Fonterabie
Ie vis ô grand malheur, la route de Pavie,
Journée où noſtre Roy demeure priſonnier,
Où preſque ie reſtay combattant le dernier :
Mais playé dans le corps, à la teſte, au viſage,
Avec peine à la fin i'eſchappe ce carnage.
Puis avec ce Lautrec ſous qui ie m'avancé
Encor en Italie hardy ie repaſſe :
Et ſuivant la Romaigne & la Bruſſe & l'Apouille
Melphe nous demeura pour guerriere deſpouille :
Où mes ſoldats Gaſcons mi ſuivant d'un prin-ſaut
Furent veus les premiers ſur la breſche à l'aſſaut.
Naples ſçait quels aſſauts en aſſiegeant ie baille :
Et quantefois du pied i'ay marqué ſa muraille.
De ce voyage long d'un malheureux bonheur
Ie revins tout chargé de loüange & d'honneur,
Aux charges, aux aſſauts, rencontres, camiſades,
Ayant ſcellé mon los de quatre arquebuſades.

Me trouvant à Marſeille on vid là de quel ſoing
Jéſçay la peur d'un ſiege aſſeurer au beſoin.
D'où l'Empereur qui peut t'en faire encore le conte
Partiſt ſans l'aſſieger avec ſa courte honte.
Au ſiege contre luy ie fus à Perpignan.
Le Piedmont s'es mouvant Caſſal & Carignan
Et Carmagnole & Quiers virent en cette guerre,
Combien de chevaliers ie renverſay par terre.
Encor que de l'honneur ſans l'avoir deſiré
De grand Maiſtre de Camp le Roy m'euſt honoré
Alors que l'aigle joint aux armes Eſpagnolles
Entreprit d'aſſailir nos gens à Ceriſoles,
Ie voulu bien qu'aux chefs ces traits ſoyent deffendus.
Guider les pas douteux de nos enfans perdus.
Ce fut lors qu'en vainquant, le François magnanime,
T'offrit maint ennemy pour ſanglante victime.
Ce fut lors qu'acharné s empourpray mes deux mains
Au ſang des Eſpagnols, des Lombards, des Germains.
Or l'Anglois cependant, qui d'autre part guerroye
Pour la guerre s'armoit dans la terre d'Oye
Pour ne voir guerre aucune où ie n'euſſe ma part
De gloire deſireux ie courus celle part.
Là ie fis voir le cœur d'un guerrier de Gaſcongne.
Alors mon Roy me vid en la baſſe boulogne
(Et cet acte ie mets pour mes geſtes plus beaus)
Sauver l'honneur perdu de vingt deux drappeaux :
Et malgré l'ennemy qui tiroit la deffaite.
Faire couvrir de ſang une brave retraite.
En Piedmont appellé pour quelque remuement
D'Albe & de Moncallier i'eus le gouvernement.
Sienne pour ne r'entrer deſſous la tyrannie
Des voiſins Florentins, dont elle eſt ennemie,
D'entre les mains deſquels nos Roys avoient oſté
Le joug qui captivoit ſa doucé liberté,
Craignant & l'Empereur & le Duc de Florence,
En ce temps mandia le ſecours de la France.
Le Roy preſtant l'oreille au prier des Siennois
M'envoya pour leur aide ayant de moy fait chois.
Là où repreſentant ſa Majeſté Royalle
I eus de ſon lieutenant la charge generalle.
Et gardant aux Siennois leur chere liberté
Là i'avois les fleurons du lis ſi bien planté
Qu'encores aujourd'huy les bannieres Françoiſes
Dans les veins boufferoient deſſus les tours Siennoiſes,
Si de Stroſſy le camp, en pieces eſtant mis
N'euſt donné l'advantage aux vainqueurs ennemis.
Henry lors noſtre Roy, Henry mon ſecond maiſtre.
Auquel ià ma vertu s'eſtoit faite connoiſtre
Dans Sienne me ſçachant ſans ſecours aſſiegé,
Bien toſt pour ne me perdre envoya mon congé.
Mais moy brave & vaillant, à qui iamais la crainte
N'avoit dedans le cœur donné la moindre attainte.
Voulant voir les aſſaults des campez ennemis,
D'attandre ſon ſecours deux mois ie luy promis.
Et comme le Nocher, qui au fort d'un orage
Eſt des flots & des vents menaſſé de naufrage,
Provident or deça, or de là, ſuit par tout,
Depuis un bous de nef, juſques à l'autre bout,
Pour voir ſi ſa navire au ventre creus & large,
Cale trop deſſous l'eau, ſous le poids de ſa charge ;
Si les fiers Aquilons le cordage ont laſché,
Si la hune eſt entiere, ou le maſt arraché :
Si les bancs, ſi les rocs, ou les ondes boſſues,
Ont enfoncé les plis de ſes coſtez penſues,
Dans Sienna auſſi i'alloy, viſitant les rampars,
I'avoiſoy ſi du ſein quelqu'un de mes ſoudarts
Laiſſoit tomber le cœur : à ceux-là par menaſſe
Coüards les hontoyant, ie remettois l'audace.
Vivement aſſailly ie garday les Siennois,
Comme i avois promis non ſeulement deux mois,
Ains encor ey apres, de la ville aſſaillie
Faiſant coup deſſus coup mainte brave ſaillie
Et là ie fuſſe mort combattant, ſi la faim
N'euſt vaincu mes ſoldats abayant dans leur ſein,
Auſquels pour deſtourner la honte de ſe rendre
A tout accuſtomez ſous moy ie fis apprendre
Pour ne mourir de faim, à ſe paiſtre de chats,
De chevaux, & de chiens, & d'aſnes & de rats.
Mais enfin entre nous manquant ce vivre meſme
Nous ſortiſmes vaincus d'une famine extreme,
Tous mes ſoldats & moy avant que déloger
Ayant trois jours entiers demeuré ſans manger.
Apres ce ſiege long, ie m'en revins en France,
Où ie vis haut-louant applaudir ma vaillance,
Et mon corps entorner d'un belliqueux collier,
De l'ordre de mon Roy, eſtant fait Chevalier,
Ordre, qui lors pendoit pour enſeigne honorable
A ſignaler en nous un ſervice notable.
Au grand camp d'Amiens, ie fus fait Colonel :
Que ce Prince Lorrain, dont le nom eternel
Suivant de pere en fils commande à nos battailles,
Te conte de quel heur i'aſſaili les murailles
De ce fort Thionville, ou de proüeſſe armé,
D'un tel cœur mes ſoldats à l'aſſaut i animé
Que i'emporté par force une tour haute & forte,
Qui pour entrée apres nous ſervit d'une porte.
Puis d'honneur ſur honneur eſtant du Roy payé
En Toſcane ie fus lieutenant renvoyé.
Mais apres que la paix euſt par ferme alliance
Joint le ſang de Savoye, & d'Eſpagne à la France :
Que l'Anglois fut boucle plus eſtroit dans ſa mer :
Que par la paix l'Itale on euſt fait deſarmer,
En France ie revins avec mes capitaines, (pleines
Qui par leurs faits vaillans emportoient leurs mains
De palmiers triomphans, & de vainqueurs lauriers,
Que la paix marioit aux paſles oliviers :
Mais comme apres la guerre, un vieil ſoldat l'on paye
Du ſervice paſſé, l'enroollant morte paye
De quelque vieux chaſteau ainſi de mes eſtats
Que la paix raviſſoit au gain de mes combats,
Charles me ſurpaya, & d'une charge hautaine,
Me fit ſon Lieutenant ſur toute l'Aquitaine,
Sous Lieutenant en chef honneur eſtroitement
Gardé juſques alors aux Princes ſeulement,
En ce temps les François qui trop chauds à la guerre
Ne peurent en la paix vivre en paix en leur terre,
Firent comme iadis les trop vaillans Romains
Contre leur propre ſang armans leurs propres mains.
Baignant leur fer ſanglant au ſang de leurs entrailles,
Demoliſſans leurs forts, ſe donnans des battailles,
S'eſtans, pour donner voile à leur ſedition,
Couverts du faux maintean d'une religion.
La France pitoyable, en voit toute troublée :
De noſtre ieune Roy la couronne ébranlée

Panchant

Panchant deſſus ſon chef ſa cheute menaſſoit,
De ſes armes le lis paſlement flétriſſoit,
Au Sceptre que tenoit en main ce jeune Prince
Deſia n'obeiſſoit ma rebelle province,
Quand contre ces mutins aux armes ie courus :
Bourdeaux, Thouloufe priſe à temps ie ſecourus.
Lectoure ie gaignay : & le fort du fort Pene,
Là où fut le tombeau de maint grand capitaine.
Apres (bien que ſuivy de peu de cavalliers
Deſquels i'avois fait choix, pour belliqueux guerriers)
En ſuivant ma fortune éguillonné de gloire
Ie combati Duras, & gaignay la victoire :
Sous mes coups ou de bale ou de glaives trenchans,
Ie fis long temps la mort errer parmy les champs,
Des champs fatals de Ver, d'où ſept mille ombres palles
Vindrent ça bas hurter tes portes infernales.
Depuis, bien que l'hyver de ma vieille ſaiſon
Euſt negé ſur mon chef, tout vieil & tout griſon,
Deſirant de garder mon pays par ma perte,
I'aſſiegeay Rabaſtens, la guerre eſtant r'ouverte,
Là pour marquer mon los par un exploit dernier,
Ie redevins ſoldat, ie devins pionnier,
Et plein de deſeſpoir, de deſpit & de rage
Voyant qu'en un aſſaut, mes gens perdoient courage,
Qu'ils branſloient au retour, à la breche hazardeus
Ie marchay le premier, guidant leurs pas douteus.
La honte de me voir marcher de telle audace,
(Encor qu'un coup de bale à jour perçat ma face)
Combattre opiniaſtre avec un tel effort,
Cela leur donnant cœur nous fit maiſtre du fort.
Au bout de quelques ans, quand la mort qui aſſomme
Les Princes & les Roys, auſſi toſt qu'un pauvre homme,
Euſt Charles noſtre Roy mis deſſous le cercueil,
Laiſſant la France en proye, & le François en dueil,
Et que Henry pour France euſt Poulogne laiſſée,
Ie me vis honnoré de la Mareſchauſſée,
Se ſouvenant mon Prince autrefois de m'avoir,
A la guerre ſous luy veu faire mon devoir,
Voulant par cét honneur, liberal reconnoiſtre,
Mon ſervice employé pour ſon frere mon maiſtre.
Ainſi aux grands eſtats, dont ie fus honnoré
Ie ne vins tout à coup, ains degré par degré,
Comme l'aſtre éclattant, qui dans le ciel flamboye,
Qui pour ſuivant le cours de ſon oblique voye
Marche à pas meſurez, & ſelon les ſaiſons,
De dégrez en degrez, void ſes douze maiſons.
Bien que ie fuſſe ſec, & caſſé d'un long âge,
Ie me ſentois encor aſſez verd de courage,
Pour ſuivre des deſſeins que i'avois pourpenſez,
Qui euſſent couronné tous mes geſtes paſſez,
Mais m'eſtant retiré, pour ne voir tant de brigues,
Pour ne voir les plus grands conniver ſous leurs ligues,
Vieil ie pris le chemin, qu'à tous prendre il nous faut,
Mourant comme une lampe, à qui l'huile deffaut.
Voylà doncques Pluton, le diſcours de ma vie,
Qui fuſt & de grandeur, & de bon-heur ſuivie,
Bon-heur que i'ay cherché, en guerroyant touſiours
N'ayant iamais oyſeux en vain mangé le jour.
Mais le couard mal heur, qui ne m'ozoit attendre
Pour s'attaquer à moy, ſur les miens s'alla prendre :
Car ayant en ceſt heur, d'engendrer quatre enfans
Tous quatre enfans de Mars, tous guerriers triomphans,
Le malheur contre moy bourrellé d'une envie
Aux trois trancha le fil de leur trop courte vie.
Mon brave Marc Antoine hayſſant le repos
Mourut en Italie, où repoſent ſes os
Sur les rempars d'Hoſtie, où ſa main redoutable
La memoire laiſſa de maint acte notable,
Peirot dont le cœur haut & plein d'ambition,
Eſtoit pour commander à quelque nation,
Faiſant voille au conqueſt d'un Royaume d'Affrique
Fuſt tué dans une Iſle en la mer Atlantique,
Fabien, le François, comme ie t'ay conté,
Eſtant contre ſoy-meſme en armes revolté,
Ayant d'un fort tenu, forcé la barricade,
Sentiſt un coup mortel, par une arquebuſade.
Ainſi veuf de ces trois que ie plaindray touſiours,
Un ſeul iouït là haut de la clarté du jour,
Qui a dans la cité de chevaliers armée
Par maint exploit vaillant planté ſa renommée,
Qui les armes portant pour deffendre ſa loy,
Dans l'armée croiſée a fait parler de ſoy
Aux deſpens des vaincus : & qui brave n'agueres,
Commandoit ſur la mer aux Royales galeres
Les ſceut pour le combat ſi bien faire ramer,
Qu'il demeura vainqueur, le maiſtre de la mer :
Vainqueur en terre, en mer, deux fois heureux en terre,
Me vainquant, qui n'appris qu'à vaincre ſur la terre,
Lors qu'il executoit ceſt acte Martial
Ie tirois à la mort, aggravé de mon mal :
Mais m'eſtant de ce faict la nouvelle annoncée,
Tout ravy ie ſentis ma force renforcée,
Par cet aiſe dernier flatté ſi doucement,
Que ie mourois apres, plein de contentement,
En voyant apres moy reſter encor au monde
Pour me faire revivre, un fils qui me ſeconde.
Or donc Pluton, content dequoy plus ie ne vy,
Et d'avoir mes trois fils avant ma mort ravy,
Garde au moins celuy-là, & que la mort funeſte,
N'emporte des Montlucs le peu de grand qui reſte.
Garde mon frere encor, lequel ambaſſadeur
Nos Roys ont douze fois chargé de leur grandeur :
Ont fait voir les Romains, ont fait voir l'Allemagne,
Ont fait voir la Hongrie, & la ville que baigne
La mer de tous coſtez, l'Anglois, & l'Eſcoſſois,
Deux fois voir le levant, deux fois le Poulognois,
Voyage par lequel ceſte gloire luy donne
Qu'au chef de noſtre Roy il a mis leur couronne :
Renverſant les complots de mainte nation,
Qui briguoit la faveur de ceſte eſlection,
C'eſt ce docte Prelat, qui pere d'éloquence
Eſt baptiſé du nom d'Ambaſſadeur de France :
Qui par le miel coulant de ſa diſerte vois
A fait autant d'exploits, que moy par le harnois.
Or attendant qu'icy ſon ombre ie revoye,
Dont le terme ſoit long, fay moy monſtrer la voye,
Par où ie ſois conduit au ſejour bien-heureux
Où logent les eſprits des hommes genereux.
L'ombre à peine avoit dit, que le Roy qui s'abaiſſe
Pour honorer les grands, l'embraſſe, la careſſe,
Luy-meſme la guidant aux champs Eliſiens,
Au quartier Martial des guerriers anciens,
D'Alexandre, Hannibal, de Ceſar, de Pompée,
Des Catons, Scipions, vrays enfans de l'eſpée :

Le Charles, là François, Henry, Monmorancy,
Bourbon, Lautrec, Bayard, la Trimouille, Stroſſi,
Leve, Termes, Briſſac, & ce grand Duc de Guyſe
Le bouclier des François, le pilier de l'Egliſe,
Iouyſſent des rayons d'un autre plus beau jour
Où cette ame avec eux, fait ſon heureux ſéjour:
Et là trompant le temps, d'un guerrier exercice,
L'un de ces chevaliers elle appelle à la lice,
Elle court une bague, & cherche les esbats,
Deſquels le ieu figure un'ombre des combats.
Car meſme quand le corps eſt ſous la ſepulture.
L'ame imbuë retient l'inſtinct de ſa nature.
Les ames de ceux-là, qu'amour a tourmentez:
Souſpirent, lamentant deſſous les bois mirtez,
Des peuibles nochers les ames marinieres,
Là bas dans un eſquif frequentent les rivieres.
Et quand le corps eſt mort les ames des guerriers
Combattent ſe jouans ſous l'ombre des lauriers.
Ainſi va s'exerçant cette ame bien heureuſe
Veufue du corps enclous ſous la tombe poudreuſe,
Ame qui pleine d'heur ne doit point deſirer,
Qu'honorant ſa memoire on aille labourer
Ny un marbre imagé des figures antiques,
Ny de l'or rebruny ſur des pilliers Doriques,
Ny qu'une Pyramide eſleuée hautement
Preſſe en terre ſes os ſervant de monument:
Car jamais par leur mort, jamais ceux-là ne meurent,
De qui les braves faits pour monuments demeurent:
Ce ſont les vrays tombeaus: & le temps ronge tout
De ſa rongeardе dent n'en peut venir à bout.
Montluc donc ne mourra, & ſa gloire immortelle
Ne verra que le temps aye pouvoir ſur elle.
Montluc qui a laiſſé cette marque de ſoy,
D'avoir ſix fois dix ans fait ſervice à ſon Roy,
Et cinquante & huict ans commandé par ſon Prince
Soit en la France, ou ſoit en eſtrange province.
De n'avoir, quand luy ſeul a eu commandement,
Attaqué l'ennemy, qu'il n'ait heureuſement,
Soit qu'il fuſt foible ou fort, emporté l'advantage,
De n'avoir combattant jamais tourné viſage.
D'avoir eu cette gloire, avant voir ſon tripas,
Qu'autre homme plus que luy n'avoit veu de combats,
De battailles, aſſauts, rencontres, entrepriſes,
Plus de murs deffendus, ny de plus belles priſes,
De n'avoir veu ſes fils de luy degenerer,
O heureux qui ſe peut, comme luy bien-heurer
Par une heureuſe mort, par une heureuſe vie,
D'une telle memoire apres la mort ſuivie.

In Tumulum illuſtriſſimi viri D. Montlucii, *&c.* Steph. Manialdus.

MAgnanimi heroïs non pulchrum cerne ſepulchrum,
Et vitæ & mortis nobile diſce genus.
Gentis Aquitanæ ſplendor Montlucius armis
Ingens, fortuna clarus, honore gravis,
Militiam intrepidus primis ſectatur ab annis,
Atque ex militia præmia opima refert.
Nam celer eximios explevit curſus honores,
Fit torquatus eques, qui modo miles erat,
Hinc belli auſpiciis melioribus uſus honorum
Scandit ad excelſos, Marte juvante gradus.
Diſcordes Gallos dum triſtis turbat Erinnys,
Civili & rabie Gallia tota ruit,
Unus Aquitanæ præfectus regius oræ
Debellat populos, magne Gerumna tuos.
Horrendum quoties hoſtis, ſenſitque tremendum
Terrificum belli tempore fulmen erat.
Scilicet ut fuerant primis veneranda ſub annis
Canicies animi, conſiliumque ſagax:
Sic fuit extremo ſub tempore vivida bello
Virtus & corpus dexteritate vigens.
Cætera quid memorem noſtræ non indiga laudis,
Quæ foret immenſus dinumerare labor?
Progeniem bello egregiam, vel Martia fratrum
Pectora, quid titulis inſeruiſſe juvat?
Vivit adhuc frater nulli pietate ſecundus,
Eloquio inſignis, conſilioque potens.
Filius unus adhuc numeroſa è prole ſuperſtes
Patris ad exemplum non niſi magna ſapit.
In cæptis numquam ſic deerit honoribus hæres.
Clareſcetque novis faſcibus iſta domus.
Fortunata domus non quæ diviſa beatos
Efficiunt homines, omnia mixta tenet:
Ergo ſenex inter tot tantaque commoda vivens,
Emeritæ recolit tempora militiæ.
Infeſtis tandem cum nil rationis in armis
Cerneret & toties fœdera rupta dolis,
Annorum plenus magnorum plenus honorum
Expirat, placido & funere lætus obit.

ALIUD EX GRÆCO.

Hoc jacet in parvo tumulo Montlucius ingens,
Defuncti cineres & brevis urna tegit.
Virtutes laudeſque viri, præclaraque facta
Nec rapit interitus, nec recipit tumulus:
Morte rapit celeri celebres Mars improbus, aſt hic
Ævo maturus, laude decorus obit.

Steph. Manialdus.

Montlucii Tribuni Militum Epicedium.

ITe triumphales Montluci ad funera turmæ
Ite ſub illius ſignis victricia ſemper
Agmina, voſque adeò promptiſſima pectora bello
Vaſcones exequiis longas indicite pompas.
Et fortes ſi facta viros fortiſſima tangunt,
Si ſtimulat virtus tanto ſubiiſſe feretro,
Ne pigeat, non æque animis armiſque potenti
Supremos unquam tumuli reddetis honores.
Splendida porticibus ſacris aulæa premantur,
Templaque pullato obtentu color ater inumbret,
Perque vias paſſim triſti pro munere crines
Spargantur Cypariſſe tui, quos delphica laurus
Mœſtior, atque Apium foliis intexat amaris.
Funereas exoſa faces lux æmula noctis
Marceſcat, piceamque vomant funalia nubem.
Atra procul lugubre ſonent, & Lyda gementem
Flebilibus numeris aſpiret tibia cantum:
Surda per armigeras acies ſint tympana, nec ſe
Indiciis manifeſta ſuis humentia tangat
Lumina, pars imis animi penetralibus erret.

Hæc

Hæc tu Montluci, tu belli fulmen habeto,
Qualia perſolvi manes ſibi debita poſcunt
Emeriti & multa præcincti tempora lauro.
Jam tibi delectæ procedunt ordine turbæ
Signorum comites, & Martia caſtra ſequentum :
Figentur terræ vultus, longiſque trahentur
Arma notis, & humum vexilla ſequentia verent.
Tum bellator equus nigro feralis amictu,
Officium ad mœſtum lentis ducetur habenis ;
Quin ad certa tuum celebrabunt numina funus,
Multaque viſentur feralis fercula pompæ,
Partim hominum, partim manibus geſtata deorum.
Mars frameam, Bellona decus thoracis aheni,
Et galeam Pallas, manicas furialis Enyo,
Denique & aligero præpes victoria curru,
Nunc ſtupefacta, graviſque & ſævo tarda dolore
Bellorum feret exuvias, monumentaque laudis
Plurima, Romanis etiam ſpectanda triumphis.
Nec vero indecores illis ad grande feretrum
Gentis Aquitanæ primi, quorum inclita virtus
Militiæ claret ſtudiis ; mœrentia jungent
Agmina, quos oculis aliquis tùm fortè pererrans,
Miratuſque viros, ſpirantiaque ora furorem
Indomitum, tacito ſuſpirans corde loquetur.
Heu quantum imperium, ſi belligerantibus iſtis,
Ductor in externos iſſet Montlucius hoſtes?
Quale decus potuit tibi Gallica terra parare,
Sive tuos longo protendere limite fines,
Sive aliis velles populis tua dicere jura ?
Sed duræ impediunt leges, civica fatis,
Bella furunt, lævoque agitantur Vejove Galli.
Eximium ſi quicquam habuit vis impia Martis,
En etiam ut morbi populantur & ægra ſenectus.
Marmoreum tandem ad tumulum ſiſtetur, & alto
Compoſitum corpus lecto fragrantis amomi,
Et pinguis caſiæ & nardi lentore madebit,
Parva quidem fuerint magnis hæc præmia factis,
Quæ ritu conceſſa pio ſuprema dabuntur,
Cum tibi perpetuos Montluci inſtaurat honores
Fama peregrinis longè tua nomina terris
Extento miſſura ævo : namque unde tepentem
Producens rubicunda diem Pollentias exit,
Et qua deciduo merguntur ſole quadrigæ
Præcipites, tua facta canet, tibi mille parabit
Linguas, mille annos & mille in carmina voces
Extremaſque tuba gentes ad ſplendida rerum
Argumenta ciens, calidis memorabit ut annis
Nobilitas generoſa tuo ſub pectore primum
Extuderit vivas nativo fomite flammas :
Utque animoſa ruens horrendus miles in arma,
Non ſatis ampla tibi pomaria laudis avitæ
Protuleris, ſeu magnanimo ſatus Æſone quondam,
Theſſalicæ quem non capiens anguſtia terræ
Compulit ad Scyticas ignoti Phaſidis oras.
Hic ſuperatæ Alpes, & vis inimica feretur
Eridani ingenteſque Itala tellure labores.
Sed neque Senatum dira obſidionis egeſtas,
Et pluſquam Perulina fames, aut quam addita Pœ-
Conſilio inimani placavit Ibera Saguntus, (nis
Defuerit titulis : nec deſperata ſalutis
Spes producta diu lethæas ſenſerit undas.
Scilicet acclivi vectatur gloria curru,
Semper & è duris molles ſibi captat honores.
Proſpera quis neſcit bellorum prælia quotquot
Addita ſunt faſtis Franciſci à tempore primi ?
Inſubres domiti Allobroges, pulſique Britanni,
Belgarum truces animi : damnum utraque ſenſit
Heſperia & tumidi compreſſa ferocia Rheni.
At quis in his etiam Montluci nomina neſcit ?
Undenis ductor luſtris ille inclitus heros,
Et patriæ murus, regumque fidele ſuorum
Præſidium, quantos bellorum pertulit æſtus ?
Quas rexit fuditque acies fœlicibus uſus
Fortiter auſpiciis? quem nunquam impune moratus
Hoſtis, & averſum nunquam in certamine vidit :
Idque adeo validis docuit non una cicatrix
Artubus, & pulchro violatæ vulnere nares.
Nec tamen interea reliqua ornamenta latebunt
Virtutum, nec in hac ſiſtet tua gloria parte,
Montluci dicetur honos Ithacenſis Ulixei
Conſiliis ceciſſe tuis, & Neſtoris illa
Mellea vox linguæ patrio ſermone diſertæ :
Et memoranda fides etiam ſanctiſſima tetris
Hoſtibus, & concors animis clementia magnis.
Ingeniumque memor, vigileſque in pectore curæ,
Et faciles aditus, & blandæ queſtibus aures,
Mens quoq; non avidis unquam temerata rapinis,
Inſonteſque manus, nec iniqua cæde madentes.
Talibus exurget titulis Montlucius, utque
Septenis errans fidibus moduletio quondam
Threiciæ viſa eſt citharæ compeſcere tygres,
Et quercus agitare vagas, & grandia ſummis
Saxa movere jugis, ſic vivida fama merenti
Nectareum è tantis concentum laudibus edet,
Manuricam huic rabiem mulcens, huic crudaGeloni
Corda vel Armenium quæ gens uſurpat Araxem.
Clara repercuſſæ magnum æthera vocis imago
Pulſabit, plaudet Tanais, Ponti utraque plaudent
Littora : percipient extremæ nomina terræ,
Autonitæque bibent oves, & læta beatis
Umbra locis, maneſque inter veneranda quietos
Eliſias capiet ſedes, ubi plurima laurus
Miſcet odoratis frondoſa cacumina lucis.

Jo. Cuionius.

Georgii Buchanani Scoti, in obitum Marci Antonii Montluci, qui Hoſtia pro defenſione Eccleſiæ obiit, Carmen.

Montluci armatæ regeres ut frena cohortis
Supra annos virtus conſiliumque dedit.
Supra annos animi vis Martia perdidit auſum
Obvia fulmineo pectore ferre globo.
Quam ſuper adſtantem muris prius horruit hoſtem
Hoſtia, defuncti vindicis oſſa colit.
Icta licet tanto genetrix ſit Gallia caſu
Plus genuiſſe refert, quam periiſſe dolet.

In eundem Joachimi Bellai Andegavi.

Littora Dardaniæ quondam ut contingere primus
Dum cupis, & primus, Proteſilae, cadis :
Sic cupidus pugnæ foſſa Montlucius hoſtem
Dum prohibet primus, primus ab hoſte cadit.

Hoſtia

Hoſtia prima fuit Montlucius, Hoſtia nempe
Haud alia poterat conditione capi.
At vos ne hæc decimum, Galli, vos ducat in annum
Hoſtia, Montluci pectora quiſque gerat.

Ejuſdem in eundem.

Hoſpes ſiſte gradum, rogo, hîc parumper, &
Quemque prætereas locum videto,
Hoc, hoc ſub tumulo jacet ſepultus:
Monluci illius (hoc ſat eſt viator)
Natus optimus, optimi parentis,
Qui dum ſorte datum locum tuetur,
Pro foſſa vigil excubatque primus,
Cæco vulnere primus eſt peremptus.
Illum mœſta cohors prius Tribunum
Mox cæſum ingemuere tota caſtra.

Pour Jean de Montluc Eveſque de Valence.

CY repoſe l'honneur de France
Montluc Eveſque de Valence.
C'eſt aſſez, paſſe viateur,
A ſon ſeul nom tu ſçais ſa gloire
Il ſert de trompette & d'hiſtoire
Decà & delà l'Equateur.

Pour le Capitain Montluc Sieur de Caupene qui mourut à Madere.

LE Ciel qui ſeul te ſembloit grand,
Montluc, en jeune âge te prend
Voyant que peu ſert plus attendre,
Car le monde à ton appetit,
Euſt eſté touſiours ſi petit
Qu'il ne t'euſt jamais peu comprendre.

Pour Fabien de Montluc Sieur de Monteſquieu.

SONNET.

L'Amour de ſon pays le brave Peleide
Conduiſoit à la mort, alors que pour venger
Le Gregeois Menelas du Troyen eſtranger,
Sa vie s'acheva par un trait homicide.
L'amour de Dieu du Roy, & du pays te guide
Montluc, à meſme pas miſpriſant ton danger,
Quand chauſſant le Biernois ardent de ſaccager
Un plomb donna dedans ta cuiſſe d'arnois vuide.
Magnanime guerrier tu meurs avant ton temps,
Si celuy peut mourir qui encor jeune d'ans
Par une braue mort vient double vie acquerre.
Et ore que tu es fait habitant des cieux,
Peut-eſtre as tu pitié de nos jours ſoucieux,
Où tu ris des deſſeins des auheurs de la guerre.

SONNET.

Sur le tombeau de Monſieur le Commandeur de Montluc.

AVant leur temps, la mort tes deux aiſnez atterre,
Montluc, & ton puiſné de meſme elle prend,
En Italie, Afrique, en la France elle eſtend
Morts de trois plombs fatals ces trois foudres de guerre.
Ton pere qui ſon chef de mille lauriers ſerré
Chargé d'ans & d'honneur les ſuit, apres luy grand
Marche ton oncle grand, de qui le nom s'eſpand
Par tous les lieux cogneus de l'habitable terre.
Mais toy les ſurvivant, morts ils ne ſembloient pas,
Voyant en tes diſcours, entrepriſes, combats,
De tous revivre en toy le cœur & l'eloquence.
Nous les voyons en toy & combattre & parler:
Mais ores toy mourant, ils remeurent, & l'air
Emporte nos regrets, le Ciel noſtre eſperance.

I. du C. E. de C.

Tumulo Blaſii Montluci,

DEſine mirari ſata gens é ſtirpe virorum,
Omnia ſi morſu laceret mors digna maligno.
Heroum divina cohors huic ſubdita legi eſt.
Tantalus eſt teſtis, Sarpedon, quique parente
Avo progeniti magnus domitorque ferarum.
Nunc quoque Montlucius divis præſtantior illis,
Haud virtute ſua valuit depellere lethum
Quin mors exultet tanto ductore peempto.
Interea ſuper aſtra volat, cœlumque capeſcit:
Et tot geſta viri ſtupet omnis turba deorum.

ALIUD.

Bellipotens varios terræ pelagique labores
Qui domuit, tegitur mortuus hoc tumulo
Nempe ſuis iterum diffidens Jupiter armis
Montluci Stygiis lumina merſit aquis.

SONNET.

Sur la deuiſe de Blaiſe de Montluc Mareſchal de France.

DEO DUCE, FERRO COMITE.

CReature de Dieu, i'eus Dieu touſiours pour gude
Enfant de Mars ie fus de fer accompagné
En cet aage de fer où je fus deſſeigné
Pour manier un fer iuſtement homicide
Guerroyer juſtement, c'eſt alors que Dieu guide
Et le cœur & la main, i'ay cela teſmoigné,
Pour defendre nos Roys ne m'eſtant eſpargné.
Ny pour ſauuer la France au François parricide.
En cette mer Dieu fuſt mon eſtoile du Nort,
Le fer mon inſtrument, pour maint guerrier effort,
Aux uns pour leurs tombeaux on baſtit leur memoire,
L'edifice élevant du fer de maint marteau,
Et moy pour m'arracher des mains de la mort noire,
Avec le fer au poing i'ay briſé mon tombeau.

P. DE-BRACH.

FIN.

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